

TRADE IN BYZANTIUM  
PAPERS FROM THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL  
SEVGİ GÖNÜL BYZANTINE STUDIES SYMPOSIUM

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ISTANBUL, 24-27 JUNE 2013

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INTERNATIONAL SEVGİ GÖNÜL  
BYZANTINE STUDIES SYMPOSIUM  
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EDITED BY

**PAUL MAGDALINO  
NEVRA NECİPOĞLU**  
with the assistance of  
**IVANA JEVTIĆ**

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## ABBREVIATIONS

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AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger [note: before 1962, part of JDAI; 1963–84, issued as supplement to JDAI]
AAA	Athens Annals of Archaeology
AASS	Acta sanctorum (Paris, 1863–1940)
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
ACO	Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, ed. E. Schwartz and J. Straub (Berlin, 1914–)
AF	Archäologische Forschungen
AIPHOS	Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
Anat.Ant.	Anatolia Antiqua
AnatSt	Anatolian Studies
Annales H.S.S.	Annales Histoire Sciences Sociales
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
AnzWien	Anzeiger der [Österreichischen] Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
APF	Archiv für Papyrusforschung
ArchJug	Archaeologia iugoslavica
Arch.Delt	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν δελτίον
ArtB	Art Bulletin
AST	Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BDIA	Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts
BHG	Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca, 3rd ed., ed. F. Halkin, SubsHag 47 (Brussels, 1957; repr. 1969)
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BNJ	Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher
BNumRoma	Bollettino di Numismatica
BSA	The Annual of the British School at Athens
BSI	Byzantinoslavica
Byzantine Constantinople, ed. Necipoğlu	Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life, ed. N. Necipoğlu (Leiden-Boston-Cologne, 2001)

<b>ByzF</b>	Byzantinische Forschungen
<b>BZ</b>	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
<b>CahArch</b>	Cahiers archéologiques
<b>CahCM</b>	Cahiers de civilisation médiévale
<b>CCSG</b>	Corpus christianorum, Series graeca
<b>CFHB</b>	Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae
<b>Chemins d'outre mer, ed. Coulon et al.</b>	Chemins d'outre mer: études d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard, ed. D. Coulon, C. Otten-Froux, P. Pagès, D. Valérian, 2 vols. (Paris, 2014)
<b>Chilandar, 1</b>	Actes de Chilandar I. Des origines à 1319, ed. M. Živojinović, V. Kravari, Ch. Giros, (Paris, 1998)
<b>CMRS</b>	Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique
<b>Constantinople and its Hinterland, ed. Mango and Dagron</b>	Constantinople and its Hinterland: Papers from the Twenty seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, April 1993, ed. C. Mango and G. Dagron (Aldershot, 1995)
<b>CSHB</b>	Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae
<b>DenkWien</b>	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch historische Klasse, Denkschriften
<b>ΔΧΑΕ</b>	Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας
<b>DOP</b>	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
<b>DOS</b>	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
<b>EHB</b>	The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century, ed. A. E. Laiou, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C., 2002)
<b>EF</b>	Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed. (Leiden-London, 1960–)
<b>EpAnat</b>	Epigraphica Anatolica
<b>Génois de Péra et de Caffa</b>	Actes des notaires Génois de Péra et de Caffa de la fin du treizième siècle (1281-1290), ed. G. I. Bratianu (Bucharest, 1927)
<b>GJ</b>	Geographical Journal
<b>GRBS</b>	Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies
<b>HTS</b>	Harvard Theological Studies
<b>IJNA</b>	The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology
<b>IRAİK</b>	Izvestiia Russkogo arkheologicheskogo instituta v Konstantinople
<b>IstMitt</b>	Istanbuler Mitteilungen

<b>Iviron, 1</b>	Actes d'Iviron. I. Des origines au milieu du XIe siècle, ed. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidès, D. Papachryssanthou, collab. H. Métrévéli (Paris, 1985)
<b>Iviron, 2</b>	Actes d'Iviron. II. Du milieu du XIe siècle à 1204, ed. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidès, D. Papachryssanthou (Paris, 1990)
<b>Iviron, 3</b>	Actes d'Iviron. III. De 1204 à 1328, ed. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidès, D. Papachryssanthou, V. Kravari, collab., H. Métrévéli (Paris, 1994)
<b>JA</b>	Journal asiatique
<b>JAOS</b>	Journal of the American Oriental Society
<b>JEH</b>	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
<b>JESHO</b>	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
<b>JFieldA</b>	Journal of Field Archaeology
<b>JHS</b>	Journal of Hellenic Studies
<b>JJP</b>	Journal of Juristic Papyrology
<b>JOAS</b>	Journal of Oriental and African Studies
<b>JÖB</b>	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik [note: before 1969, JÖBG]
<b>JRGZM</b>	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz
<b>JSav</b>	Journal des savants
<b>JTuS</b>	Journal of Turkish Studies
<b>Lavra, 1</b>	Actes de Lavra. I. Des origines à 1204, ed. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos (Paris, 1970)
<b>Lavra, 2</b>	Actes de Lavra. II. De 1204 à 1328, ed. A. Guillou, P. Lemerle, D. Papachryssanthou, N. Svoronos (Paris, 1977)
<b>Lavra, 3</b>	Actes de Lavra. III. De 1329 à 1500, ed. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papachryssanthou (Paris, 1979)
<b>LBG</b>	Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität, ed. E. Trapp (Vienna, 1994–)
<b>LexMA</b>	Lexikon des Mittelalters
<b>LSJ</b>	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. S. Jones et al., A Greek-English Lexicon (Oxford, 1968)
<b>McCormick, Origins</b>	M. McCormick, <i>Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900</i> (Cambridge-New York, 2001)
<b>MélRome</b>	Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, École française de Rome
<b>MGH</b>	Monumenta Germaniae historica
<b>MHR</b>	Mediterranean Historical Review
<b>MLR</b>	The Modern Language Review
<b>MM</b>	Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana, ed. F. Miklosich and J. Müller, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860–90)
<b>MÖNumGes</b>	Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft

<b>NC</b>	<i>The Numismatic Chronicle [and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society]</i>
<b>NomKhron</b>	<i>Nomismatika Chronika</i>
<b>ODB</b>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , ed. A. Kazhdan et al., 3 vols. (New York-Oxford, 1991)
<b>OHBS</b>	<i>The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies</i> , ed. E. Jeffreys, J. Haldon, and R. Cormack (Oxford, 2008)
<b>OJA</b>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
<b>ÖJh</b>	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien</i>
<b>Πάτμου, 1</b>	<i>Βυζαντινά έγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου, Α. Αυτοκρατορικά: διπλωματική έκδοσις, Γενική εισαγωγή, Ευρετήρια, Πίνακες</i> , ed. E. L. Vranousis (Athens, 1980)
<b>Πάτμου, 2</b>	<i>Βυζαντινά έγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου, Β. Δημοσίων λειτουργῶν</i> , ed. M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou (Athens, 1980)
<b>PG</b>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1857–66)
<b>Protaton</b>	<i>Actes du Prôtaton</i> , ed. D. Papachryssanthou (Paris, 1975)
<b>RAC</b>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<b>RBPH</b>	<i>Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire</i>
<b>RDAC</b>	<i>Reports of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus</i>
<b>REArm</b>	<i>Revue des études arméniennes</i>
<b>REB</b>	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
<b>REG</b>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<b>REJ</b>	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
<b>RESEE</b>	<i>Revue des études sud-est européennes</i>
<b>RH</b>	<i>Revue historique</i>
<b>RN</b>	<i>Revue numismatique</i>
<b>RSH</b>	<i>Revue suisse d'histoire</i>
<b>SBS</b>	<i>Studies in Byzantine Sigillography</i>
<b>SC</b>	<i>Sources chrétiennes</i>
<b>Settimane</b>	<i>Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo</i>
<b>SOsl</b>	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i>
<b>StVen</b>	<i>Studi veneziani</i>
<b>TIB</b>	<i>Tabula imperii byzantini</i> , ed. H. Hunger (Vienna, 1976– )
<b>TLG</b>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i>
<b>TM</b>	<i>Travaux et mémoires</i>

<b>Trade and Markets, ed. Morrisson</b>	<i>Trade and Markets in Byzantium</i> , ed. C. Morrisson (Washington, D.C., 2012)
<b>Trav.Rech.Turquie</b>	<i>Travaux et recherches en Turquie</i>
<b>TT</b>	<i>Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig</i> , ed. G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1856–57; repr. Amsterdam, 1964)
<b>TürkArkDerg</b>	<i>Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi</i>
<b>WBS</b>	Wiener byzantinistische Studien
<b>ZpapEpig</b>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
<b>ZRVI</b>	<i>Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta</i>

## PREFACE

---

**ÖMER M. KOÇ**  
Symposium Honorary Chairman

Since 2007 the International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium is organized every three years in memory of my late aunt Sevgi Gönül (1938–2003), who supported the development of awareness about cultural heritage and the growth of Byzantine Studies in Turkey.

The Scientific Advisory Board selected “Trade in Byzantium” as the theme of the Third International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium which was held on 24–27 June 2013. In the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople served not only as an administrative, military, and religious center, but also as one of trade and commerce. The city was selected as the new imperial capital due to its geographical advantages, its vast hinterland, its situation as an ideal vantage point for travel by land and sea, and its safe natural harbors, making it a perfect location for trade. Considering that medieval Anatolia, and especially Constantinople, was located at the center of a broad trade network and was a center of both production and consumption, trade is rightfully a continuing subject matter of Byzantine studies. In addition, since 2004, the Directorate of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums has carried out archaeological research in Üsküdar, Sirkeci, and Yenikapı, as part of the Marmaray and Metro projects. The excavations have revealed spectacular artifacts and new knowledge on Byzantine trade, ship-building technology, and ships and their cargo. In light of harbor excavation results and information accumulated from other ongoing research, it was the right time to re-evaluate trade in Byzantium. New findings and knowledge arising from the Yenikapı excavations, in particular, gave reason to revisit issues of trade in Byzantium again.

As with the first symposium held in 2007, the Istanbul Archaeological Museums once again supported the third symposium with an exhibition. The exhibition “Stories from the Hidden Harbor: Shipwrecks of Yenikapı” opened in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums on 24 June 2013. It was a great honor and joy to facilitate the exhibition and its accompanying catalogue carrying the same title. We hope that the exhibition



and its catalogue shed more light on the history of Istanbul as a major trade center. The proceedings of the Third International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, too, contributes significantly to revealing original new research on aspects of trade in Byzantium.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Vehbi Koç Foundation; to Koç University's Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, for all the material and moral support it contributed towards establishing the symposium; to the Scientific Advisory Board and the Executive Board members of the symposium, for their devoted work; and, last but not least, to both the symposium participants, who made the "Papers from the Third International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium" a reality, and to the editors of this volume, Paul Magdalino and Nevra Necipoğlu, for their meticulous work in bringing this volume to publication.

## EDITORS' FOREWORD

PAUL MAGDALINO and NEVRA NECİPOĞLU

The articles collected in this volume derive from papers presented at the Third International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium on "Trade in Byzantium," held in Istanbul on 24–27 June 2013. The symposium was made possible with the generous financial and moral support of the Vehbi Koç Foundation, and the editors would like to thank especially Ömer M. Koç, who has been the principal driving force behind the establishment of this symposium series organized every three years since 2007. Unlike the first two symposia, which were held at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, the Third International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium took place at Koç University's Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (ANAMED). We are grateful to the then director of ANAMED, Scott Redford, and to its entire staff, particularly Buket Coşkuner, for their help and support in the organization of the symposium. We also would like to extend our thanks to the Scientific Advisory Board for having entrusted us with editing the symposium proceedings.

Presented in this volume are twenty-eight of the thirty-three papers delivered at the symposium. We wish to thank all the speakers who revised their papers for this publication, as well as those who decided not to publish their contributions to the symposium in the present volume. Among the latter, Harun Özdaş submitted only his joint paper with Lale Doğer, while withholding from publication his general survey of the Byzantine shipwrecks discovered on the Aegean coast of Turkey. The other contributions missing from this volume are those by Rahmi Asal, who presented the new discoveries from the Marmaray excavations at Sirkeci, on the site of the Prosfhorion Harbor; Koray Durak and Dionysios Stathakopoulos, who each offered the results of their ongoing research on drugs as commodities in the trade of the eastern Mediterranean; and Chris Entwistle, who analyzed Byzantine weights in terms of their typology and geographical distribution, based on the extensive collections in the British Museum. Given its largely interactive nature, it has also not been possible to include in the present volume the

Closing Panel, in which the participants—Nevra Necipoğlu, John Haldon, and Michael McCormick—evaluated the symposium and commented on future prospects for the study of trade in Byzantium.

In preparing the papers for publication, we received invaluable assistance from Ivana Jevtić, which we acknowledge with gratitude. Thanks are also due to Buket Coşkuner, Çiçek Öztek, Alican Kutlay, and M. Kemal Baran for their help with the copy-editing. Finally, we are grateful to Burak Şuşut of FİKA, who prepared the design and layout of the book, and to ANAMED Publications for agreeing to publish it.

## OPENING SPEECH

ZEYNEP MERCANGÖZ

Distinguished participants and guests,

It is a great pleasure to welcome you to the Third International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium. Taking place at three year intervals since 2007, the Sevgi Gönül symposia have become the major meeting point in Turkey for Byzantine scholars from around the world.

Considering the cultural heritage of the Eastern Roman Empire—or, to use its conventional name, the Byzantine Empire—in Turkey, the number of congresses and symposia held in this country that are dedicated to Byzantine studies is extremely low. The first and only “International Congress of Byzantine Studies” that took place in Turkey was the Xth Congress held in Istanbul on 15–21 September 1955.<sup>1</sup> Apart from that, a limited

<sup>1</sup> The proceedings of this Congress, including papers in Turkish, French, English and German, were published in 1957: *X. Milletlerarası Bizans Tetkikleri Kongresi Tebliğleri - Actes du X. Congrès International d'Études Byzantines (İstanbul, 15–21.IX.1955)* (Istanbul, 1957). Certainly, this congress owed a lot to the work on Byzantine studies carried out by Westerners in Istanbul from the 1930s onwards. On the other hand, whether a coincidence or not, it is noteworthy that Feridun Dirimtekin (1894–1976) was appointed as the director of the Hagia Sophia Museum the same year that the congress took place in Istanbul. With this commission, Dirimtekin oriented himself from his military training towards archaeology and specifically to Byzantine studies, and participated in excavations carried out by national teams in Istanbul and other parts of Turkey. In this context, as contributions of Turkish scholars to Byzantine research, the results of these excavations were published in the *Ayasofya Müzesi Yılığ / Annual of Ayasofya Museum*, the first issue of which appeared in 1959. Until retiring from his post as the museum director in 1971, Dirimtekin contributed to seven issues with forewords and articles on Byzantine subjects. Likewise, the archaeologist Nezhir Fıratlı (1921–1979), who was the director of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum during 1978–1979, is among the first Turkish Byzantinists due to the excavations he conducted at Sebaste/Uşak, Selçukler and around the Hagia Sophia Museum, and the catalogues he prepared of Byzantine architectural sculpture at the museums of İznik and Istanbul. Without a doubt, Prof. Dr. Semavi Eyice (b. 1922) occupies a special place in Byzantine studies in Turkey, given his national and international publications in the field of Byzantine art history. Eyice's *İstanbul - Petit guide à travers les monuments byzantins et turcs* (Istanbul, 1955), published by the Organization Committee on the occasion of the Xth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, and his biographical publications about F. Dirimtekin and N. Fıratlı in the 1970s, must be considered as pioneering works in the establishment of Byzantine studies as an academic field in Turkey. I would also like to underline here that the early excavations carried out by Turkish archaeologists on

number of studies focusing on the Christian Middle Ages in Anatolia are presented in Turkey at the Symposium of Excavation and Survey Results, organized annually by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism since 1978, and at some history conferences. In this respect, the international workshop held at Boğaziçi University in 1999, entitled “Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life,” will be remembered as a landmark event among the rare Byzantine meetings in Turkey with its original papers.<sup>2</sup> This meeting was notable for bringing together in Istanbul world’s leading Byzantine scholars, including Cyril Mango, the late Nicolas Oikonomides, the late Angeliki Laiou, and many others, with Turkish Byzantinists. Another meeting to remember was the “Byzantine Small Finds in Archaeological Contexts” workshop on 2–4 June 2008, realized by the collaboration of the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul, Koç University’s Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, and the Istanbul Archaeological Museums.<sup>3</sup> At this meeting, for the first time in Turkey, international presentations of new data coming directly from Byzantine excavations were made.

Initiated by the Vehbi Koç Foundation, and presently organized with the collaboration of the foundation and the Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, the International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium has and will continue to have a special place amongst all these national and international meetings on Byzantine studies.

Held on 25–28 June 2007 and devoted to the theme of “Change in the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” the First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, with a total of ninety-two papers, nearly half of which were presented by Turkish scholars, was the first major meeting on Byzantine studies in Turkey where many young Byzantinists shared the same scientific platform with the masters of the field. As my teacher and mentor Yıldız Ötüken frequently noted, a great wish of the late Sevgi Gönül was realized at this well-attended Symposium, where so many young historians, art historians, and archaeologists presented the results of their research with enthusiasm, and a multitude of excavations, surveys, and historical enquiries with original findings were discussed.<sup>4</sup>

Byzantine buildings actually date back to the time of Atatürk. In this context, Arif Müfid Mansel’s work in Yalova in 1932 and at the Balabanağa Mosque in Laleli, Istanbul in 1933 must be mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> Twenty-two papers presented at the workshop, six of which belonged to Turkish academicians, were published in 2001: *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu (Leiden-Boston-Cologne, 2001).

<sup>3</sup> The papers of this workshop, together with forewords by Felix Pirson and Martin Bachmann from the German Archaeological Institute, Scott Redford from Koç University, and Zeynep Kızıltan from the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, were published with the financial support of the Gerda Henkel Foundation. See *Byzantine Small Finds in Archaeological Contexts*, ed. B. Böhlendorf-Aslan and A. Ricci, *BYZAS* 15 (Istanbul, 2012). Seventeen of the thirty-eight papers included in this publication focus on finds from excavations located in Turkey. The rest of the archaeological sites are from various geographies such as Italy, Greece, Egypt, and Crimea.

<sup>4</sup> For the publication containing seventy-five papers from the symposium, see *1. Uluslararası Sevgi Gönül Bizans Araştırmaları Sempozyumu: Bildiriler/First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*:

The Second International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, held on 21–23 June 2010, was devoted to the theme of “The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture.” Among the forty papers delivered at this symposium, all containing original material, of particular significance was one that presented new archaeological data from the excavations conducted at the Great Palace (*Palatium Magnum*) in Istanbul.<sup>5</sup>

I should indeed point out that, in determining the theme of the third symposium, the Marmaray and Metro excavations carried out in Istanbul by the Archaeological Museum served as a source of inspiration for our Scientific Advisory Board, just as the Great Palace excavations had been influential in the choice of the second symposium’s topic. Chaired by Ömer Koç, the Scientific Advisory Board, consisting of Professors Y. Ötüken, E. Parman, A. Ödekan, M. Delilbaşı, Z. Mercangöz, N. Necipoğlu, E. Akyürek, S. Doğan, S. Redford, K. Durak, Dr. V. Bulgurlu, and Dr. B. Pitarakis, determined the subject of the present symposium to be “Trade in Byzantium,” with reference particularly to the recent harbor excavations at Yenikapı in Istanbul. Although the subject of trade in the Byzantine world was treated in detail at two former symposia held at Oxford in 2004 and at Dumbarton Oaks in 2008, our board decided to put the subject on the agenda once more, under the light of the new archaeological discoveries in Istanbul as well as in other parts of Turkey.

Within the rich program of the Third International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, which includes thirty-four papers, the first day will be devoted mainly to Constantinople, the starting point, final destination, and transit route to the other trade centers along the commercial networks of the Byzantine era. In this framework, the multi-ethnic structure of Constantinople, its marketplaces, marketed goods, and harbors will be discussed at length in the light primarily of available archaeological data, but also taking into consideration written sources. During the second day, the focus will shift to other regions of the Byzantine Empire, with papers discussing the land and sea transport routes and harbors of medieval Anatolia, evidence from maritime maps, and especially the latest finds from the excavations in Lycian port cities and research on shipwrecks along the Aegean and Mediterranean coast of Asia Minor. The program of the second day also includes several papers that will make use of textual evidence to shed light on different aspects of trade in Byzantium as well as in the successor states of Nicaea and Trebizond. During the third and final day, most of the sessions will be devoted to trade in particular goods, including salt, timber, medicinal items, wine, and slaves. The presence of four papers on ceramics among these sessions is indicative of the importance of this subject. Indeed, as A. P. Kazhdan and A. Wharton-Epstein pointed out, being “a less grand but perhaps more reliable economic indicator than monumental art,”<sup>6</sup> ceramic ware was

*Proceedings*, ed. A. Ödekan, N. Necipoğlu, and E. Akyürek (Istanbul 2010).

<sup>5</sup> For the publication containing thirty papers from the symposium, see *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture. Papers from the Second International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, ed. A. Ödekan, N. Necipoğlu, and E. Akyürek (Istanbul, 2013).

<sup>6</sup> A. P. Kazhdan and A. Wharton-Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*

a subject of scrutiny at the Oxford and Dumbarton Oaks symposia, where the commercial journey of ceramics was presented through the use of archaeometric data. In the present symposium, Byzantine ceramics as commercial commodities will be investigated in one paper in a comparative framework, in another based on finds from a recently discovered shipwreck, and in a third one dealing with the distribution of ceramic goods and their interpretation.

A nice tradition established by the Sevgi Gönül symposia is the organization of exhibitions simultaneously with each symposium, in order to provide visual enrichment to the chosen theme, and the publication of accompanying exhibition catalogues alongside the proceedings of the previous symposium. Thus, in conjunction with the First Sevgi Gönül Symposium in 2007, two exhibitions were organized, in the first of which more than two hundred twelfth- and thirteenth-century Byzantine works of art from the museums in Turkey were displayed at the Yıldız Hall of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, restored by the Vehbi Koç Foundation on the occasion of this symposium. Ranging from large stone artifacts to small but priceless finds, these objects—most of them previously unpublished—were moved with great care by the Vehbi Koç Foundation from the warehouses of Anatolian museums, to meet the audiences in Istanbul. The exhibition was turned into a lasting document in the catalogue edited by A. Ödekan and entitled “*The Remnants*”.<sup>7</sup> The other exhibition of the first symposium was prepared with the finds from the Marmaray, Metro, and Sultanahmet excavations carried out by the Istanbul Archaeological Museums.<sup>8</sup> In this exhibition curated by Z. Kızıltan, interesting artifacts brought to light in four different regions of Istanbul (Üsküdar, Sirkeci, Yenikapı, and Sultanahmet) were presented to the visitors. The Second Sevgi Gönül Symposium, on the other hand, was accompanied by an exhibition entitled “Byzantine Palaces in Istanbul,” which presented material from most recent excavations, as well as finds from past excavations kept in the collections of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums.<sup>9</sup>

The Third International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium that is being launched today has three separate exhibitions, two of which run parallel to the topic of trade in Byzantium, while the third one is made up of old photographs of Byzantine

buildings in Istanbul. Located on the grounds of the Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, where we are presently gathered, the first exhibition bears witness to the trade in ceramics through photographs of the finds unearthed during excavations at Kadıkalesi/Anaia, near Kuşadası, which was one of the commercial ceramic production centers of the Byzantine era.<sup>10</sup> The second exhibition is a unique presentation, at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, of the spectacular finds from the excavations at Yenikapı, featuring four shipwrecks that were found together with their cargo.<sup>11</sup> And the final exhibition, in the gallery of the Koç University Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, presents nearly one hundred black-and-white photographs of “Byzantine Istanbul” taken by the amateur photographer Nicholas V. Artamonoff during 1930–1947. Curated by Dr. G. Varinlioğlu, the photographs in this exhibition were provided by the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection in Washington, D.C., the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., and the Robert College Archives in Istanbul.<sup>12</sup>

As such, the publications that have resulted so far from the Sevgi Gönül symposia, altogether eight volumes counting the symposium proceedings and exhibition catalogues, have taken their rightful place on the shelves of libraries as significant contributions to Byzantine studies.

In ending, I would like to thank, first and foremost, Ömer M. Koç and the Koç family for providing this scientific environment where knowledge and visual material related to Byzantium are shared, Erdal Yıldırım and Melih Fereli from the Vehbi Koç Foundation, Buket Coşkuner from the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, and all those who worked hard to make this symposium possible.

I wish a successful symposium to the speakers and to all the participants.

(Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1985), 40.

7 For the catalogue, see “*Kalanlar*”: 12. ve 13. Yüzyıllarda Türkiye’de Bizans/”*The Remnants*”: 12th and 13th Centuries Byzantine Objects in Turkey, ed. A. Ödekan (Istanbul, 2007). In this publication, besides the description of the objects, additional texts provide their historical and artistic setting. Contributors are: A. Ödekan, C. Ünal, E. Akyürek, E. Fındık, E. Parman, H. Bilgi, L. Doğer, M. Acara Eser, N. Necipoğlu, N. Peker, Ö. Çömezoglu, S. Başaran, S. Doğan, S. Japp, S. Yandım, S. Y. Ötügen, V. Bulgurlu, Y. Olcay Uçkan, Z. Mercangöz, and Z. Oral.

8 For the exhibition catalogue, see *Gün Işığında: İstanbul’un 8000 Yılı. Marmaray, Metro, Sultanahmet Kazıları*, exhibition coordinator Z. Kızıltan (Istanbul, 2007). The catalogue contains over two hundred artifacts from the exhibition.

9 For the catalogue of this exhibition, see *İstanbul’daki Bizans Sarayları/Byzantine Palaces in Istanbul*, exhibition coordinators R. Asal and T. Akbaytogan, prepared for publication by G. Baran Çelik (Istanbul, 2011). 234 artifacts are presented in this catalogue. The texts are authored by A. Denker, G. Kongaz, G. Baran Çelik, M. Kiraz, S. Öztıpbaş, and Ş. Karagöz, while the catalogue entries are written by A. Denker, G. Baran Çelik, G. Kongaz, H. Koç, S. Öztıpbaş, and Ş. Karagöz.

10 In addition to the posters documenting the excavation site and the ceramic finds, for the book that was published with the support of the Vehbi Koç Foundation on the occasion of the symposium and exhibition, see *Bizanslı Ustalar - Latin Patronlar: Kuşadası Yakınındaki Kadıkalesi Kazıları Işığında Anaia Ticari Üretiminden Yansımalar/Byzantine Craftsmen - Latin Patrons: Reflections from the Anaian Commercial Production in the Light of the Excavations at Kadıkalesi nearby Kuşadası*, ed. Z. Mercangöz (Istanbul, 2013). In this publication, specialists provide detailed information about the production in Kadıkalesi. Especially, the archaeometric evaluations of the ceramics shed light on Byzantine overseas trade.

11 For the catalogue of this impressive exhibition, see *Stories from the Hidden Harbor: Shipwrecks of Yenikapı*, exhibition and publication coordinator Z. Kızıltan (Istanbul, 2013).

12 These photographs, mostly of Byzantine monuments, are of a documentary nature and many of them have been used in major publications. For the catalogue published by Koç University Press, see *Artamonoff: Picturing Byzantine Istanbul, 1930–1947*, ed. G. Varinlioğlu (Istanbul, 2013).

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# PAPERS

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# Introduction

**Paul Magdalino**

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and

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For most of the twentieth century, the economy was the poor relation in Byzantine studies, compared to the study of political, religious, and cultural history. Even as the field of Byzantine economic history developed towards the end of the century, the study of trade was slow to emerge from the shadows of the attention devoted to agriculture and the monetary and fiscal system. There were three interconnected reasons for this: firstly, a lack of documentation; secondly, the “primitivist” model that was applied to pre-capitalist economies, postulating that trade could not have been a major source of wealth in an ancient and medieval society, especially one so conservative as Byzantium; thirdly, the assumption that while Byzantine production expanded, its marketing and distribution were captured by western entrepreneurs, notably the merchant seamen of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa. The archives of these cities provided the evidence, so it followed that their citizens must have monopolized the activity and the profits.

This perspective began to change around 1980, when Nicolas Oikonomides and Angeliki Laiou published pioneering studies of Greek merchant enterprise in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> These two scholars were central to a major paradigm shift that occurred in the 1990s, involving their students and colleagues in Athens and

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<sup>1</sup> N. Oikonomidès, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIIIe-XVe siècles)* (Montreal-Paris, 1979); A. E. Laiou-Thomadakis, “The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System, Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries,” *DOP* 34–35 (1980–1981): 177–222 [repr. in A. E. Laiou, *Gender, Society and Economic Life in Byzantium* (Hampshire-Brookfield, 1992), no. VII]; A. E. Laiou-Thomadakis, “The Greek Merchant of the Palaeologan Period: A Collective Portrait,” *Proceedings of the Academy of Athens* 57 (1982): 96–132 [repr. in Laiou, *Gender, Society and Economic Life*, no. VIII].

Harvard, and their collaborators in Paris. The results became visible with the publication, in 2002, of the *Economic History of Byzantium*, edited by Laiou, and published by Dumbarton Oaks. This three-volume, multi-authored work not only included several chapters on trade and trade-related aspects of the economy; it was also, in its editor's vision and her own contributed chapters, a manifesto for the rehabilitation of the role of trade in Byzantine history.<sup>2</sup> As such, it did for Byzantium what other scholars were already doing for the ancient world. Its impact was reinforced by the almost simultaneous appearance of Michael McCormick's *Origins of the European Economy*, which presented a significant restatement of the Pirenne thesis, to the effect that the economic upsurge of medieval Europe originated not in a shift away from the Mediterranean, but in the Mediterranean interface of Latin Christendom, Byzantium, and the Islamic world.<sup>3</sup>

*The Economic History of Byzantium* still privileged written sources, but it incorporated the recognition that the way forward lay in the analysis of the material evidence provided by archaeology.<sup>4</sup> Archaeological finds, especially ceramics, are a constantly expanding body of data, and as they increase, their interpretation is constantly being refined. This interpretation has been the driving force behind research on Byzantine trade in the twenty-first century, and it gave rise to several events in Byzantine studies, three of which must be mentioned here. The thirty-eighth British spring symposium of Byzantine studies, held at Oxford in March 2004, was devoted to *Byzantine Trade, 4th-12th Centuries: The Archaeology of Local, Regional and International Exchange*; the papers, edited by Marlia Mundell Mango, were published by Ashgate in 2009. The 2008 Dumbarton Oaks symposium was convened by Angeliki Laiou and Cécile Morrisson, who had just published a joint monograph on *The Byzantine Economy*,<sup>5</sup> with the theme of *Trade and Markets in Byzantium*. Sadly, only Cécile Morrisson survived to edit the proceedings, which appeared in 2012 in the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia series. Last but hopefully not least, the present volume on *Trade in Byzantium* is the outcome of the Third International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, held in Istanbul in June 2013.<sup>6</sup>

2 For its chapters on trade, see esp. A. E. Laiou, "Economic and Noneconomic Exchange," *EHB* 2:681–96; eadem, "Exchange and Trade, Seventh–Twelfth Centuries," *EHB* 2:697–770; K.-P. Matschke, "Commerce, Trade, Markets, and Money: Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries," *EHB* 2:771–806; O. Maridaki-Karatza, "Legal Aspects of the Financing of Trade," *EHB* 3:1105–120.

3 McCormick, *Origins*, published in 2001.

4 For its chapters based on archaeological evidence, see V. François and J.-M. Spieser, "Pottery and Glass in Byzantium," *EHB* 2:593–609; C. Entwistle, "Byzantine Weights," *EHB* 2:611–14; F. van Doorninck, Jr., "Byzantine Shipwrecks," *EHB* 2:899–905; and the case studies on Anemourion (J. Russell), Sardis (C. Foss and J. A. Scott), Pergamon (K. Rheidt), Thebes (A. Louvi-Kizi), Athens (M. Kazanaki-Lappa), Corinth (G. D. R. Sanders, V. Penna), Kherson (A. Bortoli and M. Kazanski), Preslav (I. Jordanov), Tŭrnovo (K. Dochev), *EHB* 1:chap. 13, 2:chaps. 26–34.

5 A. E. Laiou and C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* (Cambridge-New York, 2007).

6 Between the Oxford and Dumbarton Oaks symposia, another trade-related conference, entitled "Commodities and Traffic Routes: Aspects of Supply and Accommodation in the Eastern Mediterranean (4th–15th Centuries)," was held in 2005 in Vienna. For its proceedings, see *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert)*, ed. E. Kislinger, J. Koder, and A. Külzer (Vienna, 2010).

Archaeological evidence is basic to most of the papers in the Oxford symposium volume, and most are concerned with pottery in one way or another. Other products discussed are wine, glass, ivory and bone, *materia medica*, mosaic tesserae, tin, silver and copperware. The technology of transport is considered in papers on maps, ships, and shipwrecks. While the eastern Mediterranean is the focus of attention, there are papers that range beyond, to Britain, Bulgaria, Russia, the northern Black Sea, the Red Sea, Ethiopia, Mesopotamia, and China. Consideration of the agents of trade, however, is limited to a paper on Venetian commercial expansion, and only one contribution, on the archaeology of Skythopolis, looks at the evidence for commercial space.

The *realia* of the marketplace receive more extensive and detailed attention in the Dumbarton Oaks volume, especially in three papers towards the end, which are devoted to buildings, equipment, weights and measures. Otherwise, the focus of the volume is not so much on centers of exchange as on the networks that connected them; the trade in individual products is not a subject of special discussion. There is a consistent concern to identify regional and interregional networks, and the geographical coverage is clear: on the one hand, the core Byzantine territories of the Balkans and Asia Minor; on the other hand, the "neighboring worlds" of Italy, the Adriatic, Syria and Palestine. Periodization is similarly explicit, with a fairly clear distinction maintained between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Apart from one paper on Byzantine ceramics, however, the individual topics are theme-based rather than evidence-based. Most contributors combine textual and material evidence, sometimes with impressive sophistication. In particular, Michael McCormick's discussion of shipwrecks and amphorae may be cited as a model of a historian's use of archaeological data. The methodological value of the volume is well brought out in Cécile Morrisson's introduction, which readers of these pages can profitably read as a preparation for the issues raised by the articles in the present collection.

*Trade in Byzantium* goes beyond the Oxford and Dumbarton Oaks volumes in several ways. It pays some attention to the invisibility of the native Byzantine merchants who operated before and alongside the privileged Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese; thus two contributors profile two groups for whom there is a little evidence: the merchant shipowners (*naukleroi*) of the seventh to ninth centuries (Magdalino), and the monasteries of Patmos and Mt. Athos in the tenth to twelfth centuries (Kaplan). A recurring theme is the omnipresence of state regulation, intervention, and control. As three of the opening papers make clear, it is revealing how much of our evidence for Byzantine trade comes from legal and administrative sources, which illustrate the workings of an elaborate bureaucracy (Sarris, Cheynet, and Smyrlis). Official regulation affected not only the marketing of high-status, luxury items, but also the traffic in unglamorous basic commodities, such as those that are put on the commercial map by three of the contributors: salt, wood, and slaves (Koder, Morrisson, and Rotman). Two papers are devoted to the mapping and interpretation of ceramics (François and Vroom).

As befits the proceedings of a symposium held in Istanbul, there is a strong geographical concentration on the territory of modern Turkey. The centrality of Constantinople is reflected in papers on the local merchants and marketplace (Magdalino and Pitarakis), on the accommodation of visiting Muslim traders (Ağır), and on the role of the city in long-distance transit trade (Jacoby). Seven articles are devoted to areas and aspects of trade in late medieval Anatolia that were not covered by the Oxford and Dumbarton Oaks symposia. Three of them explore the trade routes of the Aegean coast and its hinterland, along with the continuing commercial importance of Ephesos (Kahyaoğlu, Külzer, and Dalanay); another three look at the commercial economy of the late Byzantine successor states of Nicaea and Trebizond (Turnator, Akışık-Karakullukçu, and Keçiş). Connecting the two groups is an article that studies the construction of caravanserais in the thirteenth-century Seljuk Sultanate of Konya in the context of interregional trade with the Byzantine areas of Asia Minor (Redford).

Apart from these new insights and highlights in the reading of textual and ceramic evidence, the principal novelty of this volume lies in its presentation of new data on Byzantine ships and harbors from recent investigations by Turkish archaeologists. Pride of place naturally goes to the discoveries from the excavations at Yenikapı in Istanbul, which unearthed the greater part of the largest Byzantine port construction at Constantinople, the harbor of Theodosios. One paper describes the thirty-seven late antique and early medieval ships whose wrecks were found buried in the silt and sand (Kocabaş et al.), while another focuses on four ships that sank with their cargoes and describes their contents (Polat). Other papers present different categories of small finds: amphorae, lead seals, and fibulae (Günsenin, Bulgurlu, and Baran Çelik).

The importance of Yenikapı and its spectacular concentration of finds should not obscure the interest of other coastal sites that can yield equally informative material for the patterns of Byzantine trade outside Constantinople. An indication of what they have to offer is provided by the last three papers, which document the commercial vitality of the sea route that followed the Aegean and Mediterranean coast of Asia Minor, linking Constantinople with the Levant. One paper analyzes the ceramic cargo of a ship that sank off the coast of Lycia (Doğer and Özdaş). The other two present the harbor and commercial installations that have come to light in two ancient sites, Andriake (the port of Myra) and Olympos, where the coastal route intersected with the river valleys leading into the Lycian hinterland (Akyürek and Olcay Uçkan).

As the third major conference volume dedicated to Byzantine commerce, *Trade in Byzantium* fills a number of gaps, and, we dare to believe, nicely complements its British and American predecessors. It brings some new scholars on board, raises some neglected issues, and presents some new evidence with a Turkish twist. It cannot claim to be comprehensive in itself, or even to put the cap on a comprehensive, cumulative enterprise. The study of Byzantine trade, rather like the study of the late antique and Byzantine city, is an expanding business, which will generate many more conferences and collaborative volumes, not to mention monographs, before it runs its course. It is just our modest hope that we have helped to shape the agenda for the next and not too distant event.

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**COMMERCE  
AND  
CONTROL**

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# Merchants, Trade, and Commerce in Byzantine Law from Justinian I to Basil II

Peter Sarris

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The subject of the regulation of trade in the late Roman and Byzantine empires as revealed by the legal sources has received considerable attention on the part of historians of Byzantium, and has done much to inform (now largely side-lined) approaches to the study of the empire emphasizing the role of the state in controlling the “commanding heights” of the Byzantine economy through the manipulation, for example, of state supervised monopolies.<sup>1</sup> Such regulation and manipulation were a genuine feature of Byzantine economic life: they were the subject of bitter complaints in the sixth century by the historian Procopius, and were set out in detail in the late ninth or early tenth centuries in the Macedonian *Book of the Eparch (To Eparchikon Biblion)*.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, however, the legal sources reveal much information that has often been overlooked concerning the circumstances and extent of trade beyond the purview of the state, and in particular, the ways in which Byzantine merchants, traders, and aristocrats (as well as emperors) were able to invert, subvert, and reshape elements of the inherited Roman law tradition to serve their own —highly commercialized— economic interests. It is the latter topic that this paper addresses, drawing upon my long standing interest in Byzantine economic and legal history, as well as the work on Byzantine law of my doctoral students Michael Humphreys (examining the legislation of the Isaurian emperors) and Alyssa Bandow (working on legal evidence for merchants).<sup>3</sup>

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1 For the role of the state, see most recently P. Sarris, “Integration and Disintegration in the Late Roman Economy: The Role of Markets, Emperors, and Aristocrats,” in *Local Economies? Production and Exchange of Inland Regions in Late Antiquity*, ed. L. Lavan (Leiden, 2013) [= *Late Antique Archaeology* 10], 153–74.

2 Procopius, *Anecdota XX*; *Τὸ ἐπαρχικὸν βιβλίον*, ed. T. G. Kolias (Athens, 2010).

3 P. Sarris, “Law and Custom in the Byzantine Countryside from Justinian I to Basil II,” in *Law, Custom, and Justice in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. A. Rio (London, 2011), 49–62; M. T. G. Humphreys, *Law, Power, and Imperial Ideology in the Iconoclast Era* (Oxford, 2014); A. Bandow, *Traders and Merchants in Early Byzantium: Evidence from Codified and Customary Law from the Fourth to Tenth Centuries* (Ph.D. diss.,

Byzantine merchants, traders, and aristocrats might not, at first sight, seem like natural bedfellows, but it is important to bear in mind, when studying Byzantine law from an economic perspective, that the Byzantine legal tradition, in the form in which we have access to it today, primarily took shape and was codified firstly under the emperor Theodosius II, and then under the emperor Justinian, at the end of the late antique Eastern Empire's long wave of economic expansion (that stretched back to the fourth century) and at the height of Byzantine economic development, when cities were at their most flourishing, population levels (even in marginal zones such as the Syrian limestone massif or at the edge of the Negev desert) were at their most dense, and when networks of commercialized and monetized exchange were at their most buoyant. Crucially, as Jairus Banaji and I have repeatedly emphasized, this era of economic expansion was associated with, and was, to some extent, the result of, two distinct processes. Firstly, the bureaucratic expansion of the Roman state, from the age of the soldier emperors of the late third century onwards, had sparked off a dynamic process of elite formation across the Mediterranean world as a whole, whereby elements from among the ranks of the dominant elites of the city councils of the provinces were drawn into and prospered from the new career paths that were opened up to them in the civil and military bureaucracy, entering into a new relationship with the central imperial government. Members of this new imperial aristocracy of service progressively won mastery of local landed society, forcing aside their social competitors (as described, for example, for the region around Antioch by Libanius and John Chrysostom), and accumulating growing reserves of land.<sup>4</sup>

Secondly, this process of elite formation, and the associated re-configuration of agrarian social relations, coincided with the recasting of the monetary structures of the empire. The minting and increasingly widespread dissemination of the gold *solidus* from the reign of Constantine onwards progressively served to transform monetary conditions in the empire, allowing for a re-monetization of the fiscal system and a growing monetization of the economy at large.<sup>5</sup> This phenomenon acquired a momentum of its own, such that the dramatic expansion in commercialized and monetized exchange that can be seen to have occurred at every level of society obliged the imperial government to release ever more coinage into circulation, so as to bolster and sustain the liquidity of both the public and private economies. New coinage had to be repeatedly added to the old (which remained legal tender). So, for example, it has been estimated that, between the years 346 and 386, the amount of monetized gold in circulation may have increased by a factor of twenty.<sup>6</sup>

Crucially, by virtue of the posts which they held in the imperial government, members of the late antique aristocracy of service had privileged access to this new gold currency, and were able to exploit that privileged access as a weapon of social

domination, using it to buy up further landholdings from their neighbors or to draw cash-hungry peasants and others into their webs of patronage through offering them credit. As the anonymous author of the *De Rebus Bellicis* would declare of the consequences of the new gold currency: "this store of gold meant that houses of the powerful were crammed full and their splendor enhanced to the destruction of the poor."<sup>7</sup> Indeed, in the reign of Constantius II, the imperial government can be seen to have expressly facilitated the process whereby members of this new aristocracy were able to exchange monetary wealth for landed wealth by releasing to auction on the open market extensive estates that had formerly belonged to provincial city councils which had been transferred to the imperial household or *domus divina*.<sup>8</sup> We witness, in short, a sort of mass privatization creating a new class of imperial oligarchs (after a manner reminiscent of post-Soviet Russia). As Ammianus Marcellinus put, "if Constantine was the first to open the jaws of his favorites, it was Constantius who stuffed them with the marrow of the provinces."<sup>9</sup>

Importantly, and as Jairus Banaji and I have again emphasized, members of this new imperial aristocracy of service took advantage of the new monetary conditions resultant from the minting and dissemination of the Constantinian *solidus* to introduce highly commercialized forms of agriculture on their expanding estates, such as we find recorded in the Egyptian papyri.<sup>10</sup> The result of this was that early Byzantine landowners, and especially members of the early Byzantine aristocracy of service, were deeply implicated and involved in networks of commercialized exchange at the point when early Byzantine law was being codified. Consequently, their interests, voices, and concerns are often discernible through the legal evidence. Considerable commercial drive on the part of landowners, for example, is suggested by imperial legislation on the *collatio lustralis*, or tax on mercantile profits, contained in the fifth-century Theodosian Code. Interestingly, these laws sought, *inter alia* to regulate the activities of merchants attached to aristocratic households, seemingly with a view to marketing the produce of their estates. Such arrangements would have enabled landowners to profit from trade whilst off-loading the risk of commercial transactions onto the shoulders of the merchant. This legislation takes it entirely for granted that landowners should wish to sell the produce of their estates for profit at market, and expressly exempts from the tax those who were selling the produce of their own estates (perhaps in response to pressure from landowning interests in Constantinople). As a constitution of 364 declares: "A special plea shall defend only those persons who are recognized as engaged in business (*negotiantes*) on their own estates, and through themselves or through their men, and such persons should be considered not so much in the category of merchants as of skilled and zealous masters."<sup>11</sup> Commodification of estate production, we should note, was what made for a skillful *dominus* in the fifth century.

Cambridge University, 2013).

<sup>4</sup> P. Sarris, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2006).

<sup>5</sup> J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 2007).

<sup>6</sup> J. Banaji, "Precious-metal Coinages and Monetary Expansion in Late Antiquity," in *Dal denarius al dinar: l'oriente e la moneta Romana*, ed. F. De Romanis and S. Sorda (Rome, 2006), 265–303.

<sup>7</sup> Anonymous, *De Rebus Bellicis* 2.1–2.

<sup>8</sup> See *Codex Theodosianus* 5.13.1.

<sup>9</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 16.18.12.

<sup>10</sup> Sarris, *Economy and Society*; Banaji, *Agrarian Change*.

<sup>11</sup> *Codex Theodosianus* 13.6.1.

Such commodification of production on estates was clearly a feature of life which the imperial government was happy to facilitate, and, indeed, it was a feature of the economy upon which the increasingly monetized fiscal system rather depended. However, insofar as the drawing of merchants onto estates made it easier for such traders to evade those taxes to which they remained liable, or threatened to undermine the supply of goods to cities, it was inevitable that the imperial government was periodically obliged to express some measure of concern. A constitution concerning merchants issued in the 440s, for example, ordained that “secret trade shall no longer make the merchant (*negotiator*) rare in the famous cities and ... crowds of merchants shall not be hidden in obscure and sequestered places (*obscuris ac reconditis locis*).”<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the law continues, “all persons who have avoided the cities and are practicing the business of trade throughout the villages and the very many ports and various estates (*per vicis portusque quamplures possessionesque*) shall ... be compelled to assume the tax payable in gold.” As ever, it was only when aristocratic ambitions and activities impinged upon the effective workings of the fiscal system that emperors expressed concern.

Turning from the world of the *Codex Theodosianus* and associated texts to the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* of Justinian, the legal sources again reveal much concerning both the conditions and incidentals of trade in the Byzantine economy, and the role of both the imperial government and aristocratic households in facilitating and (occasionally) limiting such trade. One point which is important to note is that the Justinianic codification makes it quite clear that it was regarded as perfectly commonplace for those employed in governmental and military service to also be engaged in commercial activities. A law contained in the *Codex Iustinianus*, for example, makes it clear that members of the military who wished to involve themselves in commerce (*militariae personae ... commercii voluerint interesse*) and who were granted permission to do so would not be exempted from a 12.5 percent import tax.<sup>13</sup> Another law declared that the requirement to answer the summons of provincial rector “also applies to those who have received imperial permission to engage in trade while in imperial service (*qui mercandi et militandi sacra beneficia meruerunt*).”<sup>14</sup> Full-time or unlicensed involvement in trade, however, was forbidden to the military.<sup>15</sup>

One could imagine circumstances, of course, in which the involvement of imperial and military officials in trade may have been extremely helpful to the government in terms of the procuring of goods and supplies: one is reminded of the role in the middle Byzantine period of the *kommerkiarios*, who emerges in the seventh and eighth centuries as a sort of general requisitioning agent involved in market transactions.<sup>16</sup> There was

<sup>12</sup> *Novellae Valentiniani* 24.

<sup>13</sup> *Codex Iustinianus* 4.61.7.

<sup>14</sup> *Codex Iustinianus* 3.25.1.2.

<sup>15</sup> *Codex Iustinianus* 12.35.15.

<sup>16</sup> See discussion in L. Brubaker and J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era c.680-850: A History* (Cambridge, 2011).

always a danger, however, that officially procured goods and supplies could be the subject of speculation and end up on what was evidently a flourishing black market. So, for example, the *Codex Iustinianus* describes the siphoning off of state grain onto the black market, in such a way as threatened to undermine both imperial supplies, and the compulsory purchase of surplus grain by communities of taxpayers.<sup>17</sup> As the law declares: “since it is said that the grain belonging to the public treasury is sometimes sold in various regions, the sellers and purchasers must know that they will be visited with capital punishment and their commercial contracts will be declared void.” The law further decreed, “lest grain, which is sent to the devoted army be turned to prey and gain, we direct ... that any persons trading in it will, if of high social standing, be banished, and if of low and servile station, suffer capital punishment.”

These reference to those of high social standing engaged in the illicit trade of state grain again alerts one to the role of landowners, who would have been responsible for contributing much of the grain on which the state and army depended. We should also note in this context that, as with the fifth-century legislation already discussed, the *Codex Iustinianus* alludes to the existence of licensed fairs on private estates, which would have enabled estate workers and employees to engage in commerce, consumption, and exchange, without escaping the landowner’s power by going to markets beyond his control.<sup>18</sup> Again, the *Codex* records merchants attached to the households of the powerful, and, indeed, imperial estates, who were to pay the taxes to which they were liable, and, again were not to harm the interests of cities by denying them supplies or refusing to sell goods to the poor.<sup>19</sup> The crucial interstitial role of merchants in merchandising estate produce in the context of a highly commercialized agrarian economy appears, therefore, to be confirmed, as too is the role of landowners in supporting broader patterns of commercialization.

Nor, we should note, was aristocratic stimulus and support of trade in the early Byzantine period limited to investment in the agricultural sector. The Oxyrhynchus papyri, for example, record the great landowning Apion family in the sixth century to have owned shops and warehouses in the city of Oxyrhynchus, which were put out on lease.<sup>20</sup> But most significantly, we should think of our early Byzantine aristocrats acting as a major source of not only what we might think of as “seigneurial,” but also of “mercantile” credit.<sup>21</sup> Certainly, the financing of trade, and especially maritime trade, and the assignment of risk associated therewith, was a major pre-occupation of our early and middle Byzantine legislators and legal scholars. It is a significant theme, for example, in the *Digest* of Justinian and the Rhodian Sea Law as codified in the eighth century,

<sup>17</sup> *Codex Iustinianus* 4.40.4.

<sup>18</sup> *Codex Iustinianus* 4.60.1.

<sup>19</sup> *Codex Iustinianus* 4.63.1 and 4.63.3.

<sup>20</sup> P.Oxy. LV 3805.

<sup>21</sup> Discussed in P. Sarris, “The Early Byzantine Economy in Context: Aristocratic Property and Economic Growth Reconsidered,” *Early Medieval Europe* 19 (2011): 255–84.

which served to complement and expand the Rhodian Sea Law on Jettison and the other inherited Justinianic materials.<sup>22</sup> The Justinianic laws on usury sought to balance moral concerns with economic practicalities and a realistic assessment of risk.<sup>23</sup> So, for example, a general law contained in the *Codex* concerning permitted levels of interest declared that *illustres* or those of higher rank were only allowed to charge interest of four percent “in any contract small or great;” shop managers and other businessmen were limited to eight percent, and maritime loans capped at twelve percent (12.5 percent). The statute stipulated that all other people were able to charge up to six percent.<sup>24</sup> A later law limited loans from bankers to eight percent, whilst a further Justinianic constitution limited the global payment of interest to double the amount initially advanced.<sup>25</sup> In a significant concession to landowners, Justinian permitted loans to be made to agricultural workers and farmers in either coin or kind at a remarkably high rate of 12.5 percent, although such loans were unsecured and could not be claimed back in the form of any land that the peasant owned.<sup>26</sup> As Bandow has noted, we must take into account the fact that most of those governed by such statutes were not primarily money-lenders as such, but rather various other personages who might have lent money in addition to other business ventures or interests, and in spite of the four percent cap, landowners and landowning institutions are likely to have been at the forefront of such practices.<sup>27</sup> At the same time, the legal sources reveal those engaged in the financing of maritime trade to have lobbied the imperial government to frame legislation in their interests, codifying practices which they asserted to be customary.<sup>28</sup>

Money-lending on the part of aristocrats and their households is frequently referred to in the extant documentary record, as also in the testimony of our contemporary narrative sources: the papyri reveal, for example, that in the late sixth century the Oxyrhynchite aristocrat Flavia Christodote was owed a full 61 pounds of gold by an Alexandrian banker against whom she threatened legal proceedings.<sup>29</sup> John the Lydian records that the emperor Anastasius intervened to write off the debts owed by one Constantinopolitan senator to another, “a non-cancelable contract in gold specie amounting to a thousand pounds of gold.”<sup>30</sup> The lending of money by aristocrats to bankers, such as we see in the Flavia Christodote episode, is particularly interesting, as it may have allowed members of the upper classes to circumvent the limitations placed on the rates at which they were able to lend. The lady concerned might have been lending to a banker, with a view to his lending out the money at a still higher rate, from which she

22 *Digest* 4.9; Humphreys, *Law, Power, and Imperial Ideology*, chap. 4.

23 As discussed by Bandow, *Traders and Merchants*, 115-16.

24 *Codex Iustinianus* 4. 32. 26 1-2.

25 *J.Nov.* 135 and 121.

26 *J.Nov.* 32.

27 Bandow, *Traders and Merchants*.

28 *J.Nov.*106: a law the emperor repealed one year later in *J.Nov.* 110.

29 *PSI* 76.

30 John Lydus, *De Magistratibus* III 48.

may have hoped to take an additional cut. Again, we should note that there were bankers (*trapezitai*) attached to the Apion household in Oxyrhynchus in the sixth century.<sup>31</sup> By attaching merchants and bankers to their households, early Byzantine aristocrats could profit from trade, commerce, and credit, without being seen to have got their hands dirty in what could still be regarded as a socially suspect area of activity, and just as we are informed (by the *Life of John the Almsgiver*) that the Patriarchate of Alexandria in the seventh century financed a merchant fleet engaged in long-distance trade, so too might we imagine our great aristocratic households in late antiquity to have done the same.<sup>32</sup>

Certainly, it should be noted that early Byzantine aristocrats can be seen to have been determined to publicly assert their rights when their creditors defaulted: P.Oxy LXIII 4397, for example, records how a landowner from the middle Egyptian city of Oxyrhynchus by the name of Diogenes, when finding himself short of funds in Constantinople in the early sixth century, had borrowed 130 *solidi* from the agent of an Oxyrhynchite monastery who was also in the city, offering as security on the loan title to a piece of prime agricultural land in the distant Oxyrhynchite. Diogenes then died without repaying this sum. Accordingly, the papyrus records, the monastery had sought to claim ownership of the land, only to find that, prior to his dealings with the monastic agent, Diogenes had already borrowed money from the aristocratic Apion household on surety of exactly the same landholding. Accordingly, the Apion family asserted the priority of its legal claim and obtained ownership of the mortgaged land. Neither issues of respectability or piety were allowed to stand in their way (although the monastery did eventually receive an *ex gratia* donation by way of compensation).<sup>33</sup>

The Justinianic regulations with respect to rates of interest on loans remained current into the middle Byzantine period, when Basil I (867-886) forbade any interest to be levied on loans whatsoever, but this measure was soon repealed by his son and successor Leo VI, who imposed a cap of four percent per annum on all transactions, a flat rate which would have served to disproportionately advantage the cash rich, and those for whom money-lending was only one in a range of areas of economic activity.<sup>34</sup> Foremost amongst these, again, may have been middle Byzantine aristocrats. Members of the middle Byzantine aristocracy, or at least those with interests in Constantinople, would appear to have been every bit as keen to engage in and profit from trade and commerce as their late antique analogues, and the extensive networks of aristocratic properties preserved in aspic in the Constantinopolitan *typika* are testimony to the extent and diversity of their economic interests.<sup>35</sup> The similarities in economic conditions

31 Sarris, *Economy and Society*, 77.

32 G. R. Monks, “The Church of Alexandria and the City’s Economic Life in the Sixth Century,” *Speculum* 28 (1953): 349-62.

33 P.Oxy. LXIII 4397.

34 E. H. Freshfield, *Roman Law in the Later Roman Empire: Byzantine Guilds, Professional and Commercial* (Cambridge, 1938), 13.

35 See P. Magdalino, *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot, 2007), nos. II, III, and IX; P. Sarris, “Large Estates and the Peasantry in Byzantium c. 600-1100,” *RBPB* 90 (2012): 29-50.

between the middle Byzantine Empire of the tenth and eleventh centuries and that of the early Byzantine Empire is brought home by the legal sources. So, for example, the late antique legislation seeking to prohibit, regulate, or curtail the holding of fairs on estates frequented by merchants is replicated in Basil II's legislation of 996 against the *dynatoi*.<sup>36</sup> We should also note, however, that in both the early and later periods, Byzantine aristocrats, as members of an essentially palatine aristocracy, tended to invest the profits of trade in the purchase of office and in social advancement. This stands in contrast to their Venetian or Ragusan (or, indeed, Abbasid) analogues, who tended to invest the proceeds of trade back into trade itself. As Philip de Diversis noted of Ragusan nobles in the fifteenth century, in Ragusa "fathers bring up their sons in commerce just as soon as they grow their fingernails... It seems ... that [Ragusan] nobles believe that happiness consists of wealth, and virtue in its acquisition and easy accumulation."<sup>37</sup>

Historians of Byzantium sometimes take a rather pessimistic view of the impact of the state on the fortunes of the Byzantine economy. This is often due to anachronistic (and sometimes politically charged) visions of Byzantium as a command economy or *dirigiste* state in which economic activity in general —and trading activity in particular— was controlled by the imperial government. A close reading of sources such as the *Book of the Eparch* reveals, however, that this was clearly not the case, and that for much of its history, Byzantium was locked into a vibrant and buoyant commercial economy, such as we find recorded, for example, across the Mediterranean as a whole in the Cairo Genizah documents.<sup>38</sup> Byzantine-Roman law is likely to have played an important role in facilitating such commerce, not least by furnishing a rich body of contract law with which to frame and describe commercial relations. In terms of maritime trade in particular, it is a striking fact that the resolutely pragmatic Rhodian Sea Law (codified, as we shall see, in the Isaurian period) was to prove to be one of the most popular works of Byzantine legislation: as Michael Humphreys has pointed out, all or parts of it are found in more than fifty manuscripts across the centuries and across the Mediterranean. As Humphreys has put it, "clearly the *Nomos Nautikos* was a remarkably successful work, repeatedly invoked for centuries."<sup>39</sup> Indeed, the very complexity of Romano-Byzantine commercial law is amongst the best evidence we have for the sophistication and complexity of the Byzantine commercial economy. As David Johnston has suggested, it seems unlikely that Roman (and, we might infer, Byzantine) jurists and legislators "would have developed

36 N. Svoronos, *Les nouvelles des empereurs Macédoniens concernant la terre et les stratiotes* (Athens, 1994), 216–17.

37 Cited in R. Harris, *Dubrovnik: A History* (London, 2003), 185. I owe this point (with respect to Venice) to John Haldon. On the Abbasids, see H. Kennedy, "The Feeding of the Five Hundred Thousand: Cities and Agriculture in Early Islamic Mesopotamia," *Iraq* 73 (2011): 177–99. For commercial drive on the part of late Byzantine aristocrats, see D. Jacoby, "Rural Exploitation and Rural Economy in the Late Medieval Peloponnese," in *Viewing the Morea: Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese*, ed. S. E. J. Gerstel (Washington, D.C., 2013), 313–76.

38 For a more nuanced reading of the *Book of the Eparch*, see Bandow, *Traders and Merchants*, 161–99; S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* (Berkeley, 1967–93).

39 Humphreys, *Law, Power, and Imperial Ideology*, chap. 4; Bandow, *Traders and Merchants*, 137–60.

structures and rules of such sophistication if their economy went little beyond exchange for purposes of subsistence."<sup>40</sup>

Yet other elements of Byzantine-Roman law were perhaps rather less conducive to the interests and ambitions of traders and commercially-inclined aristocrats. Until the tenth century, for example, Roman law was in many ways remarkably lacking in precision when it came to questions of ownership, and the distinction between ownership (*dominium*) and control (*possessio*) was blurred.<sup>41</sup> Likewise, Roman law never really developed a full-blown concept of agency. This was because Roman law always had difficulty with the concept of an agreement being made between two parties via a third. Strictly speaking, if the contract broke down, only the third party could be sued.<sup>42</sup> Nor did Roman law facilitate the dynastic or familial ambitions of the covetous. By banning the leaving of property by will to "unknown persons" (*incertae personae*), it effectively made it impossible, strictly speaking, to leave property to one's descendants in perpetuity.<sup>43</sup> If we were to go down the path of the "New Institutional Economics" and its variants, we might have expected these features of the inherited legal system to have left their mark on both commerce and society.

At the end of the day, however, people arguably shape legal practice more than legal practice shapes people, and Byzantine traders, aristocrats, and testators were always able to find ways around the "black letter" of the law, or were able to inflect and reshape the Roman law tradition to serve their interests. As Maniatis has demonstrated, for example, in the Macedonian revival of Roman law, which in many ways served to advance aristocratic interests, the tension between concepts of *dominium* and *possessio* was finally resolved.<sup>44</sup> Likewise, the documentary evidence reveals that the economically active were more than capable of finding their way around the problems caused by the absence of a clear-cut concept of agency (even in spite of the post-classical development of the *actio institoria*). For whilst, in Roman law, person A could not form a contract with person B for which he was liable through the services of person C, he could form such a contract if the middle-man (person C) was someone who did not possess legal standing or personality of his own, such as a slave. This produced a natural tendency to use slaves as agents, but above all, it produced a tendency to draft legal contracts *as if* the contract concerned had been agreed through a slave. In the Oxyrhynchus papyri concerned with the Apion estates, for example, we find over a period of about a century contracts described as having been agreed between the Apion household and others "through Menas the slave."<sup>45</sup> Menas almost certainly did not exist, but was rather a legal

40 D. Johnston, *Roman Law in Context* (Cambridge, 1999), 111.

41 *Ibid.*, 53–76.

42 B. Nicholas, *An Introduction to Roman Law* (Oxford, 1962), 201.

43 D. Johnston, *The Roman Law of Trusts* (Oxford, 1988).

44 G. Maniatis, "Rural Easements and the Concept of Free Property Ownership in Byzantium," *BSL* 65 (2007): 129–42 and 136–37.

45 See, for example, P.Oxy. XVI 1984 (dating from 523) and P.Oxy. LVIII 3959 (dating from 620).

fiction contrived to overcome the civil law doctrine of privity of contract.<sup>46</sup> There is no reason at all why later Byzantine merchants, traders, and landowners should not have been equally creative when it came to manipulating the inherited Roman law tradition to serve their needs. Necessity, after all, is the mother of invention.

Certainly, elite economic interests and legal creativity can be seen to have gone hand-in-hand when it came to the dynastic ambitions of Byzantine testators. As Stolte, amongst others, has noted, for example, one of the crucial ways in which Christian Roman emperors in late antiquity had advanced the material interests of the Church, and facilitated its emergence as a great institutional landowner, had been by insisting on the strictly inalienable character of Church property—as most forcefully enunciated, for example, with respect to the Great Church of Constantinople in a law of Leo and Anthemios dating from 470.<sup>47</sup> Church property inherited the status of the pagan *res sacrae* of Roman law, which was strictly *extra commercium*: it could not be bought or sold. The Church was thus constantly amassing property through benefaction, purchase, and gift, whilst being prohibited from divesting itself of property. Moreover, emperors sought to prevent ecclesiastical property from coming under private control by insisting that it was *res nullius*—it could belong to no man. Instead, monasteries and churches as individual institutions were granted legal personality of their own.<sup>48</sup>

It was, of course, as both Thomas and Morris have emphasized, to a great extent by virtue of private donations and private benefactions by individuals and individual families that the Church came to become so great a landowner in Byzantine society.<sup>49</sup> Such donors, naturally, were often motivated by primarily spiritual concerns and with a view to the afterlife. As Clement of Alexandria had declared to a hypothetical rich man in the second century, “what a beautiful deal to buy eternal incorruption with perishable cash!”<sup>50</sup> But what was good for the soul in the life to come could also bring material benefits in this life. For although ecclesiastical property, as we have seen, was *res nullius*—it belonged to no man—from an early date donors do appear to have been able to assert economic interests in the institutions that they founded or in which they invested and, crucially, to bequeath such interests to their heirs. So, for example, in his *De Magistratibus*, John Lydus records how a certain Eliamus, who had endowed a church near Pessinus in Galatia with twenty pounds of gold for the support of the attending clergy, derived from the yield on that sum an income of 80 *solidi* a year, or a 5.5 percent annual return on the principal.<sup>51</sup> This arrangement is reminiscent of the perpetual

<sup>46</sup> Sarris, *Economy and Society*, 161.

<sup>47</sup> *Codex Iustinianus* 1.2.14. As emended by Justinian.

<sup>48</sup> B. Stolte, “Law for Founders,” in *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, ed. M. Mullett (Belfast, 2007), 123–39.

<sup>49</sup> J. P. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987); R. Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843–1118* (Cambridge, 1995).

<sup>50</sup> Clement of Alexandria, “The Rich Man’s Salvation,” chap. 32, in *Clement of Alexandria*, trans. G. W. Butterworth (Cambridge, Mass., 1919), 338–39.

<sup>51</sup> John Lydus, *De Magistratibus* III.74.

claim to a share of any surplus furnished by the monastery and *ptochotropheion* that he founded in Constantinople that Michael Attaleiates would bequeath to his heirs in the eleventh century. According to his *diataxis*, the profits of this foundation were to be shared between the foundation and his heirs, who were to receive two thirds of them.<sup>52</sup>

Now, the monastery founded by Michael Attaleiates was not a large one, and the profits so divided are unlikely to have been terribly substantial, but that, perhaps is to miss the point, for there were clear material and dynastic advantages for Michael Attaleiates and his heirs in doing what he did. The fact that ecclesiastical property was formally speaking *res nullius*—that it could belong to no man—and thus that religious institutions such as monasteries accordingly had to be granted legal personality of their own, was itself something that legally-informed Byzantine benefactors and testators could turn to their advantage. Throughout the history of the empire, Byzantine aristocrats and landowners displayed what was perhaps a natural tendency to wish to ensure the survival and future prosperity of their progeny. In Europe in the Early Modern period, great families would seek to ensure the future prosperity of their descendants through the device of perpetual entail, and, indeed, in late antiquity, as David Johnston has revealed, families can be seen to have sought to take advantage of the legal instrument of the *fideicommissum* to achieve the same result, appending fideicommissary settlements to their wills forbidding heirs from alienating land outside the family.<sup>53</sup> By the early sixth century, as I have argued elsewhere, this practice was sufficiently widespread that Justinian felt obliged to legislate against it, so as to uphold the spirit of the traditional civil law injunction forbidding hereditary dispensations in favor of unknown persons (*incertae personae*) and ultimately placing a four-generational limitation upon fideicommissary settlements.<sup>54</sup> But by embedding their own economic interests and registering those of their heirs and descendants in the foundation *typika* of monasteries and other private religious institutions, Byzantine testators were able to circumvent the four-generational limit that Justinian had placed on *fideicommissa*, and achieve a form of perpetual entail under cover of pious donation, harnessing the legal personality of the monastery or church to seek to ensure the future prosperity and cohesion of their household and kin. This is the closest Roman-Byzantine law was able to get to a “trust fund.” It was with good reason that, in his great attack on magnate interests, Nikephoros Phokas in 964 would seek to ban the *dynatoi* from founding new monasteries (an act later repealed by Basil II).<sup>55</sup>

Significantly, such legal creativity was also evident on the part of middle Byzantine legislators. As Michael Humphreys has recently emphasized, Roman law as it was transmitted into the middle Byzantine period was not simply an ossified inheritance of antiquity. Rather, it was a system which medieval Roman legislators (as well as their subjects) moulded for their own purposes—especially economic. Thus, for example,

<sup>52</sup> P. Gautier, “La *diataxis* de Michel Attaliate,” *REB* 39 (1981): 17–129.

<sup>53</sup> Johnston, *The Roman Law of Trusts*, esp. 250–54.

<sup>54</sup> Sarris, *Economy and Society*, 194–95.

<sup>55</sup> Svoronos, *Les nouvelles des empereurs Macédoniens*, 160–61.

one of the most thinly covered areas of classical Roman law had been that relating to maritime affairs. A complex system of public law had been developed to regulate the *annona* to Rome and Constantinople, but such laws largely ceased to be relevant after the loss of Egypt in the early seventh century.<sup>56</sup> Rather, maritime law had essentially become the preserve of a combination of private law and customary law, of which a good example is the Rhodian Law on Jettison as codified by Justinian.

It is striking that this situation would not be addressed until the second half of the eighth or very early ninth century, when the core of the text known as the Rhodian Sea Law (*Nomos Rhodiōn Nautikos*) was most probably collated.<sup>57</sup> This text would provide far more detailed regulation of maritime affairs and commerce than Justinian and his legal scholars had ever aspired to, elucidating procedures, for example, for the punishment of the theft of anchors from ships, a type of theft, as Humphreys has noted, “that endangered the lives and property of multiple others, and not just the shipowner, and thus raised important legal questions.”<sup>58</sup> The codification of the Rhodian Sea Law would suggest growing imperial interest in maritime issues and maritime commercial law over the course of the late eighth and early ninth centuries, a period when trade in general was reviving, and when the government was introducing new forms of trade-targeted taxation.<sup>59</sup>

Moreover, as Paul Magdalino argues in this volume, emperors in the late eighth and early ninth centuries would appear to have been especially keen to facilitate the financing of seafaring and maritime commerce.<sup>60</sup> The *Chronicle of Theophanes*, for example, records how, in the early ninth century, the emperor Nikephoros assigned coastal estates to shipowners who lived along the shores of Asia Minor, and lent the leading shipowners of Constantinople “a loan of 12lbs of gold at a rate of interest of four *keratia* to the *nomisma*.”<sup>61</sup> Although listed by Theophanes under the emperor’s “vexations,” such measures would suggest a concerted effort on the part of the imperial government to bolster the liquidity of those who provided the bulk of the empire’s merchant fleet, who were perhaps finding it harder to raise capital or loans in the wake of the disruption of late antique networks of aristocratic patronage and support caused by first Persian and then Arab invasions. Likewise, it should be noted, the Rhodian Sea Law sought to protect the interests of those engaged in maritime trade by providing extra security for those furnishing deposits.<sup>62</sup> Across the maritime sector as a whole, therefore, the commercial impact of the middle Byzantine state can be seen to have been far more enabling than it was restrictive.

Byzantine law, as noted earlier, provides a great deal of evidence for the regulations that were meant to apply to trade and the institutional frameworks in which trade was conducted. But as I hope has been revealed in this paper, the legal sources also have much to tell us of the types of people involved in commerce, the broader circumstances and extent of trade, and, above all, the creativity with which merchants, aristocrats, and emperors manipulated and developed the Roman legal tradition to serve their own economic interests. Law was not a dead letter in Byzantium. Rather, law interacted with, sustained, and was shaped by the remarkable levels of economic sophistication and commercial complexity that characterized the Byzantine Empire for much of its long history.

56 A. J. B. Sirks, *Food for Rome: The Legal Structure of the Transportation and Processing of Supplies for the Imperial Distributions in Rome and Constantinople* (Amsterdam, 1991).

57 Humphreys, *Law, Power, and Imperial Ideology*, chap. 4.

58 *Ibid.*, chap. 4.

59 Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*.

60 P. Magdalino in this volume.

61 Theophanes, *anno mundi* 6302/AD 809/10.

62 Humphreys, *Law, Power, and Imperial Ideology*, chap. 4.



# Quelques nouveaux sceaux de commerciaux\*

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## ABSTRACT Some New Seals of *Kommerkiarioi*

The seals of the *kommerkiarioi* have attracted scholarly attention because those produced in the seventh and eighth centuries represent a primary source for the study of the administrative and economic history of the Byzantine Empire. Though scholars do not agree on how to interpret the role of the *kommerkiarioi* in connection to *apothekai* (storehouses/warehouses) in the capital and in the provinces, they all acknowledge their financial role. Some scholars think that this function was only linked to commercial transactions, particularly the sale of silk, while others associate the *kommerkiarioi* with the military administration because they supposedly used their warehouses for stocking weapons and provisions. The seals preserved in Parisian collections (French National Library, Institute of Byzantine Studies, private collection of N. Thierry) represent a significant addition to the previously published data. Twenty-one seals, published in this article, do not allow us to decide between the two interpretations of the role of the *apothekai* and the officials in charge on them. But a small number of bulls of *kommerkia* from Constantinople, after the reform of Leo III, and the presence of *kommerkia* in smaller Aegean islands, seem to contradict the hypothesis of the purely economic role of the *kommerkiarioi*, who most probably reverted to being simple functionaries, and of their offices. The relatively high number of bulls issued in the offices of Thrace or Thessalonike, the city that played a key role in the wars against the Slavs and the Bulgars, would confirm the involvement of the *kommerkiarioi* in military logistics.

\* Toutes les photos sont de l'auteur.

La sigillographie byzantine a connu, ces dernières décennies, un large développement, appuyé sur le nombre toujours croissant de sceaux disponibles, notamment grâce aux fouilles menées dans l'ancien territoire de l'Empire byzantin, comme en témoigne dans ce volume l'exposé de Vera Bulgurlu sur les plombs découverts à l'occasion des fouilles du port théodosien.

Ces bulles, qui furent presque exclusivement frappées par des fonctionnaires byzantins, permettent de suivre les institutions de l'Empire sur près d'un millénaire. Parmi les sceaux les plus intéressants figurent ceux des commerciaux, car ils sont assez abondants et reflètent l'évolution de cette charge, attestée entre les VI<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> siècles.

La collection Zacos contient peu de bulles antérieures à l'apparition au droit de l'indiction. On y trouve le second exemplaire du sceau d'un commerçant de Tyr, Marinos :

### 1. Marinos, glorieux commerçant de Tyr<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1 a et b)

Au droit, dans la moitié supérieure du champ, un empereur de face, en buste, très probablement Justinien I<sup>er</sup>, coiffé d'un diadème à aigrette et *pendilia*, entre deux croisettes. Dans le registre inférieur, légende sur quatre lignes :

ΜΑΡΙΝΟΝ|ΠΑΝΕΥΦΙ|ΚΟΜΜΕΡΣ|ΤΥΡΩ  
Μαρίνου πανευφήμου κομμερ(κισαρίου) Τύρου.



Fig. 1 a et b : Marinos, glorieux commerçant de Tyr.

Le revers, bombé et anépigraphé, porte une marque de textile.

Règne de Justinien (sans doute 545-565). Cet exemplaire, mieux conservé que la pièce parallèle de l'ancienne collection Seyrig<sup>2</sup>, permet de confirmer la correction, à la troisième ligne de celui-ci, proposée par F. Montinaro<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Zacos (BnF) 738; dia.: 29.

<sup>2</sup> J.-Cl. Cheynet, C. Morisson, W. Seibt, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Henri Seyrig* (Paris, 1991), n° 140.

<sup>3</sup> F. Montinaro, "Les premiers commerciaux byzantins," *TM* 17 (2013) (désormais Montinaro, "Premiers commerciaux"): n° 1.

Sans doute les commerciaux furent-ils d'abord des fermiers de l'impôt, avant d'être, à partir de l'époque macédonienne, de simples fonctionnaires prélevant une taxe de 10% sur les transactions commerciales. Une abondante littérature a traité ce matériel pour les VII<sup>e</sup> et VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, car la nature de leurs compétences reste très controversée. Depuis la tenue de ce colloque, Federico Montinaro, dans une nouvelle étude, a proposé des hypothèses provocatrices et stimulantes, qui invitent à un bref commentaire<sup>4</sup>.

Les premiers sceaux connus de commerciaux remontent au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, mais c'est à partir du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle que se multiplient les sceaux à effigie impériale, à laquelle s'ajoute désormais la mention d'une, voire deux années indictionnelles.

On trouve sans cesse de nouvelles bulles. Actuellement, trois cents types environ sont attestés, que les collections parisiennes permettent de compléter.

<sup>4</sup> La première étude systématique a été entreprise par G. Zacos et A. Veglery, qui ont donné la liste des commerciaux selon les apothèques et selon les noms des responsables: G. Zacos, A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals. 1* (Basel, 1972) (désormais, Zacos-Veglery), 145-210. Ensuite, la liste la plus complète a été établie par W. Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung in Krisenzeiten. Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Administration im 6.-9. Jahrhundert*, *Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte* 25 (Francfort, 2002) (désormais Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung*), 511-610. Puis l'étude de Montinaro, "Premiers commerciaux," 351-538. L'auteur prend en considération les seuls commerciaux attestés avant la réforme des Isauriens, vers 730, et complète les données fournies par W. Brandes, en proposant pour certaines bulles une lecture corrigée.

## 2. L'apothèque impériale (Fig. 2 a et b)

Arrêtons-nous d'abord sur un plomb inédit, fort singulier, dont la lecture ne fait pas difficulté<sup>5</sup>. Au droit, légende sur trois lignes, disposée comme en un rectangle, accostée de croisettes à la seconde ligne et surmontée d'une autre croisette : +|ΒΔC|ΙΛΙ|ΚΗ. + βασιλική

Au revers, dans la même disposition : +|ΑΠΟ|ΘΗ|ΚΗ. ἀποθήκη.



Fig. 2 a et b : L'apothèque impériale.

L'inscription paraît complète. Or, elle ne comporte aucune localisation de l'apothèque. L'usage d'un tel sceau, qui daterait du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, reste sujet à conjecture. Est-ce un sceau d'apothèque utilisé sur place, mais, en ce cas, pourquoi n'avons-nous retrouvé que cet unique exemplaire ? Est-ce un plomb constantinopolitain, employé au Palais par exemple ? Compte tenu de la date présumée de la frappe, la première hypothèse est à exclure. Y-avait-il au revers la marque d'une indiction ? A la gauche du revers, il semble qu'on lise I qui pourrait être une abréviation d'indiction, le chiffre ayant disparu à droite de la bulle ?

Aujourd'hui, les savants s'accordent à penser que l'apparition de l'indiction correspond à la mise aux enchères, pour une durée déterminée, des *kommerkia* d'une ou de plusieurs provinces, et ce dans tout l'Empire byzantin. En revanche, les opinions divergent sur les attributions de ces commerciaires d'un nouveau type. Antérieurement, les commerciaires, personnages de très haut rang, qui pour la plupart faisaient figurer sur leurs bulles une ou des effigies impériales, avaient le monopole du commerce de la soie.

Rappelons le constat sur lequel se fonde l'hypothèse de M. Hendy. Après la débâcle militaire du milieu du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, la perte de l'Égypte et de la Syrie a privé l'Empire byzantin de la plus grande partie de ses ressources, fait incontestable, aggravé de plus par l'invasion massive des Balkans et de l'Asie Mineure, territoires qui ont aussi fourni moins d'impôts. Or, la principale dépense, établie sur cette ressource, consistait à rétribuer l'armée. Déjà, Héraclius avait été contraint de réduire les *donativa*. Nous savons que les protonotaires de thème n'apparaissent pas avant le IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, alors que la situation militaire s'est stabilisée. Il y a donc en quelque sorte un vide entre le milieu

du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle et le début du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle. C'est ce vide que M. Hendy a cherché à combler. Notant que nombre de sceaux de commerciaires portent mention d'entrepôts (*apothèkai*), que l'on voit se multiplier dans presque toutes les provinces de l'Empire, il propose de considérer ces commerciaires comme les intermédiaires entre les paysans qui, faute de numéraire, payaient leur dû en nature, et les militaires des thèmes touchant leur solde, en grande partie versée en produits agricoles. Les commerciaires auraient accumulé ces productions dans leurs entrepôts, pour les redistribuer aux armées réparties sur tout le territoire de l'Empire. Ils auraient été également chargés de fournir des armes aux soldats. Les commerciaires auraient donc joué un rôle clef dans la survie de l'Etat<sup>6</sup>. N. Oikonomidès, qui a popularisé l'idée d'un affermage des sceaux de 673/674 à 730, a avancé une hypothèse toute différente, considérant que les fonctions des commerciaires n'auraient pas fondamentalement changé, puisqu'ils seraient restés avant tout chargés de la production et de la commercialisation des tissus de soie<sup>7</sup>.

Les deux théories présentent des faiblesses. Celle de N. Oikonomidès s'appuie sur deux hypothèses préalables, fragiles. D'une part, la soie aurait été produite en des lieux où le climat ne permettait pas l'élevage du ver à soie et, d'autre part, le commerce des produits de luxe aurait connu une forte augmentation, à une époque où la clientèle potentielle des riches aristocrates s'était singulièrement réduite. Quant aux partisans du rôle logistique des commerciaires, ils ne peuvent jamais alléguer de liens directs entre ces derniers et l'armée. F. Montinaro a récemment repris l'hypothèse du rôle commercial de ces fonctionnaires, considérant que l'impôt prélevé sur ces transactions permettait de compenser le manque de numéraire, solution qui paraît utopique pour la raison précédemment exposée. Cependant, un épisode apporte un argument en faveur du commerciaire-commerçant. Après la défaite de Sébastopolis, l'empereur Justinien II vendit comme esclaves une partie des Slaves qui l'avaient trahi sur le champ de bataille. Ces prisonniers (*andrapoda*) apparaissent sur des sceaux de même type que ceux des commerciaires contemporains, les affermeurs étant les mêmes sur plusieurs bulles. Toutefois, l'argument n'est pas sans réplique, car il pourrait s'agir de ventes au profit de militaires fidèles, survivants de la bataille, par l'intermédiaire d'un fonctionnaire de l'Etat.

De leur côté, les partisans de la solution « militaire » se sont efforcés de démontrer que les dates des sceaux conservés correspondent à des moments d'intense préparation des campagnes. La démonstration n'est pas pleinement convaincante, d'autant

6 M. F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, ca 300-1450* (Cambridge, 1985), 626-634, 654-662 et l'appendice, 667 sq. Sa théorie a été suivie par J. Haldon: *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: the Transformation of a Culture*, rev. edition (Cambridge, 1997), 220-244. J. Haldon a reçu le soutien de W. Brandes : W. Brandes, J. Haldon, "Towns, taxes and transformation: state, cities and their hinterlands in the East Roman World, c. 500-800," dans *Towns and their Territories Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. G. P. Brogiolo, N. Gauthier, N. Christie, Transformation of the Roman world 9 (Leiden, 2000), 141-172.

7 N. Oikonomides, "Silk Trade and Production in Byzantium from the Sixth to the Ninth Century: The Seals of Kommerkiarioi," *DOP* 40 (1986): 33-53, repris dans N. Oikonomides, *Social and economic life in Byzantium*, ed. E. Zachariadou (Aldershot, 2004), n° VIII.

5 Institut français des études byzantines (IFEB) 109; dia. 22.

que les préparatifs pouvaient prendre plusieurs années. Cependant, si l'on donne à ces commerciaux un rôle seulement économique, comment expliquer le nombre relativement modeste de bulles de commerciaux de Constantinople ? Certes, ces bulles sont les plus nombreuses, mais elles sont fort inégalement réparties dans le temps, puisqu'on observe à la fois de grandes lacunes selon les périodes et, au contraire, pour les années bien représentées, l'existence de pièces parallèles. C'est l'indice – certes fragile compte tenu de la proportion de bulles ayant survécu – d'une production irrégulière, ce qui se comprendrait mal, sauf en temps de siège, si les profits tirés du commerce formaient le gros des ressources de l'Etat.

Cette contribution ne vise pas à affiner les théories sur la production et l'usage des sceaux, mais à présenter, en les commentant si besoin, des sceaux encore inédits ou seulement mentionnés dans les collections parisiennes. En effet, plus le nombre, de bulles publiées augmentera, mieux cette institution sera comprise. L'ancienne collection Zacos, conservée à la Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), comprend un exemplaire inédit se rapportant aux *andrapoda*<sup>8</sup>.

### 3. Georges, *apo hypatôn* et commercial général de l'apothèque des esclaves de Lycie (ou Lydie) (Fig. 3 a et b)

Au droit, l'empereur Justinien II, de face, en pied, barbu, portant une couronne, revêtu du *divitision* et de la chlamyde, et tenant en main droite un globe crucigère et de l'autre l'*akakia* probablement. Dans le champ, de part et d'autre de l'effigie, l'indiction, – Κ|Η. A la circonférence, légende commençant au sommet, ...ΩΡΓ.. et poursuivie à gauche, ΑΠΟΝΠΑΤ.. : [+Γε]ωργ[ίου] ἀπὸ ὑπάτ[ων]. La présence du petit K au-dessus de l'indiction Η ne peut être une année indictionnelle, puisqu'en chiffre K signifie 20. On supposera qu'il appartient à l'abréviation de l'indiction : Ἰ(νδι)κ(τιῶνος).

Au revers, suite de la légende, disposée sur six lignes :

ΣΓΕΝΙΚ|ΚΟΜΜΕΡΚΙ|ΡΙΟΝΔΠΟΘ|ΚΗΧΤΟΝΔΝ|.ΡΑΠΟΔΩΝ|.V.ΙΑΣ

(καὶ) γενικ[οῦ] κομμερκι[α]ρίου ἀποθη[ή]κης τῶν ἀν[δ]ραπόδων [Λ]υ[κ]ίας ou [Λ]υ[δ]ίας.



Fig. 3 a et b : Georges, *apo hypatôn* et commercial général de l'apothèque des esclaves de Lycie (ou Lydie).

Indiction 8, soit septembre 694 – septembre 695. La lecture du nom de la province n'est pas assurée puisque la bulle est rognée à la base du flan. Trois lettres manquent. La première est restée hors champ, la seconde pourrait être U. La troisième est détruite, mais on voit peut-être la trace d'une haste en diagonale, suggérant un K.

Les collections parisiennes comptent un nombre important de bulles inédites d'apothèques et de *kommerkia* impériaux, dont certaines toutefois sont connues par des pièces parallèles. La capitale de l'Empire est représentée par cinq plombs en tout.

Les deux premiers sont des pièces parallèles à des exemplaires déjà connus.

<sup>8</sup> Zacos (BnF) 747; dia.: 32.

#### 4. Georges, *skribôn* et commerciaire général de l'apothèque de Constantinople<sup>9</sup> (Fig. 4 a et b)

Au droit, l'empereur Justinien II, de face, en pied, portant une couronne à *pendilia*, revêtu du *divitision* et de la chlamyde, tenant en main droite un globe crucigère. De part et d'autre de l'effigie, \_ - Δ : indiction 4. À la circonférence, la légende est restée hors champ, car celui-ci était trop petit pour la taille du *boullôtèrion*. Le nom et le titre sont restitués d'après la bulle très proche, publiée par G. Zacos et A. Veglery<sup>10</sup>, [+ Γεωργίου σκριβωνος].

Au revers, légende sur sept lignes dont la dernière est perdue :

.Γ.ΕΙ.ΙΚΟΝ..ΙΜΜΕΡΚΙ..Ι.ΟΝΔΠΟ..Ι.ΗΚΚΩΝC..Ι.ΝΤΙΝϞ...Ι....

[(καὶ) γε[ν]ικοῦ [κο]μμερκι[αρί]ου ἀπο[θή]κης Κωνσ[τα]ντινου[πό]λεως].



Fig. 4 a et b : Georges, *skribôn* et commerciaire général de l'apothèque de Constantinople.

690/691. Sur la bulle publiée par G. Zacos et A. Veglery, la légende du revers, identique, est différemment répartie, mais l'indiction est la même.

#### 5. Georges, *apo hypatôn* et commerciaire général de l'apothèque de Constantinople<sup>11</sup> (Fig. 5 a et b)

Au droit, l'empereur Justinien II de face, en pied, couronné, revêtu du *divitision* et de la chlamyde, tenant en main droite un globe crucigère. A la circonférence, légende inscrite dans trois cercles concentriques, commençant au sommet depuis le cercle extérieur, ...ΓΙ..ΑΠΟΝΠΑΤ...ΟΝΚΟΜΙ....., poursuivie dans le cercle intermédiaire : ..ΑΠΟΘΗΚ.. - .ΩΝC....., et s'achevant dans le cercle intérieur : ΛΕΟC. Dans le champ, de part et d'autre de l'effigie, \_ - Ε : indiction 5.

[Γεωρ]γί[ου] ἀπὸ ὑπάτ[ων] (καὶ) γενικ[οῦ] κομ[μερ]κ[ια]ρί[ου] ἀποθή[κης] Κ[ωνσ]ταντινουπό[λεως].

Revers conique, anépigraphe.



Fig. 5 a et b : Georges, *apo hypatôn* et commerciaire général de l'apothèque de Constantinople.

691/692. La lecture est assurée par la pièce parallèle. Parmi les sceaux de commerçaires, frappés sous Justinien II et ses successeurs immédiats, un petit nombre sont uniface.

<sup>9</sup> Zacos (BnF) 1343; dia.: 32; E. McGeer, J. Nesbitt and N. Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art, Volume 5: The East (continued), Constantinople and Environs, Unknown Locations, Addenda, Uncertain Readings* (Washington, D.C., 2005), n° 3.5 (désormais, *DOSeals* 5); Montinaro, "Premiers commerçaires," catalogue, n° 59.

<sup>10</sup> Zacos-Veglery, n° 169.

<sup>11</sup> Zacos (BnF) 1341 (dia.: 37); ed. Zacos-Veglery, n° 175; Montinaro, "Premiers commerçaires," catalogue, n° 65.

## 6. Anastase, commerçaire de Constantinople<sup>12</sup> (Fig. 6 a et b) (Fig. 6 bis a et b)



Fig. 6 a et b : Anastase, commerçaire de Constantinople.



Fig. 6 bis a et b : Anastase, commerçaire de Constantinople.

Les deux sceaux ont été frappés sur des flans trop petits, laissant hors champ la fin des légendes sur chaque face. Au droit, dans la partie supérieure du champ, les bustes des empereurs Léon III, barbu, et Constantin V, son fils, imberbe. Ils portent chacun la couronne à croisette et *pendilia*, le *divitision* et la chlamyde, et tiennent en main droite un globe crucigère. De part et d'autre des effigies, - H, indiction 8, soit l'année 724/725. Dans le registre inférieur, légende sur quatre lignes dont la dernière est largement oblitérée :

IFEB 905 : ΑΝΑΨ.ΑϢ.ΟΥ|..ΑΤΟ.ΥΒΑϢΙ|.....Λ|.....

IFEB 1077 : ΑΝΑϢΤΑϢΙΟΝ|ΥΠΑΤΟΝΒΑϢΙ|ΛΙΚΟΝΒΑΛ|ΙΤΟΡ..

Soit, par la lecture combinée des deux pièces,

Ἀναστασίου ὑπάτου βασιλικοῦ βαλ[ν]ίτορ[ος]

Au revers, suite de la légende sur sept autres lignes dont les dernières sont devenues illisibles :

IFEB 905 : .ΓϞ..|ΚΟΝΚΟϢ|ΜΕΡΚΙΑ..|ΟΝΑΠΟΘ..|ΗϢΚΩΝ..|.....|.....|ΙΦΕΒ

ΣΓϞΝΙ|ΚΟΝΚΟΜ|ΜΕ..ΙΑΡΙ|ΟΝΑ..ΘΗΚ|ΗϢΚ....|.....|.....

(καὶ) γενικοῦ κομμερκιαρίου ἀποθήκης Κων[σταντινουπόλεως].

<sup>12</sup> Sceaux inédits IFEB 905 et 1077 (dia. 32).

Ces deux plombs sont inédits et sans parallèle. Anastase a laissé d'autres bulles où il porte le même titre de *balnitôr* impérial, auquel s'est ajoutée ensuite la dignité d'*hypatos*. Le plus récent catalogue a été établi par F. Montinaro qui a relevé onze types de sceaux de ce haut personnage, dont certains sont connus en plusieurs exemplaires<sup>13</sup>. Le sceau que nous éditons constitue donc un type supplémentaire. Anastase est ainsi l'un des commerçaires les mieux attestés<sup>14</sup>, après Georges, actif au cours du premier règne de Justinien II. Grâce à la présence de l'indiction au droit, on peut établir avec précision le moment de son activité, de 717/718 à 724/725. Il obtint de diriger de nombreuses apothèques provinciales, principalement en Asie Mineure, mais aussi en Occident où il tint à deux reprises l'apothèque de Thessalonique. Le droit du sceau gravé lors de son passage à Thessalonique, en 723/724, est identique à celui de notre plomb. Ou bien Anastase aura disposé d'un modèle commun pour la fabrication de ses *boullôtèria*, ou bien il aura remployé l'une des mâchoires de son *boullôtèrion*. Il est donc clair que cet eunuque, puisqu'il est préposé aux bains (*balnitôr*) et donc membre du personnel de la chambre impériale, était un proche de l'empereur Léon III. Il est aussi remarquable qu'Anastase soit attesté comme commerçaire de Constantinople avec quatre dates indictionnelles différentes, pour les années 718/719, 720/721, 723/724 (selon le catalogue Montinaro, n<sup>os</sup> 141, 148 et 155), et maintenant 724/725. Est-ce à dire qu'il a continûment exercé sa charge, au moins durant le temps des deux années indictionnelles extrêmes de septembre 718 à septembre 724. On est tenté de répondre positivement à cette question, mais l'existence d'un Jean, commerçaire de Constantinople en 722/723, semble remettre en cause cette hypothèse<sup>15</sup>. Toutefois, des commerçaires étaient susceptibles de partager la même apothèque sans graver une bulle commune<sup>16</sup>. Anastase a aussi occupé certaines de ses charges provinciales, au moins à deux reprises, comme celle de commerçaire de l'Honoriade, de Paphlagonie et de la côte du Pont<sup>17</sup>.

A la suite de la réforme menée par Léon III, vers 730, les commerçaires laissent la place à une autre institution, les *kommerkia*, tenus par des fonctionnaires de l'Etat restés anonymes. On ne connaît qu'un seul sceau des *kommerkia* de Constantinople, daté d'une année indictionnelle perdue, mais qui se situe nécessairement entre 730 (date de la réforme) et 741 (date de la mort de Léon III). L'ancienne collection Zacos permet d'ajouter un nouveau spécimen<sup>18</sup> :

<sup>13</sup> Montinaro, "Premiers commerçaires," catalogue, n<sup>os</sup> 141-144, 148-151, 155-157.

<sup>14</sup> G. Zacos et A. Veglery ont dressé le tableau des sceaux de commerçaires qu'on peut lui attribuer (Volume I, Table 13, 158-159).

<sup>15</sup> Zacos-Veglery, n<sup>o</sup> 1229.

<sup>16</sup> N. Oikonomides, "The kommerkiarios of Constantinople," dans *Byzantine Constantinople*, ed. Necipoğlu, 235-244, 240.

<sup>17</sup> Montinaro, "Premiers commerçaires," catalogue n<sup>os</sup> 144 et 151.

<sup>18</sup> Zacos (BnF) 734; dia. : 40.

### 7. Les *kommerkia* impériaux de Constantinople (Fig. 7 a et b)

Au droit, dans une bordure de fines perles, deux empereurs à mi-corps, de face, Léon III, barbu, fort mal conservé, et son fils Constantin V, imberbe. Ils portent la couronne à *pendilia* surmontée d'une croix, la *divitision* et la *chlamyde*. Comme sur leurs autres bulles contemporaines, ils tiennent probablement chacun la croix processionnelle placée entre eux.

Au revers, légende sur six lignes :

Τ..|ΒΑCΙΑ...|ΝΚΟΜ...|ΙΩΝ.....|ΑΝΤ...|ΛΕΟ...

Τ[ὸν] βασιλ[ικῶ]ν κομ[μμερκ]ίων [Κωνστ]αντ[ινουπό]λεο[ς]. Ἴνδ. ..]



Fig. 7 a et b : Les *kommerkia* impériaux de Constantinople.

Ce sceau est seulement le second conservé des *kommerkia* de Constantinople, ce qui paraît étrange, si l'on suit l'hypothèse selon laquelle cette institution eut d'abord une fonction économique<sup>19</sup>. Même en tenant compte des hasards de la conservation, ce petit nombre est surprenant. Mais il le serait tout autant, si l'on admet que les bureaux des *kommerkia* recueillaient les produits de l'impôt dans la capitale.

Il est intéressant de noter que les sceaux des apothèques de Constantinople disparaissent après le règne de Léon III, sans doute parce que les postes de douanes sont établis à distance de la capitale, au-delà des détroits, à Abydos, à l'entrée des Dardanelles, et à Hiéron, à l'entrée du Bosphore. Le rôle d'Abydos est complexe. Ce fut le centre d'une apothèque, au moins entre 659 et 663. Le poste est prestigieux, puisque le commerçaire Etienne est titré patrice<sup>20</sup>. A cette date haute, aucun commerçaire de Constantinople n'est encore attesté, car le premier d'entre eux, dont le nom n'est pas conservé, exerçait sa charge en 688-689. Dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, qui dépendent beaucoup des découvertes de nouvelles bulles, il semble que, lorsque l'apothèque de Constantinople

est en service, celle d'Abydos disparaît. Il y a bien la bulle d'Irénée, diacre, archonte du *blattion* et commerçaire d'Abydos, datée du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>21</sup>. La fin de la légende est mal conservée et W. Seibt a souligné que la lecture « comte » est aussi possible, charge qui est bien attestée à cette date. Il est cependant vrai que la fonction de commerçaire s'accorde mieux à celle d'archonte du *blattion*. Toutefois cette bulle ne mentionne aucune apothèque et sa fonction à Abydos n'est pas claire.

Cette observation ne permet pas de trancher la question de la fonction des commerçaires. Cette disparition des douanes de Constantinople, après le règne de Léon III, pourrait s'expliquer par le desserrement de l'étau arabe autour de la capitale. Ce retour à une plus grande liberté de circulation aurait alors favorisé un réveil du commerce et nécessité de nouveaux postes sur les deux principales routes maritimes. Si les apothèques avaient une utilité militaire, le recul sensible de la menace arabe expliquerait qu'il n'ait plus été nécessaire de les maintenir. *A contrario*, l'apothèque de Thessalonique poursuit son activité sous les successeurs de Léon III, car les Bulgares et leurs alliés slaves restaient des ennemis proches et dangereux. Nous ignorons, en revanche, si la situation de Thessalonique lui permettait d'être un port de commerce majeur, malgré les campagnes des empereurs byzantins pour libérer la route Constantinople - Thessalonique. De toute façon, si la fonction marchande des commerçaires dominait, on doit, en dépit du hasard des trouvailles, expliquer pourquoi l'apothèque de Constantinople ne domine pas toutes les autres puisque, malgré le fort déclin depuis le VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, la ville reste encore sans concurrence vis-à-vis des autres cités. Or, on a conservé seize types de bulles pour l'apothèque de Thessalonique, contre vingt seulement pour celle de Constantinople. Le modeste écart entre les deux séries ne correspond pas à la différence d'échelle entre les deux centres commerciaux.

Cependant, un sceau publié par G. Zacos et A. Veglery, et dont un parallèle se trouve à l'IFEB, peut être rapproché des plombs du commerçaire Anastase, celui d'un Anastase, *holosérikoprattēs*, c'est-à-dire vendeur de tissus ou de vêtements entièrement en soie<sup>22</sup>. La légende du sceau est au datif, alors que la plupart des sceaux du commerçaire sont au génitif, mais le plus ancien de la série d'Anastase était aussi au datif. Le sceau, remarquable notamment par la forme très large des V, est incontestablement du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ce peut être dans la première moitié de ce siècle, car les monogrammes cruciformes invocatifs se développent au cours du premier iconoclasme<sup>23</sup>. Si cet Anastase, prénom qui, sans être rare, n'est pas si fréquent à cette date chez les laïcs, était identique au commerçaire, cette observation créerait un lien entre la fonction de commerçaire et l'industrie de la soie. Mais les deux activités ne sont pas incompatibles : un grand commerçant pouvait aussi

19 Dernière édition du parallèle: *DOSeals 6, Emperors, patriarchs of Constantinople, addenda*, ed. J. Nesbitt (Washington, D.C., 2009), n° 23.15. Il est à noter qu'il ne s'agit pas vraiment d'un sceau, mais peut-être d'une pièce d'essai.

20 Montinaro, "Premiers commerçaires," catalogue n° 11 et 13.

21 Dernière édition : *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, 3, West, Northwest, and Central Asia Minor and the Orient, ed. J. Nesbitt and N. Oikonomides, (Washington, D.C., 1996) (désormais *DOSeals 3*), n° 40.14.

22 Zacos-Veglery, n° 1706 ; IFEB 790.

23 A titre d'exemple, ce monogramme est gravé à l'avant de la bulle d'Artavasde, comte de l'Opsikion sous le règne de Léon III (Zacos-Veglery, n° 1741).

disposer d'une fortune qui lui permit d'affermir de nombreuses apothèques, activité lucrative, quel qu'ait été leur rôle.

Si les bulles concernant Constantinople restent rares, en revanche les sceaux des apothèques de province, plus nombreux, complètent les exemplaires connus ou confirment des lectures incertaines. Ils sont classés par ordre chronologique.

### 8. Pierre, *apo hypatôn*, commercial général de l'apothèque de Cappadoce Première et Inférieure<sup>24</sup> (Fig. 8 a et b)

Au droit, dans un cercle de grènetis, dans la partie supérieure du champ, deux bustes impériaux, de face ; à gauche Constant II, doté d'une longue barbe, et à droite, Constantin IV. Chacun, coiffé d'une couronne, revêtu du *divitision* et de la chlamyde, tient en main droite un globe crucigère. Dans le registre inférieur, légende sur trois lignes :

+ΠΕΤΡΑΠΟΝ|ΠΑΤΩΝΚΑΙ|ΓΕΝΝΙΚΟΥ

+ Πέτρου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ γεννικοῦ

Au revers, dans la même disposition, Héraclius et Tibère, de face, en buste, couronnés, portant le *divitision* et la chlamyde, tenant en main droite un globe crucigère. Dans le champ inférieur, légende sur cinq lignes :

ΚΟΜΜΕΡΚΙ|ΙΑΡΙΘΑΠΟΘΗ|ΚΗΣΚΑΠ..|ΔΟΚΙΑΣ..|.ΟΤΕ...

κομμερκαρίου ἀποθήκης Καπ[πα]δοκίας [Πρώτης καὶ Κατ]οτέ[ρας].



Fig. 8 a et b : Pierre, *apo hypatôn*, commercial général de l'apothèque de Cappadoce Première et Inférieure.

663-668. La restitution de la fin de la légende est assez sûre car le même texte est attesté sur une bulle d'Etienne, commercial des deux Cappadoce, ainsi désignées. Il est remarquable que, sous le règne de Constant II, deux commerciaux seulement soient actuellement attestés, Pierre et Etienne, marque d'une concentration de la richesse par quelques proches de l'empereur.

<sup>24</sup> Zacos (BnF) 733; dia. : 38.



### 9. Georges, patrice, et Théophylacte, commerçaires impériaux de l'apothèque de Pamphylie et Pisidie<sup>25</sup> (Fig. 9 a et b)

Au droit, l'empereur Justinien II, de face, en pied, coiffé d'une couronne à *pendilia* et croisette, portant le *divitision* et le *lôros*, tenant en main droite un globe crucigère et en main gauche un sceptre terminé par une croix. Inscription circulaire commençant au sommet, ..ΕΩΡΓΙΩΠΑΤΡ... et poursuivie à gauche, ... ΑΞΤ... : [+Γ]εωργίου πατρ[ικίου (καί) Θεοφυλάκτου]. Dans le champ, deux indictions disposées en colonne, \_ - E à la hauteur des mains, puis, au-dessous, \_ - = (5 et 6).

Au revers, légende sur sept lignes :

ΓΕΝ..|ΩΝΚΟΜΗ|ΕΡΚΙΑΡΙΩ.|ΑΠΟΘΗΚΗΣ|ΠΑΜΦΥΛΙΑ|CΣΠΙCΣΙΔ|ΙΑC  
γεν[ικ]ών κομμερκιαριώ[ν] ἀποθήκης Παμφυλίας (καί) Πισιδίας.



Fig. 9 a et b : Georges, patrice, et Théophylacte, commerçaires impériaux de l'apothèque de Pamphylie et Pisidie.

691-693. Georges et Théophylacte ont émis un nombre considérable de bulles datées des mêmes indictions. Celle que nous éditons ajoute la Pamphylie et la Pisidie et montre que les deux commerçaires ont eu en charge presque toutes les apothèques d'Anatolie. La Pamphylie et sa voisine la Pisidie sont peu représentées dans la collection des bulles de commerçaires datées, quatre fois chacune dans le catalogue Montinaro (Pamphylie : 56, 132, 142, 153, entre 690/691 et 722/723 ; Pisidie : 51, 56, 132, 153, entre 689/691 et 722/723). Pourtant, la Pamphylie disposait d'un port majeur, tant pour la guerre que pour le commerce, Attaleia.

<sup>25</sup> Zacos (BnF) 742; dia. : 35.

### 10. L'apothèque des *kommerkia* impériaux d'Asie, Carie et Lycie<sup>26</sup> (Fig. 10 a et b)

Au droit, l'empereur Léonce, de face, en pied, le visage garni d'une barbe fournie, coiffé d'une couronne, revêtu du *divitision* et de la chlamyde, tenant en main droite un globe crucigère. Il n'y a pas d'inscription circulaire, car la légende du revers est intégralement frappée. De part et d'autre de l'effigie, deux indictions, disposées en colonne à droite, \_ - | | θ (indictions 9 et 10).

Au revers, légende sur six lignes :

ΑΠΟΘΗ|ΚΗCΤΩΝΒΑ|CΙΛΙΚΩΝΚΟ|ΜΕΡΚΙΩΝΑ|CΙΑCΚΑΡΙΑC|CΛΑΥΚΙΑC  
Αποθήκης τών βασιλικών κομ(μ)ερκίων Ἀσίας, Καρίας (καί) Λυκίας.



Fig. 10 a et b : L'apothèque des *kommerkia* impériaux d'Asie, Carie et Lycie.

695-697. Sous l'empereur Léonce, les *kommerkia* anonymes apparaissent temporairement, avant d'être durablement établis sous Léon III.

<sup>26</sup> Zacos (BnF) 730; dia. : 35. Une bulle identique, mais beaucoup moins bien conservée, a été éditée K. Regling, "Byzantinische Bleisiegel," BZ 24 (1923-1924): 97, et signalée par W. Brandes *Finanzverwaltung*, 538, n° 136, qui a conjecturé, à juste titre, qu'il s'agit d'une bulle anonyme ; elle est relevée dans Montinaro, "Premiers commerçaires," catalogue, n° 90.

### 11. Les *kommerkia* impériaux des Anatoliques<sup>27</sup> (Fig. 11 a et b)

Au droit, deux empereurs à mi-corps, de face, Léon III, à gauche, barbu, et Constantin V, à droite. Les souverains portent chacun une couronne à *pendilia*, surmontée d'une croisette, le *divitision* et la chlamyde. Ils sont séparés par une longue croix processionnelle reposant sur un globe, que chacun tient fermement.

Au revers, légende sur six lignes dont les deux premières sont restées hors champ, suivie de l'indiction :

.....|.ΝΚΟΜ|ΜΕΡΚΙΩΝ|ΤΩΝΑΝΑ|ΤΟΛΙΚΩΝ|† ΙΒ  
[Τῶν βασιλικῶν κομμερκίων τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν. Ἰ(νδ.) ΙΒ



Fig. 11 a et b : Les *kommerkia* impériaux des Anatoliques.

743/744, indiction 12. Le signe indictionnel \_ est presque effacé, mais encore visible. Un autre sceau des *kommerkia* des Anatoliques, également daté de l'indiction 12, a été publié, mais il est postérieur, car Constantin V a fait aussi représenter son fils Léon IV. Il s'agit donc ici d'un nouvel exemplaire des *kommerkia* des Anatoliques, le septième si l'on compte celui des provinces des Anatoliques (voir la bulle suivante).

### 12. Les *kommerkia* impériaux des provinces des Anatoliques<sup>28</sup> (Fig. 12 a et b)

Au droit, les empereurs Léon III et Constantin V, à mi-corps. Les deux souverains portent chacun une couronne à croisette et *pendilia*, le *divitision* et la chlamyde, et tiennent ensemble la longue croix processionnelle reposant sur un globe, placée entre eux.

Au revers, légende sur sept lignes, dont les deux premières sont restées hors champ :

...|.....|ΩΝΚΟΜΜ.ΡΚΙΩΝΤΩ.ΕΠΑΡΧΙΩΝ|ΤΩΝΑΝΑΤΟ|ΛΙΚΩ†Γ  
[Τῶν βασιλικῶν κομμ[ε]ρκίων τῶ[ν] ἐπαρχιῶν τῶν Ἀνατολικῶ(ν). Ἰ(νδικτιῶνος) Γ.



Fig. 12 a et b : Les *kommerkia* impériaux des provinces des Anatoliques.

734-735. Indiction 3. La légende de cette bulle est identique à celle éditée par G. Zacos et A. Veglery, puis rééditée par J. Nesbitt et N. Oikonomides<sup>29</sup>. La seule différence concerne peut-être le numéro de l'indiction. Les premiers éditeurs avaient lu indiction A, avant de rectifier en G, mais les derniers croient voir E. Le chiffre est effectivement mal conservé. S'il s'agit d'un G, notre bulle est une pièce parallèle, sinon c'est un nouvel exemplaire de ces *kommerkia* des Anatoliques.

<sup>28</sup> Zacos (BnF) 740; dia.: 31. Mention de cette acquisition « récente » dans Zacos-Veglery, Add. I, 1955.

<sup>29</sup> Zacos-Veglery, n° 245 (indiction corrigée, ibid., 1955) ; DOSeals 3.86.37 ; Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung*, n° 215.

<sup>27</sup> Zacos (BnF) 744; dia.: 30.

### 13. Les *kommerkia* impériaux de Lydie<sup>30</sup> (Fig. 13 a et b)

A l'avant, dans une épaisse bordure, les empereurs Léon III et Constantin V, à mi-corps, de face. Les deux souverains portent la couronne à croisette et *pendilia*, le *divitision* et la chlamyde et tiennent chacun la longue croix processionnelle reposant sur un globe, placée entre eux.

Au revers, légende sur cinq lignes, suivie de l'indiction :

.ΩΝ|ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚ|ΩΝΚΟΜΜ|ΕΡΚΙΩΝ|ΛΥΔΙΑΣ|†Ε

[Τ]ῶν βασιλικῶν κομμεργίων Λυδίας. Ἰ(νδικτιῶνος) Ε.



Fig. 13 a et b : Les *kommerkia* impériaux de Lydie.

Indiction 5, septembre 736 – septembre 737. La Lydie est rarement attestée sur les sceaux des *kommerkia*. En 733/734, sur une autre bulle, la Lydie est associée à la Bithynie, et aux deux Phrygie, Salutaire et Pacatienne<sup>31</sup>.

### 14. Les *kommerkia* depuis Amastris jusqu'au Bosphore<sup>32</sup> (Fig. 14 a et b)

Au droit, deux empereurs à mi-corps, dont seul celui de droite apparaît car le flan, trop petit et largement écrasé, a laissé hors champ son collègue. Le *basileus* visible porte une couronne à *pendilia* sans doute surmontée d'une croix. Entre les souverains, une croix dont on distingue seulement le sommet.

Au revers, légende sept lignes dont les premières sont perdues :

... |..ΛΙΚ..|..ΦΜΜΕ..|...ΑΠΟ..|ΜΑΣΤΡΙΣΕ|..ΣΤΟΝΒΟ|...

[τῶν βασιλικῶν κ]ομμε[ργίων] ἀπὸ [Ἄ]μαστρίς ἐ[ω]ς τοῦ Βο[σπόρου].



Fig. 14 a et b : Les *kommerkia* depuis Amastris jusqu'au Bosphore.

Les deux empereurs sont difficiles à identifier. Il pourrait s'agir de Léon III et de son fils Constantin V. Amastris est un port de la Mer Noire et, pour le Bosphore, il y a le choix entre celui qui est tout proche de Constantinople et le Bosphore Cimmérien. Le premier ne peut être exclu, mais il est presque certain qu'il s'agit du second, car la Mer Noire semble dotée d'un régime particulier pour les douanes. Nous avons conservé, en effet, d'autres sceaux, un peu antérieurs dans le temps, faisant allusion non à une province, mais à un espace géographique. Celui d'Anastase, *hypatos* et commerçaire général de l'apothèque d'Honoriate, de Paphlagonie et de la côte du Pont jusqu'à Trébizonde<sup>33</sup>, et les plombs cités plus haut du même Anastase, avec la même légende, mais sans mention de Trébizonde<sup>34</sup>, le sceau de Jean, *hypatos*, commerçaire général de l'apothèque de l'Honoriate, de la Paphlagonie et de la côte pontique<sup>35</sup>, enfin le plomb de Théoktistos,

32 Collection Thierry 174 (dia: 30). Est-ce le sceau auquel fait allusion l'éditeur de la *Tabula Imperii* dans son entrée sur Amastris, d'après une communication de W. Seibt [Kl. Belke, *Paphlagonien und Honôrias*, TIB 9, (Vienne, 1996), 162].

33 Dernière édition, V. Šandrovskaja, "Die Funde der byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Sudak," SBS 3 (1993) : 86 (sceau trouvé à Sudak, l'ancienne Sougdaia sur le Bosphore) (désormais, Šandrovskaja, "Sudak,"); Montinaro, "Premiers commerciaux," catalogue n<sup>os</sup> 144 et 151.

34 Supra, note 17; Šandrovskaja, "Sudak," 86.

35 Šandrovskaja, "Sudak," 88 (sceau trouvé à Sudak); Montinaro, "Premiers commerciaux," catalogue n<sup>os</sup> 146.

30 Zacos (BnF) 741; dia.: 36. Mention de cette acquisition dans Zacos-Veglery, Add. I, 1955.

31 Zacos-Veglery, n<sup>o</sup> 248; Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung*, n<sup>o</sup> 218.

*hypatos* et commerçaire général de l'apothèque de la côte pontique<sup>36</sup>. Au X<sup>e</sup> siècle, Constantin VII rappelle que les habitants de Cherson ne pouvaient subsister sans le blé de Paphlagonie et des Bucellaires<sup>37</sup>.

Nous avons confirmation de l'existence d'une apothèque située dans une simple *dioikèsis* de taille modeste, celle de l'île d'Andros. Le sceau de l'ancienne collection Sorlin-Dorigny, publié par G. Schlumberger<sup>38</sup>, qui en donne seulement un dessin, est aujourd'hui conservé à l'IFEB<sup>39</sup>.

### 15. Les *kommerkia* impériaux de la *dioikèsis* d'Andros (Fig. 15 a et b)

Au droit, deux bustes impériaux, de face, dont seule l'effigie à gauche dans le champ est conservée, car la cassure, au long de la ligne du canal, a brisé le sceau, réduit à sa moitié. Léon III, seul visible, barbu, est coiffé d'une couronne à *pendilia* et croisette, porte le *divitision* et de la chlamyde, et tient en main droite la grande croix processionnelle placée entre les effigies.

Au revers, légende sur six lignes, suivie de l'indiction sur une septième ligne :

.ΩΝ|...ΙΛΙΚ|...ΟΜΜΕ|...ΩΝΤΙC Δ|...ΙCΕΩ|..ΔΡΟΥ|.Θ

[τ]ῶν [βασι]λικ[ῶν κ]ομμε[ρχί]ων τῆς δι[ιοικ]ίσεω[ς Ἄν]δρου. [Ἰνδ]ικτιῶνος] Θ.



Fig. 15 a et b : Les *kommerkia* impériaux de la *dioikèsis* d'Andros.

Le chiffre de l'indiction serait Y plutôt que E, soit 740/741. On supposera que l'ancienne circonscription des Cyclades fut divisée. L'île de Mèlos abritait aussi des *kommerkia* (Zacos-Veglery, p. 192). Les autres îles avaient été rassemblées en une autre circonscription.

<sup>36</sup> Zacos-Veglery, n° 2765; Montinaro, "Premiers commerçaires," catalogue n°s 159.

<sup>37</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, Greek text ed. Gy. Moravcsik, English tran. R. J. H. Jenkins, CFHB 1 (Washington, D.C., 1967<sup>2</sup>), 286.

<sup>38</sup> G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1884), 505, n. 13.

<sup>39</sup> IFEB 283.

### 16. Les *kommerkia* impériaux de Mèlos, Théra, Anaphè, Ios et Amorgos<sup>40</sup> (Fig. 16 a et b)

A l'avant, dans un cercle de grènetis, les empereurs Léon III et Constantin V, à mi-corps, de face, portant chacun une couronne surmontée d'une croisette, le divitision et la chlamyde, et tenant la longue croix processionnelle placée entre eux, fort mal conservée.

Au revers, légende sur sept lignes :

ΤΩΝ|ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚ|ΩΝΚΟΜΜΕΡ|ΚΙΩΝΜΙΛΩ|.ΗΡΑΨΑΝΑΦ|.ΚΙΘΣΑΜΟ|.ΓΩ +Ζ

Τῶν βασιλικῶν κομμερτίων Μίλου, [Θ]ήρας, Ἀνάφ[η]ς, Ἴου (καὶ) Ἀμοργίου. Ἰ(νδ.) Ζ.



Fig. 16 a et b : Les *kommerkia* impériaux de Mèlos, Théra, Anaphè, Ios et Amorgos.

Indiction 6. Hélène Bibicou, qui a publié une photographie de ce plomb, a proposé de le dater de 711/712, mais G. Zacos et A. Veglery ont corrigé la datation en 738/739<sup>41</sup>. Il est remarquable que, durant les dernières années du règne de Léon III, se multiplient les *kommerkia* de petites unités, car l'ensemble de ces petites îles ne représente qu'un modeste enjeu économique, peut-être davantage sur le plan stratégique, car leur contrôle permettait de mieux tenir la mer Egée face aux Arabes.

### 17. Les *kommerkia* impériaux de Mésembria et de Thrace<sup>42</sup> (Fig. 17 a et b)

A l'avant, dans une couronne de grènetis, les empereurs Léon III et Constantin V, à mi-corps, de face, portant une couronne à croisette et *pendilia*, *divitision* et chlamyde, tenant chacun la longue croix processionnelle placée entre eux.

Au revers, légende sur six lignes :

.....|....ΚΩΝ|...ΜΕΡΚΙ|...ΕΧΗΜΒ|...CCVΝΤΗ|..ΑΚΗ

[Τῶν βασιλι]κῶν [κομ]μερτί[ων Μ]εσημβ[ρία]ς σὺν τῇ [Θρ]άκη.



Fig. 17 a et b : Les *kommerkia* impériaux de Mésembria et de Thrace.

Autour de 741. La lecture est assurée par les pièces très proches. L'indiction manque, comme sur les exemplaires connus. Les premiers éditeurs penchaient pour le règne de Léon III, entre 730 et 741, tandis que les seconds préfèrent une datation au début du règne de Constantin V, entre 741 et 750. La croix entre les deux empereurs est posée sur un globe, comme sur les bulles de Léon III, mais Constantin V apparaît barbu et de taille égale, voire supérieure, à son père, représentation qui correspond aux premières années de son règne. Mésembria, située à la frontière avec la Bulgarie, constitua longtemps le principal poste de contrôle et de douane avec ce pays. Cette formulation, unique, qui associe Mésembria avec la Thrace voisine, est attestée par un nombre remarquable de bulles, dont G. Zacos et A. Veglery ont publié quatre exemplaires différents ; il s'agit ici du cinquième de la collection Zacos. Deux spécimens sont conservés à l'Ermitage<sup>43</sup> et probablement un autre dans un musée italien<sup>44</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Zacos (BnF) 1342 (dia.: 31). La pièce la plus proche de notre bulle est éditée dans Zacos-Veglery, n° 259b. Le plomb Zacos-Veglery, n° 259a, de même légende, est édité dans *DOSeals* 1.77.17 et 77.18.

<sup>43</sup> N. Lichachev, *Molivdovuly Grečeskogo Vostoka*, ed. V. S. Šandrovskaja (Moscou, 1991) (désormais Lichachev, *Molivdovuly*), pl. LXXV, n° 3 (Ermitage, M-7970), et p. 242, pl. LXXV, n° 6, (Ermitage, M-7971).

<sup>44</sup> Signalé dans SBS 3 (1993): 152.

<sup>40</sup> IFEB 886.

<sup>41</sup> Zacos-Veglery, p. 194.

### 18. Les *kommerkia* impériaux de Nicée, de Christoupolis (?) et ...<sup>45</sup> (Fig. 18 a et b)

Au droit, dans une bordure épaisse, Constantin V et de Léon IV, en buste, de face, coiffés d'une couronne à *pendilia* et croisette, portant la chlamyde. Dans la partie supérieure du champ, au centre, une croix.

Au revers, dans le registre supérieur, Léon III, de face, en buste, la tête ceinte d'une couronne à croisette et *pendilia*, revêtu du *lôros*, tenant en main droite une croix potencée. De part et d'autre de l'effigie : \_ - Y (indiction 10). Dans la partie inférieure du champ, légende sur quatre lignes dont la dernière est oblitérée :

ΤΩΝ|ΒΑ|ΚΟΜΜ|ΕΡ|ΝΙΚΕΑΧ|.|ΧΡ|ΟΥΛ|ΣΑΧ|.|...

Τῶν βα(σιλικῶν) κομμερ(κίων) Νικέας, Χ[ριστ]ουπόλ(εως) (καὶ) Ἄσ[...].



Fig. 18 a et b : Les *kommerkia* impériaux de Nicée, de Christoupolis (?) et ...

L'indiction 10 peut correspondre à deux années au cours du long règne de Constantin V, 756/757 et 771/772. Seul le nom de Nicée est clairement lisible sans erreur possible. Nicée était une ville bien défendue par ses puissantes murailles et peut-être un centre commercial important si l'on en croit le sceau de Georges, commerçaire de l'apothèque de Nicée en 695-697<sup>46</sup>. A l'époque de la frappe, la ville était une place forte qui protégeait la route de Constantinople contre un envahisseur venant du plateau anatolien et elle avait, du reste, subi un siège sévère par les Arabes, en 727. Une fois de plus, les sceaux de commerçaires de l'apothèque de Nicée ne permettent pas de trancher la question de l'étendue des fonctions des commerçaires. La lecture des autres toponymes est incertaine. Il n'est pas impossible que Christoupolis, cité de Thrace, l'actuelle Kavala, ait été associée à Nicée, car les commerçaires ont souvent dirigé des apothèques non contiguës. Christoupolis serait le pendant occidental de Nicée. Celle-ci fut ultérieurement confiée à un commerçaire. Le dernier toponyme pourrait faire référence à l'Asie, mais il faudra attendre une bulle mieux conservée pour plus de certitude.

<sup>45</sup> Zacos (BnF) 729; dia.: 36.

<sup>46</sup> Dernière édition, *DOSeals* 3.59.3; Montinaro, "Premiers commerçaires," catalogue n° 88.

### 19. Les *kommerkia* impériaux de Thessalonique<sup>47</sup> (Fig. 19 a et b)

Au droit, bustes de Constantin V, barbu, et de Léon IV, imberbe, portant une couronne à croisette et *pendilia* et la chlamyde. Au sommet du champ et au centre, une croix. De part et d'autre des effigies : \_ - IB, indiction 12.

Au revers, dans le registre supérieur, Léon III, de face, en buste, la tête ceinte d'une couronne à croisette et *pendilia*, revêtu du *lôros* et tenant en main droite une croix peu distincte. Dans la partie inférieure du champ, légende sur quatre lignes probablement, dont la dernière est oblitérée :

ΤΩΝ|Β|ΚΟΜΜ|ΕΡ|ΚΙΩΝΘ|..|CΑΛ|.|..

Τῶν βα(σιλικῶν) κομμε[ε]ρκίων Θ[εσ]σαλ[ονίκης].



Fig. 19 a et b : Les *kommerkia* impériaux de Thessalonique.

L'indiction 12 correspond à l'année 773/774. Une bulle de même légende, mais abrégée et différemment répartie, a été publiée par N. Lichachev<sup>48</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> Zacos (BnF) 748; dia.: 29.

<sup>48</sup> Lichachev, *Molivodovuly*, pl. LXXV, n° 9, et p. 243-244 (Ermitage, M-7985).

## 20. Mégistos, *hypatos* et commerçaire de Thessalonique<sup>49</sup> (Fig. 20 a et b)

Au droit, dans un cercle de grènetis, l'impératrice Irène, de face, portant une couronne à doubles *pendilia*, tenant en main droite une croix processionnelle. Dans le champ, à droite, surmontant la croix, l'indiction, Z.

Au revers, légende bien gravée sur cinq lignes, dont une partie est restée hors champ, parce que le flan était trop petit pour le *boullôtèrion* :

ΜΕΓΙΣΤΩ|ΤΩΝΠΑΤΩ|.ΚΟΜΕΡΚΙ|.ΡΙΩΘΕΣΑ|.ΘΝΙΚ..

Μεγίστω ὑπάτῳ [(καὶ)] κομ(μ)ερκι[α]ρίῳ Θεσ(σ)α[λ]ονίκ[ης].



Fig. 20 a et b : Mégistos, *hypatos* et commerçaire de Thessalonique.

798/799. Les sceaux des commerçaires sous l'impératrice Irène étaient frappés sur des flans de taille insuffisante, et, pour cette raison, la plupart ne sont pas complètement lisibles. Les bureaux des *kommerkia* n'ont pas encore disparu à cette date, mais, de nouveau, des fonctionnaires sont mentionnés sur les bulles. Ils se différencient de leurs prédécesseurs de la fin du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle ou du début du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle par la modestie des dignités qui leur sont accordées. Celle d'*hypatos* à la fin du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle est inférieure à celle de protospathaire, elle-même inférieure à celle de patrice. Mégistos n'exerce plus le même type de fonction que ses prédécesseurs antérieurs à la réforme des *kommerkia* impériaux.

Ces exemplaires confirment que, à l'exception de Constantinople, Thessalonique est la ville la mieux représentée dans la série des commerçaires, sous tous leurs avatars.

Le plus récent des sceaux à l'effigie des empereurs est conservé en deux exemplaires dans l'ancienne collection Zacos<sup>50</sup> :

<sup>49</sup> Zacos (BnF) 731 (dia.: 29), mentionné dans Zacos-Veglery, p. 356.

<sup>50</sup> Zacos (BnF) 732 (dia.: 26) et 5064 (dia.: 28).

## 21. Christophe, *hypatos* et commerçaire d'Andrinople (Fig. 21 a et b) (Fig. 21 bis a et b)

Au droit, Nicéphore I<sup>er</sup> et Staurakios, ou Michel II et Théophile, à mi-corps, de face. Les deux empereurs portent une couronne à croisette et *pendilia*, le *divitision* et la chlamyde. A la base du champ, l'indiction, conservée sur le seul exemplaire Zacos (BnF) 732 : \_ - B, indiction 2.

Au revers, légende sur cinq lignes dont la première et la dernière sont oblitérées, car les deux bulles ont été frappées sur des flans trop petits :

Zacos (BnF) 732 : +ΧΡ[.]..|ΤΟΦΟΡ[.]..|ΚΟΜΜΕ[.]|ΑΔΡΙΑΝ[.]|.....

Zacos (BnF) 5064 : . ...|ΤΟΦΟΡ[.]..|ΚΟΜΜΕ[.]|ΑΔΡΙΑ[.]|.....

+ Χρ[ισ]τοφόρ(ω) [ ὑπ(άτῳ) (καὶ) ] κομμε[ρ]κ(ιάρῳ) Ἀδριαν[ου]πόλεω(ς)].



Zacos (BnF) 732

Fig. 21 a et b : Christophe, *hypatos* et commerçaire d'Andrinople.



Zacos (BnF) 5064

Fig. 21 bis a et b : Christophe, *hypatos* et commerçaire d'Andrinople.

Ce sceau est le troisième d'un commerçaire d'Andrinople de ce nom. Les précédents éditeurs du premier exemplaire ont transcrit la légende au génitif<sup>51</sup>, mais, puisque les terminaisons sont toutes abrégées, je choisis le datif qui est, en effet, le cas le plus utilisé à l'époque présumée de la frappe de cette bulle. L'exemplaire aujourd'hui conservé à

<sup>51</sup> Zacos-Veglery, n° 283; DOSeals 1.44.5.

Dumbarton Oaks est daté de l'indiction 1, le sceau Zacos (BnF) 732 de l'indiction 2, soit l'année suivante. Le dernier plomb, où l'indiction n'est plus visible, peut ainsi ou bien être une pièce parallèle à l'une des deux autres, ou bien porter une indiction différente. La question de la date n'est pas tranchée. G. Zacos et A. Veglery proposaient, pour l'indiction 1, la date de 822/823, sans exclure 807/808 ou 837/838. N. Oikonomidès et J. Nesbitt ont exclu cette dernière datation puisque le co-empereur Constantin, fils de Théophile, était prématurément décédé. Reste l'année 807/808, que ces derniers éditeurs écartent aussi, en observant un empattement au sommet du R, qui n'apparaît pas avant 820. L'argument est assez faible, car les lettres avec empattement sont déjà nettes sur le sceau de Mégistos, au temps d'Irène. Le doute reste donc permis.

En conclusion très provisoire, l'étude des plombs de commerçants à l'effigie impériale est loin d'être achevée. La parution de nouvelles bulles encore inconnues, mais aussi de nouveaux parallèles de pièces déjà connues, permet de progresser dans l'interprétation. La masse critique n'est pas encore atteinte pour que les statistiques puissent permettre de trancher entre les différentes théories. Mais les séries, telles qu'elles sont actuellement connues, suggèrent que les commerçants ne devaient pas vendre seulement des tissus de soie ou des produits de luxe, sinon la place de Constantinople serait davantage prééminente. La présence d'apothèque dans des îles modestes de la mer Egée va dans le même sens.

## Monks and Trade in Byzantium from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century

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Like most human institutions, willingly or not, monasteries could not escape being engaged in trade. The question I want to deal with in this paper is not monastic trade when it is a necessity and practiced on a small scale, but when it becomes an important concern for the monks, something which clearly contradicts the original ideals of monasticism as defined in Matthew's Gospel 19:21: "If you want to be perfect, go, sell your possessions and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven. Then come, follow me." Even Pachomios, despite the highly perfect system he organized for his monasteries and the boats these monasteries sent down the Nile in order to sell what the labor of the monks had produced, admonished his monks not to be obsessed by economic considerations.<sup>1</sup> But, as time passed, monasteries became more and more involved in economic life, especially after the Iconoclast crisis, during which aristocratic families got more involved in founding monasteries. Nevertheless, sources on monastic trade remain very scarce before the tenth century, when the Athos archives begin to provide evidence. At the same time, a turning point appears to be the foundation of the Lavra by Athanasios the Athonite and Nikephoros Phokas, as the two Lives of Athanasios bear witness. Although these were written in the eleventh century,<sup>2</sup> many details are confirmed by the archival documents, and thus are reliable.

<sup>1</sup> E. Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IVe-VIIIe siècles)*, JJP, suppléments 11 (2009): 504-33; M. Kaplan, "Aumônes, artisanat, domaines fonciers: les monastères byzantins et la logique économique (Ve-Xe siècle)," in *La vie quotidienne des moines en Orient et en Occident, IVe-Xe siècle*, II, *Questions transversales*, in press. It should be noted that later sources point out this disregard more, which may not have been so clear during the saint's life.

<sup>2</sup> P. Lemerle, "La vie ancienne de saint Athanase l'Athonite par Athanase de Lavra," in *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos, 963-1963. Études et Mélanges* (Chevetogne, 1963), 1:59-100 [repr. in idem, *Le monde de Byzance. Histoire et institutions* (London, 1978), no. III]; *Vitæ duæ antiquæ sancti Athanasii athonitæ*, ed. J. Noret, CCSG 9 (Louvain, 1982), 3-124 (*Vita A* by Athanasios of Panagiou, BHG 187), 127-213 (*Vita B*, anonymous, BHG 188).



As most scholars agree, the trade of Constantinople increased in a continuous way from at least the middle of the eighth century onwards.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, at this time and until the twelfth century, the sources remain very scarce. We have precise indications about only two harbors serving a monastery of the city. The most important was that of the Stoudios monastery, used by the emperors on the day of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, the feast celebrated on 29 August, which the emperors used to attend.<sup>4</sup> As we know nearly nothing about the Stoudite economy, we cannot judge how much this major imperial monastery was involved in trade. But knowing its links with Bithynian monasteries such as Sakkoudion, located in one of the most flourishing agricultural regions of the empire, and heavily involved in supplying Constantinople, we can be sure that it was. Just outside the city wall, on the Sea of Marmara, we find another harbor used by the emperor in order to attend the feast of the Ascension, held in the suburb of Zoodochos Pege, in a public church close to the monastery of the Virgin.<sup>5</sup> The aforesaid monastery may have used this harbor, but we cannot say more. Thus, we leave the monasteries of Constantinople for the time being.

As I have tried to show in an article in press,<sup>6</sup> the foundation of the Lavra by Athanasios the Athonite seems to be the best documented turning point of the monastic economy. First of all, as one of its founders, Nikephoros Phokas, became emperor in 963, Lavra was from the very beginning an imperial monastery and benefited from gifts and, above all, permanent endowments (*solemnia*) from successive emperors,<sup>7</sup> that allowed Athanasios not only to build a large monastery with every convenience possible, but also to practice economic investments. One of the most important investments was the building of a harbor. While *Vita A* tells us only about the necessity to shelter the sailors who could be in difficulty when sailing along this inhospitable coast,<sup>8</sup> *Vita B* explains that it was also made for the use of the monastery.<sup>9</sup> In fact, the *typikon* issued by Athanasios between 969 and 976 speaks about the harbor and its buildings where the sailors taking shelter could remain as long as necessary, for days or months.<sup>10</sup> At the end of the same

3 Evidence of the economic take-off of the Byzantine Empire can be found in Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), 487. Emperor Nikephoros I compelled the shipowners to receive a forced loan from the state at the rate of 16.66%. This proves a relatively high level of long-range trade. See P. Magdalino in this volume.

4 Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De Cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, II, 13, ed. J. J. Reiske (Bonn, 1829), 1:562–63; see O. Delouis, “Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Stoudios à Constantinople. La contribution d’un monastère à l’histoire de l’Empire byzantin (v. 454-1204)” (Ph.D. diss., Université Paris 1, 2005), 2:408–23.

5 Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De Cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, chap. 27, trans. A. Vogt, *Le livre des cérémonies* (Paris, 1935), 1:101–5.

6 See n. 1 above.

7 Nikephoros Phokas granted 244 *nomismata* a year in 964, an amount that John Tzimiskes doubled in 972: *typikon* of Lavra, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster*, ed. P. Meyer (Leipzig, 1894; repr. Chestnut Hill, MA, 2005), 114, l. 33–115, l. 1. In 978, Basil II added “ten big talents of silver,” given in corn: *Lavra*, 1:no. 7, 112–14.

8 *Vita A*, chaps. 107–8, ed. Noret, 50–51.

9 *Vita B*, chap. 35, ed. Noret, 166, ll. 7–21.

10 Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden*, 114, ll. 20–22; this is the source of *Vita A*.

*typikon*, we find the ἀκρωτήριον τῶν ἀποθηκῶν, “the cape of the warehouse,” which means that the monks, by that time, already used the harbor for trade.<sup>11</sup> This warehouse is different from the storage depot situated in the monastery itself.

One of the most impressive stories from Athanasios’ life is the saint’s reaction when he learned that Nikephoros had become *basileus* instead of joining him as a monk at the Lavra: he left the monastery using one of its boats.<sup>12</sup> As a matter of fact, two years only after its foundation, Lavra had already built several ships. For more on the ships, we must look towards the Iviron monastery, founded ca. 980 by Georgian monks of Lavra, rebuilding the ruined monastery of saint Clement, which was thereafter renamed the monastery of the Georgians, Iviron. These Georgians were very rich and prominent aristocrats in their country; Basil II used their family as allied soldiers. Fortunately, a *Vita* of the two main founders, John and Euthymios, has been preserved in Georgian. There we learn that “They gave to the Great Lavra, as we said, a chrysobull for an amount of 244 gold coins, issued by John Tzimiskes, that their *lavra* received every year from the Palace, as well as an island called Neos, granted by king Basil, which produces a yearly tax income of 14, 15 and sometimes 20 gold pounds.”<sup>13</sup> What the *Vita* does not say is that Iviron received something in return. Fortunately, the Iviron archive has preserved a deed of a gift (δωρεά) of December 984, by which “we (Athanasios and his monks) give him (Euthymios, abbot of the *lavra* *του Κlementos*) a ship (πλοῖον) that is exempted (ἐξέκουσεῦον), having a tonnage of 6,000 *modioi*, given by our most pious *basileus*.”<sup>14</sup>

This is of major importance. Less than a quarter of century after its foundation, Lavra already owned a rather big ship, built by carpenters by order of Athanasios or bought by him. 6,000 *modioi* are 102 cubic meters or 36 register tons. Such a boat cannot be made only for local trade and for the day-to-day supplies of the monastery. From the fiscal point of view, the ship is exempted from the *kommerkion*, a 10 percent ad valorem tax. If we imagine the less valuable cargo, corn, the cargo would have been worth 500 *nomismata*, for which the exemption would have amounted to 50 *nomismata*. If the exchange is fair between Lavra and Iviron, and we have no reason to think that it is not, it means that the *exkousseia* of the boat should yield the same amount as the Neos island, i.e. around 14 gold pounds or 1,000 *nomismata*, the *kommerkion* of 20 cargoes of the ship. Of course, if the trade were made on more valuable goods, it would be less than 20; but, if there is no trade, the ship is of no fiscal value.

11 *Ibid.*, 121, l. 10.

12 *Vita A*, chap. 90, ed. Noret, 42, ll. 16–17 (ἐμβὰς οὐδὲν εἰς ἔν τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πλοίων).

13 B. Martin-Hisard, “La Vie de Jean et Euthyme et le statut du monastère des Ibères sur l’Athos,” *REB* 49 (1991): 67–142: chap. 16, 94, ll. 315–19. If the text is to mean anything, the island must have been free of tax, the tax paid by the peasants being left to the monks.

14 *Iviron*, 1:no. 6, 135–40, ll. 21–23. See the introduction to *Lavra*, 1:43–44, 61, 70 and n. 74. The emperor must be the ruling one, i.e. Basil II.

As a consequence, we can assume that Lavra, then Iviron, were involved in trade.<sup>15</sup> Where? It is not difficult to imagine. Any right-minded person would try to sell corn (or wine, more difficult to convey, but much more valuable) where it could be sold at as high a price as possible, Thessalonike or, more probably, Constantinople. A 36-ton ship can easily sail to the Queen City. There is another consideration in favor of a trading use of the ship. To reach the stated fiscal value, the monasteries had to trade 120,000 *modioi* of corn (20 cargoes of 6,000 *modioi*), which is many times the amount of corn that they could raise on the properties they had by this time. It is even more conclusive if the cargo consisted partly of wine. So we have here a proof that both Lavra and Iviron were deeply involved in trade by 984. Why then did Athanasios accept this exchange? If one reads his writings (*typikon*, *diatyposis*, will), one would understand that he wished to prevent his monks from being overwhelmed by material concerns, to quote his friend Nikephoros Phokas' law of 964 about monastic properties, "making the life of the monks similar to the life of worldly persons, with their many and vain concerns."<sup>16</sup> One can assume that it was not exactly the same with the monks of Iviron: most of them had been involved in society during a major part of their life and some of them did not hesitate to leave their monastery for a while and to take up arms to help Basil II against the aristocratic revolts he had to suppress.

The *Life of John and Euthymios of Iviron* discloses a real interest in ships and sea trade. In 985, the *protos* of Mount Athos and the assembly of the Mese granted Iviron the right to build a shelter for the sailors in one of the best anchorages of the region, Galeagra, near the monastery.<sup>17</sup> The Iviron archive has kept the act of the *protos*, which ratifies an exchange between Iviron and the Athonite community. Iviron gives to the community houses and a vineyard in Hierissos in exchange for any rights to the Kolobou monastery, previously given to Iviron. At the end of this act is added the aforesaid right to the Galeagra plot, which was a common property of the Athonite monks, provided that the monks of Iviron will not turn any other part of Galeagra into a field or a vineyard. John used to take part in the task linked "with the departure of a ship or the arrival of another ship loaded with corn."<sup>18</sup> Later on in the *Vita*, we learn that the *oikonomos* had under his orders, among others, caulkers and sailors,<sup>19</sup> who were not monks, but were hired by the monastery.

The emperors' attitude towards this growing involvement of the monks in trade is not so easy to determine. Officially, emperors had to discourage it. If we look at the well-known *typikon* of Constantine IX Monomachos for the Athonite monastic communities, dated 1045, we have what looks like a summary. Urged by the monks, the emperor sent the

15 For an overview of the trade managed by the Athonite monasteries, see M. Živojinović, "The Trade of Mount Athos Monasteries," *ZRVI* 29–30 (1991): 101–15.

16 N. Svoronos, *Les nouvelles des empereurs macédoniens concernant la terre et les stratiotes, introduction, édition, commentaires, édition posthume et index établis par Paris Gounaridis* (Athens, 1994), 157, ll. 16–17 (no. 8).

17 *Vie de Jean et Euthyme*, chap. 37, ed. Martin-Hisard, and *Iviron*, 1: no. 7 (985), 150, ll. 48–63.

18 *Vie de Jean et Euthyme*, chap. 58, ed. Martin-Hisard, 119, ll. 1014–17.

19 *Ibid.*, chap. 67, 121, ll. 1083–87.

monk Kosmas Tzintziloukes. Kosmas summoned everybody, read the pertinent imperial chrysobulls and asked the monks which provisions should be revised. The second rank in these provisions was occupied by the problem of sea trade:

Secondly, they put forward that some monks and abbots did fit out ships in order to sell wine and other goods and that they went to Constantinople and other cities in order to trade and sell. We inquired about that point: did anyone subsequent to the *typikon* [of John Tzimiskes] ordain that they were allowed to own ships? We have found a *typikon* written and signed by the blessed emperor kyr Basil,<sup>20</sup> promulgated with the common consent of the *protos* of the time and of all the monks settled on the Mountain, which not only did not allow, but furthermore forbade this degrading trade and ordered that anybody who dared to do that would be punished and expelled from the Mountain. On the other hand, it gave permission to own small boats (*πλοιάρια*) and allowed the monks to go and sell their surplus wine as far as Thessalonike and the small towns in between, if ships did not come from outside the region, but not to buy from nor sell to others, which is characteristic of love for money and lure of gain. We too wanted to oblige them to obey this rule, but the point appeared to all the monks too difficult to bear. In fact, they assured us, if they could not own ships to provide their monasteries with their needs and to sell their fruit and their surplus wine, they could not stay one more day on the Mountain. After thorough investigation of this matter, everybody agreed that monasteries could be allowed to own small boats (*πλοιάρια*) having a tonnage of 200 or 300 *modioi*, just enough to provide for their needs and their transport, so that the monks go only as far as Thessalonike and Ainos, to give their surplus and receive in exchange what they need. However, none of them will be allowed to make journeys by boat outside the Mountain during the great and holy Lent, but rather they should remain in their monasteries, devoting themselves uninterruptedly to God and to themselves. From the Mountain or from outside, they will not buy any goods, I mean neither corn, barley, wine, oil, nor any other thing to trade here and there as do worldly people. This has been ordained as a compromise (*οἰκονομικός*), so that those who acquire boats of this kind in future will declare to the *protos* and the community that if they transgress the present provisions, the *protos* and the community will sell these boats and the proceeds will be given to the *oikonomos*, who will spend it for the common needs. Furthermore, the transgressor will not be allowed to acquire another ship or to leave the Mountain; thus, according to the Apostle, the others may take warning. Concerning the big ships, it has been decided to lay them up completely, with the exception of those owners who have been privileged to possess them by chrysobulls of the blessed emperors, as well as the Vatopedi monastery, since it was authorized long ago to own a ship through the written consent and agreement of the *protos* of the time and of the other abbots of the Mountain.<sup>21</sup>

Another specific case is mentioned later in the document: "Furthermore, everybody agreed that the monastery of the Amalfitans should own a big ship (*πλοῖον μεγάλον*) as

20 Basil II. This chrysobull is now lost: F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565 bis 1453* (Berlin-Munich, 1924), vol. 1.2, 2nd ed. A. E. Müller and A. Beihammer (Munich, 2003), 821.

21 *Prôtaton*, no. 8, 226–27, l. 53.

they could not survive otherwise, provided that they will not use it to trade, but they use it to reach the imperial City and bring back whatever they want for the monastery or will have been given to them by some friends of Christ.”<sup>22</sup> The next item gives an idea of some goods sold by the monks: the former *typikon* had banned selling “timber, boards, torches and pitch” outside the Mountain, and the present one does the same. The boat (ναῦς) used for the purpose would be confiscated as specified earlier.<sup>23</sup>

So, we learn much about the trade of the Athos monasteries in the middle of the eleventh century, a period of global and very fast expansion of trade in the Mediterranean and especially in the towns of the Byzantine Empire. Some monasteries of the Mountain were trading mainly wine, but other goods as well, and their main destination was Constantinople, a good choice from the economic point of view. Of course, they did not sell only the products of their properties, as they seemed to be buying and selling everywhere. Even for wine, the production of vineyards around the monasteries was not sufficient for the monasteries themselves. Other goods, namely cereals, could have come from the huge properties with which some of the monasteries had been endowed. But, as oil is also mentioned, one must remember that olive trees are rarely found in Athonite documents before the fourteenth century; I doubt if the oil production of the monasteries and their properties was sufficient for trade. But what Monomachos tells us is that Athos monasteries used their ships to become ordinary traders, to “trade here and there as do worldly people.”

The *typikon*, acting οἰκονομικῶς (as a compromise), aims to prevent monastic trade as much as possible. The ordinary rule should be that monasteries could own only small boats (πλοία) unable to carry large quantities and to sail very far. Even so, the permitted range still goes from Thessalonike to Ainos, some 300 kilometers, near the delta of the river Hebros. In Ainos, the monks could sell to merchants going to Constantinople. But the monks were theoretically not allowed to send their ships towards Abydos and to enter the Sea of Marmara. But, still acting οἰκονομικῶς, Monomachos takes into account the reality. He does not dare to revoke what previous emperors have granted: the chrysobulls granted to major monasteries remained in force and their ships were not laid up. As we have seen previously, Lavra received from Basil II a chrysobull for a 6,000-*modioi* ship, transferred to Iviron. It is most probable that the ships “which have been granted by chrysobulls of the blessed emperors,” as the *typikon* issued in 1045 says, are those of the biggest monasteries, Lavra and Iviron. At a moment during the eleventh century, Lavra owned seven ships benefiting from an *exkoussieia*; as we shall see, in 1102, only a few small boats were left in its possession. But it may be supposed that, by 1045, the time of Monomachos’ *typikon*, Lavra has overtaken the 6,000 *modioi* previously given to Iviron with at least a large part of its 16,000 *modioi*, consisting of ships over 2,000 *modioi* each, as finally seven ships add up to 16,000 *modioi*.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 228, ll. 99–101.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., ll. 102–6.

We can go somewhat further: Monomachos is protecting these big monasteries from possible competition by smaller ones. He yields to the claims of the two other big monasteries: the ship, possibly a big one, of Vatopedi has been accepted not by an imperial act, but by the will of the other monks; it will be registered now in a chrysobull. Vatopedi was the last of the largest Athos monasteries to be founded. In a desperate way, Monomachos tries to specify that the big ship he is obliged, once more by the will of the other monks, to grant to the Amalfitan monastery will be allowed to go to Constantinople, but only to buy what is necessary for the monastery, not to engage in trade. Who can seriously believe this last point, at a time when the Amalfitan merchants were prosperous traders in Constantinople?<sup>24</sup> To sum up, monastic trade was flourishing during a part of the eleventh century; as far as Lavra and Iviron are concerned, this began at the end of the previous century.

Coming to the end of the eleventh century, we get information concerning another monastery, that of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos.<sup>25</sup> In 1087 and 1088, the founder (in 1079) of this monastery, Christodoulos, obtained from Alexios I Komnenos two chrysobulls. The first one granted him the island of Patmos;<sup>26</sup> the second one granted an *exkoussieia* for a 500-*modioi* ship.<sup>27</sup> The ship was supposed to supply the monastery with all the necessities. So the exemption from *kommerkion* applied to the goods bought to feed the monastery, as the chrysobull states, allowing the monks to sail for that purpose wherever they wished.<sup>28</sup> John II Komnenos confirmed this chrysobull without any change in 1119.<sup>29</sup> 500 *modioi* is not much. But, in 1093, by his will, the founder, Christodoulos, left to his monastery the four boats that were his personal property; one of those boats probably was the ship mentioned as exempted by Alexios I. If it is, the other three benefited from no exemption, since, when John II confirmed in 1119 his father’s chrysobull, he changed nothing, quoting it word for word. By this time, in a provision made by the abbot, possibly Christodoulos himself, the abbot asked monks, and among them Nicolas, to fetch him at the Stena, probably at Abydos, on his way back from Constantinople; anyway, they had to go there in order to sell cheese and meat from the monastery.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>24</sup> M. Balard, “Amalfi et Byzance aux Xe–XIIe siècles,” *TM* 6 (1976): 85–95.

<sup>25</sup> K. Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monastères byzantins (fin du Xe–milieu du XIVe siècle)* (Paris, 2006), 109–11. About the boats of this monastery, see E. Malamut, *Les îles de l’Empire byzantin, VIIIe–XIIe siècles*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1988), 2:446–53; M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, “Τὰ πλοία τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου,” in *Acts of the International Congress Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου, 900 χρόνια ιστορικής μαρτυρίας (1088–1988)*, Διπτύχων Παράφυλλα 2 (Athens, 1989), 93–112.

<sup>26</sup> Πάτμου, 1: no. 6 (Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden*, 2nd ed. P. Wirth, Munich, 1995, 2: no. 1147).

<sup>27</sup> Πάτμου, 1: no. 7, 72, l. 3: ἐξκουσσεύειν πλοῖον ἰδιό [κ]τ. η. τ. ο. ν. χ. ω. ρ. ή. σ. ε. ως ὄν μοδίωv πε[ντακοσίων], μικρῶ πλέον ἢ ἑλασσον (Dölger-Wirth, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden*, 2: no. 1150).

<sup>28</sup> Πάτμου, 1: 72, ll. 8–9 and 73, ll. 24–25.

<sup>29</sup> Πάτμου, 1: no. 8, 81–83 (Dölger-Wirth, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden*, 2: no. 1150).

<sup>30</sup> *MM* 6.3: no. 42, 146. On the way the monks dried the meat on the rocks of a desert island, see *Vita of Leontios of Jerusalem*, chap. 39: *Life of Leontios* (BHG 985), ed. D. Tsougarakis, *The Life of Leontios, Patriarch of Jerusalem. Text, Translation, Commentary* (Leiden–New-York–Cologne, 1993), 76.

Although we have no other document from before 1186, we know from the *Life of Leontios of Jerusalem*,<sup>31</sup> who was *oikonomos*, then abbot of Patmos in the middle of the twelfth century, that a ship was used in many circumstances, for example in order to bring back the *siteresion* in corn granted to the monastery from the production of the fiscal lands of Crete. Despite the fact that only one ship (ναῦς, πλοῖον), followed by a rowboat (πλοιάριον), is mentioned in the *Life*, it seems difficult to believe that Patmos could rely only on one boat; anyhow, the other three given by Christodoulos could all have been replaced.

If we go back to the beginning of the twelfth century, we again come across the issue of Lavra's ships. In April 1102, urged by the abbot Theophylaktos, Alexios I issued a chrysobull allowing Lavra to buy four boats to a total of 6,000 *modioi*, free of any tax.<sup>32</sup> There, we are back to the original 6,000 exchanged with Iviron in 984. But, of course, Lavra was quite bigger than 118 years before. Even more interesting is the history of the previous period we can find in the chrysobull. Some time before, Lavra benefited from an *exkousseia* for seven ships and a huge total of 16,000 *modioi*. But Lavra ran into difficulties mainly because the number of monks exceeded the resources of the monastery, so that it was unable to maintain these ships and owned, by the time of the chrysobull, only two or three small boats, as already mentioned. As these boats were different from the original ones, they no longer benefited from a tax exemption. Alexios I decided to replace the former seven ships for 16,000 *modioi* by the aforesaid four totalling 6,000 *modioi* and added that Lavra could replace these four ships by new ones if they were damaged. Thus, we can assert that Lavra was trading actively by that time.

Everybody agrees that commercial expansion went on during the twelfth century. During its second half, we get more indications about the trade of major monasteries. In 1152, Isaac Komnenos, brother of John II, issued a *typikon* for the Theotokos Kosmosoteira he founded in Bera (Pheres), a monastery endowed with many properties and rights.<sup>33</sup> Among them was the *emporion* with a *phoundax* (warehouse) at Sagoudaous, near Ainos, a major harbor on the way to Constantinople. Beyond the income coming from the *emporion* and *phoundax*, it is clear that the monastery used Ainos to trade towards Constantinople, as Isaac gave to his monastery twelve ships totalling 4,000 *modioi* free of taxes.<sup>34</sup> These seem to be small, but it was possible from Bera and Ainos to reach Constantinople by coastal navigation, most of it being done in the Sea of Marmara, well protected from the winds. Some of these boats could have been bigger.

At the end of the twelfth century, we get much information about a growing monastic interest in trade. First of all, with regard to Lavra, we learn from a σημείωμα

31 See previous note.

32 *Lavra*, 1: no. 55, 282–87.

33 Last edition: G. Papazoglou, *Τυπικόν Ισαακίου Αλεξίου Κομνηνού τῆς μονῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς Κοσμοσωτείρας (1151/2)* (Komotini, 1994). See M. Kaplan, “L'économie du monastère de la Kosmosoteira fondé par Isaac Comnène (1152) d'après le *typikon*,” *TM* 16 (2011) [=Mélanges Cécile Morrisson]: 455–85.

34 *Kosmosoteira*, chap. 69, ed. Papazoglou, 95–99.

(decision) of the *megas logariastes* John Belissariotes, in May 1196,<sup>35</sup> that Alexios Komnenos' chrysobull was still valid. The trial was about the tithe on the wine, which is of the same rate as the *kommerkion*. As it was not quoted in Alexios' chrysobull of *exkousseia*, the officials of the *demosion* (tax authorities) tried to raise it. Of course, Lavra won. We learn that one of the boats had a tonnage of 3,000 *modioi*, but in fact was 250 *modioi* more, a point which was not a real difficulty, as the chrysobull said “more or less” (μικρῶ πλέον ἢ ἔλασσον). But, what is more important is that, finally, the monks of Lavra retained the tax exemption for their four boats, “particularly the *kommerkion* on the goods they bring [implied: to Constantinople] and the *dekateia* (tithe) of the wine,”<sup>36</sup> equivalent to the *kommerkion* (commercial tax) on other goods. There is no doubt that Lavra was routinely trading in Constantinople.

At this moment there appears a newcomer in Athonite trade, the Serbian monastery of Chilandar. In June 1199, Alexios III Angelos gave to Savas, its abbot, a chrysobull granting him the *exkousseia* for a 1,000-*modioi* ship sailing on the shores of the *themata* of Boleron, Strymon, and Thessalonike.<sup>37</sup> As for every new monastery, it is supposed to be only for its supplies.

But the best dossier of this period is that of Patmos. In January 1186, Patmos received from Isaac II Angelos a chrysobull granting the monastery an exemption from the *dekateia* (i.e. the *kommerkion*) for three ships (πλοῖα) totalling 1,500 *modioi*.<sup>38</sup> One can understand that the trading activity of the community, whose numbers have substantially increased, has led the monastery to buy two more boats, which were of course not free of taxes unless the emperor decided it. But this was not convenient for the long-distance trade of Patmos: in 1195, the monastery had a new boat measured by the *sekretion* (board) of the sea for 1,422 *modioi*, surely in replacement for the three boats mentioned in 1186.<sup>39</sup> The needs of the monastery continued to increase: in November 1197, Alexios III granted another ship of 500 *modioi*;<sup>40</sup> the same board measured this ship in November 1199 as having a capacity of 595 *modioi*.<sup>41</sup> In 1203, the two boats being lost, Patmos had bought a new one, which the same board measured, finding 2,034 *modioi*.<sup>42</sup> Of course, the growing

35 *Lavra*, 1: no. 67, 345–54.

36 *Ibid.*, 352, ll. 79–83: “As far as the tithe [for wine] is concerned, if it is brought in order to be sold in the Imperial City by the *megarikon*, the tithe is raised at the rate of one *megarikon* for ten, as well as for jars (πίθος), barrels (βαγένιον), also called βουτζιον, or any other container, at the rate of one measure for ten and nothing more as far as this levying is concerned.”

37 *Chilandar*, 1: no. 5, 115, ll. 26–35 (Dölger-Wirth, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden*, 2: no. 1652). See N. Oikonomidès, “Le bateau de Chilandar,” in *Huit siècles du monastère de Chilandar: histoire, vie spirituelle, littérature, art et architecture* (Belgrade, 2000), 29–33 [repr. in *idem*, *Social and Economic Life in Byzantium*, ed. E. Zachariadou (Aldershot, 2004), no. IV].

38 Πάτμου, 1: no. 9, 91–92 (Dölger-Wirth, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden*, 2: no. 1570).

39 Πάτμου, 2: no. 56, 91–94.

40 Πάτμου, 1: no. 11, 105–7 (Dölger-Wirth, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden*, 2: no. 1641).

41 Πάτμου, 2: no. 59, 121–24. Patmos got his exemption for 2,000 *modioi*. These two boats together proved to be 2,017 *modioi*.

42 *Ibid.*, no. 60, 128–34.

number of monks in the monastery required bigger boats for the supplies, but, as we have seen, a century earlier and under the founder himself, the monks had sold cheese and meat. One asks: why did they handle meat and cheese when monastic rules forbade their consumption? The only reason can be trade.

How much Constantinopolitan monasteries were involved in trade<sup>43</sup> is a more difficult question for this period, as sources are lacking. Some of them did have port facilities, like Stoudios, whose harbor was used, as we have seen, by the emperor for his visit on the feast of Saint John the Baptist,<sup>44</sup> but even if we can guess that it was used to unload goods coming from the properties owned by the monastery, about which we know nearly nothing, we have no indication concerning a possible use for trade. The more detailed account available bears upon the monastery of Theotokos Kecharitomene, founded between 1108 and 1118 by Eirene Doukaina, wife of Alexios I.<sup>45</sup> But the *typikon* deals only with the means of collecting the produce of the many and rich estates owned by the monastery. Despite this difficulty, Paul Magdalino tried to show how much the monasteries of Constantinople contributed to the feeding of the City and thus sold a part of the production of their provincial estates. These monasteries owned *skalai* in the city and its nearby suburbs, which were used not only by them, but also by merchants who paid fees for this use.<sup>46</sup> Thus, the Constantinopolitan monasteries were deeply involved in the trade of their city and benefited from it.

From at least the end of the tenth century, monasteries were involved in trade. It was of course necessary for them to sell what they produced in order to buy what they could not produce themselves, for example, oil for Athos monasteries. But what the sources show is that monasteries did not even restrict themselves to selling the surplus of their expanding properties, a thing that anyway would have involved them in trade, but some of them did not hesitate to practice purely trading activities, that is to buy goods they did not produce in order to sell them at a profit. One may wonder if that was their original vocation, but nobody can deny the evidence.

## Trade Regulation and Taxation in Byzantium, Eleventh-Twelfth Centuries

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Commercial exchanges were lively and expanding in eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantium. Archaeological finds and texts point to the emergence of provincial manufacturing centers, the existence of ships carrying large cargoes of wine or pottery, and the increasing presence of Italian merchants. To these indications of a development in trade, one may add the growing interest in taxing exchanges. During this period the Byzantine state's tradition of regulating trade continued, in spite of a certain relaxation of official controls. Both the state's intervention in the economy and the taxation of commercial exchanges have received considerable attention in recent scholarship, but there is still much to be gleaned from the written record. Indeed, not only did this period witness a dramatic growth of trade, but thanks to a greatly improved documentation, for the first time these issues can be studied in detail.

This paper begins with an examination of the role of the state by reviewing the relatively well-studied regulation of the commercial exchanges and by considering the significance for trade of the extensive agricultural activity of the state. The main focus is then the taxation of trade: the different fiscal demands and the exemption from them, along with the tax officials and their administrative practice. This study stresses the importance of the hitherto little discussed requisitioning and taxation of the means of transportation, especially boats. It also suggests that tax farming is key for understanding both everyday taxation practice and the fiscal policy decided in Constantinople. The paper concludes with the question of the impact of state intervention upon trade and the significance of trade for state finances.

<sup>43</sup> See Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monastères*, 220–25. The *skalai* were not only wood peers, but included the building there available for trade.

<sup>44</sup> See *supra*.

<sup>45</sup> The *typikon* is edited by P. Gautier, "Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôménè," *REB* 43 (1985): 5–165.

<sup>46</sup> P. Magdalino, "The Grain Supply of Constantinople, Ninth-Twelfth Centuries," in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, ed. Mango and Dagron, 35–47 and *idem*, *Constantinople médiévale. Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines* (Paris, 1996), 79–84 and 89–90. The best description of the *skalai* is that of Michael Attaleiates: see Miguel Ataliate, *Historia*, trans. I. Pérez Martín (Madrid, 2002), 190. Attaleiates' own foundation is a good example of Thracian production around Raidestos coming to Constantinople and there being sold: P. Gautier, "La diataxis de Michel Attaliate," *REB* 39 (1981): 5–143.

## State Regulations and Policies Affecting Trade

The state guaranteed the existence of a unified system of measures and weights throughout this period and, for most of it, of a stable and functional currency, both elements that greatly favored exchanges.<sup>1</sup> Byzantine law regulated exhaustively contracts and the courts applied it more or less consistently in disputes arising from trade.<sup>2</sup> Imperial decrees covering maritime commerce were issued in this period, an indication of that activity's importance. According to Niketas Choniates, emperors issued numerous orders against the looting of shipwrecks but with little effect until Andronikos I Komnenos (1183–1185) succeeded in putting an end to the unlawful practice.<sup>3</sup> Although the state could not guarantee that merchants on the highways or the sea would not be attacked and robbed, the period was one of relative peace and security.<sup>4</sup>

A great deal of rules regarded specifically the market of Constantinople as seen in the *Book of the Eparch* (911/912), which regulated the activities of the members of the guilds and of non-Constantinopolitan merchants, limiting in particular the length of their stays in the city.<sup>5</sup> According to the preamble of the *Book of the Eparch*, emperor Leo VI issued the law to prevent the oppression of the weak by the powerful.<sup>6</sup> In fact, the legislation's motivations were more complex. We can distinguish three main aims: to protect the interests of consumers; to guarantee a livelihood to all guild members (especially the poorer ones); and to hinder the export of high-quality silk cloth or of the know-how to produce silk. Many of the consumer-friendly regulations also benefited trade, in particular those seeking to guarantee product quality and fairness in exchanges as well as those prohibiting the hoarding of foodstuffs.<sup>7</sup> However, most of the rules would have had a limiting effect on economic activity, especially those restricting profit margins,<sup>8</sup> prohibiting vertical or

horizontal integration and the opening of branch offices,<sup>9</sup> and banning investment in the silk trade by the wealthy.<sup>10</sup> It appears that several of these restrictions were relaxed to a significant extent in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>11</sup>

Foreign trade was controlled and restricted for primarily political reasons. The exportation of certain strategic commodities (in particular precious metals, silks, and foodstuffs) was forbidden. Trade with Syria and Egypt was banned in the tenth and the early eleventh century. It is hard to measure the extent to which these rules were applied. Moreover, in the case of foodstuffs, it has been argued that the ban, even if enforced, would have had limited economic significance. These restrictions too seem to have been progressively abandoned in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>12</sup>

The liberalization of the rules regarding the market of Constantinople and international trade has been attributed to both the intensification of exchanges and merchant pressure as well as to the privileges awarded to the Italians from 1082, which contributed to the relaxation of controls for all.<sup>13</sup> There is, however, an additional important factor that has been overlooked, namely the financial interests of the state and of those who profited from taxation. Increased exchanges meant greater taxes and, as it will be argued below, this was certainly in the minds of the people in power.

The argument of protecting the “poor” from the oppression of the “powerful” was also used in the novels issued by tenth-century emperors in order to justify the laws limiting the acquisition of land by the *dynatoi*. One of these novels also concerned exchanges. In 996, Basil II prohibited moving fairs from grounds belonging to “weak” landowners onto grounds belonging to “powerful” ones.<sup>14</sup>

Mount Athos offers an example of ideologically-motivated trade restrictions. Two regulations, drafted under the supervision of, or at least confirmed by, emperors Basil II (976–1025) and Constantine IX Monomachos (1045) respectively, forbade speculative trade and the export of wood along with limiting the capacity of monastic boats and the ports they could approach. It appears that these regulations were issued in order to appease certain monks who found excessive commercial activity inappropriate.<sup>15</sup> Such

1 C. Morrisson, “Weighing, Measuring, Paying. Exchanges in the Market and the Marketplace,” in *Trade and Markets*, ed. Morrisson, 379–98, esp. 389–92 on the middle Byzantine period.

2 Cf. A. E. Laiou and C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* (Cambridge, 2007), 17–18.

3 Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten (Berlin-New York, 1975), 326–29; cf. A. E. Laiou, “Byzantine Trade with Christians and Muslims and the Crusades,” in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh (Washington, D.C., 2001), 183–84.

4 Leaving aside the periods of foreign invasion, piracy was apparently a serious problem in the Aegean in the late 12th century: P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), 171.

5 *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, ed. J. Koder (Vienna, 1991). On this legislation see in particular N. Oikonomides, “The Economic Region of Constantinople: from Directed Economy to Free Economy and the Role of the Italians,” in *Europa Medievale e Mondo Bizantino: Contatti effettivi e possibilità di studi comparati*, ed. G. Arnaldi and G. Cavallo (Rome, 1997), 224–26 [repr. in idem, *Social and Economic Life in Byzantium*, ed. E. Zachariadou (Aldershot, 2004), no. XIII]; G. C. Maniatis, “The Domain of Private Guilds in the Byzantine Economy, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries,” *DOP* 55 (2001): 339–51; G. Dagron, “The Urban Economy, Seventh–Twelfth Centuries,” in *EHB* 2:passim; A. E. Laiou, “Exchange and Trade, Seventh–Twelfth Centuries,” *ibid.*, 718–20, 735–36, and *passim*.

6 *Eparchenbuch*, ed. Koder, 72.

7 E.g. *ibid.*, 2.2, 2.5, 6.4, 20.3.

8 E.g. *ibid.*, 9.6, 13.5, 17.1.

9 E.g. *ibid.*, 4.7, 10.6, 3.6.

10 *Ibid.*, 6.10, 7.1.

11 Oikonomides, “The Economic Region,” 231–34; Laiou and Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy*, 144–45; D. Jacoby, “Venetian Commercial Expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean, 8th–11th Centuries,” in *Byzantine Trade, 4th–12th Centuries*, ed. M. Mundell Mango (Farnham, 2009), 389–90. No doubt, these rules were not perfectly enforced even in the 10th century: Laiou, “Exchange and Trade,” 718.

12 Laiou, “Exchange and Trade,” 723–25; eadem, “Monopoly and Privileged Free Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (8th–14th Century),” in *Chemins d’outre-mer*, ed. Coulon et al., 2:511–26. See also F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453, 1. Teil 2. Halbband, Regesten von 867–1025*, rev. ed. A. Müller, collab. A. Beihammer (Munich, 2003), no. 801e.

13 Oikonomides, “The Economic Region,” 234; Laiou, “Monopoly,” 518; Laiou and Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy*, 144–45.

14 N. Svoronos, *Les nouvelles des empereurs macédoniens, concernant la terre et les stratiotes* (Athens, 1994), no. 14, 216–17. Interestingly the provision concerning fairs is omitted in the reworked version of the novel that, according to the editor, dates from the second half of the 11th century at the earliest: 197.

15 *Prôtaton*, no. 8, ll. 53–77, 99–106. The *typikon* of Tzimiskes had already imposed restrictions on the sale of

limitations may have been imposed upon other ecclesiastical institutions as well. At least in the case of Mount Athos, however, these restrictions were probably of little significance because all of the important monasteries were exempted from them.

The state sometimes determined the location where trade ought to take place and the conditions of purchase and sale. Apart from the *Book of the Eparch* covering the capital, such rules may be seen also in the case of the often-commented *phoundax* constructed outside Raidestos by Nikephoritzes, *logothetes* of the *dromos* under Michael VII Doukas (1071-1078).<sup>16</sup> This affair reveals a number of things regarding both the regulation and the taxation of trade. According to Attaleiates, by virtue of an imperial order all the grain of the area destined for sale had to be brought to the *phoundax*. A limited number of merchants, who apparently had shops in this establishment, obtained unique rights to the acquisition and sale of the grain and could thus sell at considerable profit. The *phoundax* enabled the imposition of a tax (the *kommerkion*) on all grain exchanges in the area, which seem to have escaped fiscal demands up to then. A *kommerkion* was also charged on all other merchandise transported in the vicinity. The superintendent of the establishment was the *phoundakarios*. According to Attaleiates, he collected wheat from those who brought grain for sale, obviously as *kommerkion*; he also demanded the *topiatikon*, apparently also in kind:

And the [merchants'] superior, the ravager *phoundakarios*, who taxed the people bringing the wheat [for sale] and unfairly seized from them wheat [as *kommerkion*] and exacted heavy demands [in kind] as *topiatika*, caused the [amount of wheat offered for] sale to diminish because of the multiple deductions [made on it].<sup>17</sup>

The *topiatikon* was most likely the rent paid by the merchants for their use of the grounds of the *phoundax*.<sup>18</sup> The *phoundakarios* was no doubt an employee of Nikephoritzes

wine and wood before 972: *ibid.*, no. 7, ll. 95-100, 139-40; here too the aim was to limit the monks' exposure to worldly affairs. See the article of M. Kaplan in this volume.

16 Michael Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed., trans., and commentary I. Pérez Martín (Madrid, 2002), 148-50. On this affair see most recently Laiou and Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy*, 135-36; M. Gerolymatou, *Αγορές, έμποροι και εμπόριο στο Βυζάντιο (9ος-12ος αι.)* (Athens, 2008), 198-201; Morrisson, "Weighing," 391-92.

17 Attaleiates, *Historia*, 149: Καὶ ὁ προκαθήμενος αὐτῶν λυμεῶν φουνδακάριος, ὃς καινοτομῶν τοὺς τὸν σίτον καταβιβάζοντας καὶ σίτον ἐκ τούτων κακῶς ἀφαιρούμενος καὶ βαρεῖας ἀπαιτήσεις ὑπὲρ τῶν τοπιατικῶν εἰσπραττόμενος, ἠνάγκασε τὴν πρᾶσιν διὰ τὸ καινοτομῆσθαι πολυειδῶς ἐνδεστέραν ποιεῖν. I understand that *prasis* here refers to the resale of the wheat that the *phoundax* merchants bought from those who brought it there.

18 Attaleiates uses the term *topiatikon* also in his *Ponema Nomikon* to indicate the rent one paid to the owner of a section of the littoral zone for establishing there a permanent fishing installation (*epoche*; I. and P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, 8 vols. [Athens, 1931; repr. Aalen, 1962], 7:491); in 14th-century texts, the term denotes again the rent one paid to a landowner for constructing a building on that person's terrain: e.g. *Le Codex B du monastère Saint-Jean-Prodrome (Serrès) (XIIIe-XVe siècles)*, ed. L. Bénou (Paris, 1998), no. 79. The use of the term by Attaleiates suggests that what was rented to the wheat merchants were the grounds of the *phoundax* on which they established shops or stalls of their own. For a different understanding of the *topiatikon* (percentage on sales): P. Magdalino, "The Grain Supply of Constantinople, Ninth-Twelfth

who was the real beneficiary of the taxes and the rents collected, having leased the exploitation of the *phoundax* from the fisc.<sup>19</sup> Clearly, Nikephoritzes had obtained a lucrative tax farm thanks to his influence with the emperor. The fisc was not losing from this arrangement, either, since the rent the *logothetes* paid was no doubt more significant than any *kommerkia* previously collected at Raidestos.<sup>20</sup>

Although short-lived, this project shows the potential reach of the state in the late eleventh century.<sup>21</sup> At the same time, this affair suggests that many of the transactions taking place in the countryside at that time were not being taxed. Although this project is unparalleled in the surviving documentation concerning the provinces and was apparently inspired by the greed of Nikephoritzes, I suspect that it was not a unique incident. It was most likely part of a wider effort by the state to capture more trade taxes. This effort was no doubt prompted by the financial crisis of the time as well as by the fact that trade had grown enough to justify the creation of a taxing infrastructure. According to Attaleiates, the *phoundax* was inspired by the volume of exchanges taking place in Raidestos. This incident also reveals that the priorities of the central authority in the 1070s had changed dramatically since the previous century. Instead of trying to limit the accumulation of wealth by the powerful, the state now promoted it, allowing certain merchants to become rich because this served the aim of increasing fiscal revenues.

Fiscal policy with regard to the land and its products had a significant, albeit indirect, bearing on trade. Throughout the empire, the state controlled vast territories, the best portions of which were organized into imperial estates or belonged to state-controlled pious foundations based in Constantinople. From the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118), a great amount of land was conceded to close relatives of the emperor living in the capital.<sup>22</sup> It is not clear how exactly the agricultural surplus of these estates was used but it seems that most of it was never commercialized. We know that a portion of it had to be retained in the provinces to provide annual subsidies to

Centuries," in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, ed. Mango and Dagron, 41 [repr. in *idem*, *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot and Burlington VT, 2007), no. IX].

19 I. Pérez Martín seems to be the first to have noted that Nikephoritzes leased the *phoundax* from the fisc; but she contends that the taxes were still directed to the treasury. The two manuscripts in which the history is preserved give different amounts for the annual rent paid by Nikephoritzes: 6 or 60 pounds of gold. There is no means of deciding which of the two is more plausible. On both of these points, see Attaleiates, *Historia*, 307 n. 92.

20 The passage of Attaleiates implies that, before the *phoundax*, either no *kommerkion* was collected or that its collection was not thorough. At the same time, the historian makes no suggestion of any damage caused to the fisc by this system, as he would not have failed to do had he thought it warranted.

21 Further evidence of the state's power in the domain is provided by the information regarding the provisioning of the Crusaders passing through Byzantium in the 12th century. On several occasions, merchants were ordered to set up markets and sell at just prices so as to provision the armies: Laiou, "Trade with Christians and Muslims," 161-68.

22 N. Oikonomidès, "L'évolution de l'organisation administrative de l'empire byzantin au XIe siècle (1025-1118)," *TM* 6 (1976): 135-41 [repr. in *idem*, *Byzantium from the Ninth Century to the Fourth Crusade* (Hampshire and Brookfield VT, 1992), no. X]; Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 162-71.

ecclesiastical institutions and possibly individuals.<sup>23</sup> Some salaries in kind also had to be paid locally.<sup>24</sup> Probably the greatest part of the surplus of the imperial estates was sent to the capital. We know that pious foundations consumed great quantities of grain to feed dependents, make payments in kind, and provide subsidies to imperial clients.<sup>25</sup> These practices impacted trade in a number of ways. The use of a large part of the imperial estates' agrarian surplus to cover alimentary needs and to make payments reduced proportionately the need for recourse to the market either to sell or to buy. Moreover, the way the produce was sent to Constantinople is unlikely to have generated much profit for the private transportation network. As with the imperial monastery of the Theotokos Kecharitomene and the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos, it is probable that many pious foundations of the capital and the households of imperial relatives owned boats which they used to import their estates' produce to the city.<sup>26</sup> Finally, as suggested below, it is likely that the state also commandeered private boats, carts, and mules, in order to transport produce from its estates to Constantinople or elsewhere.

### Commercial Taxes and Other State Requisitions

The taxation of commercial exchanges and the various demands the state imposed on the owners or operators of the means of transportation remain poorly understood, especially before the late eleventh century.<sup>27</sup> Most of our information comes from a few documents concerning the commercial privileges awarded to Italian republics and Byzantine monasteries by the Komnenoi and the Angeloi. The main tax in this period was the *kommerkion* or *dekateia* (or *dekatismos*). This tax of 10 percent of the value of the merchandise must have often been paid in cash,<sup>28</sup> but there is also evidence of payment in kind. As we saw, a *kommerkion* in kind was imposed on the wheat brought

23 In the middle of the 11th century, Nea Mone of Chios was awarded 1,000 *modioi* of wheat to be taken from the revenues of imperial estates in Asia Minor (Zepos, *Jus*, 1:637). Alexios I is said to have ordered subsidies of wheat and olive oil to be provided to most monasteries of the capital and the neighboring regions: *La vie de Saint Cyrille le Philéote, moine byzantin* († 1110), ed. E. Sargologos (Brussels, 1964), 234. In the 12th century, the imperial *episkepseis* of Crete provided an annual subsidy to the monastery of Patmos which reached 700 *modioi* before 1157: K. Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monastères byzantins, fin du Xe - milieu du XIVe siècle* (Paris, 2006), 76 n. 386. Until 1171, when this practice was abandoned, the *episkepseis* of Crete made such payments to many other beneficiaries: Πάτμου, 1:no. 22, l. 3 and *The Life of Leontios Patriarch of Jerusalem*, ed. D. Tsougarakis (Leiden-New York-Cologne, 1993), 102, ll. 18–19.

24 Before it was converted into a cash payment, the salary of the *hourator* of the imperial estate of Baris near Miletos included an annual 12 *modioi* of wheat: Πάτμου, 2:no. 50 (1073), ll. 317–18.

25 The *typikon* for the monastery of Pantokrator shows how important payments in grain were in the 12th century: P. Gautier, "Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," *REB* 32 (1974): 13–15. Subsidies: Zepos, *Jus*, 1:631–32; *Ioannis Tzetzae epistulae*, ed. P. A. Leone (Leipzig, 1972), nos. 98, 99.

26 Smyrlis, *La fortune*, 221–22.

27 See N. Oikonomides, "The Role of the Byzantine State in the Economy," in *EHB* 3:1050–52 and most recently Gerolymatou, *Αγορές*, 204–21.

28 See C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Codice diplomatico della repubblica di Genova dal MCLXIII al MCLXXXX*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1936–1942), 2:218, note (72 *hyperpyra* taken by the *kommerkiarios* of Adrianople before 1175).

to the *phoundax* of Raidestos. Moreover, a partially preserved imperial order shows that, in the case of the wine imported to Constantinople in the later twelfth century, the *kommerkion* had to be collected in kind from the boats arriving loaded with the product.<sup>29</sup> The *kommerkion* must have been a considerable source of revenue. If we take a hypothetical boat of a taxable capacity of two thousand *modioi*, such as the one the monastery of Patmos owned in 1203, and assume that it reached Constantinople fully loaded with wine, we can calculate that the fisc was entitled to 340 *metra* of wine. This wine could have been sold for as much as sixty-eight or eight-five *hyperpyra*. For the sake of comparison, sixty-eight *hyperpyra* would be the basic annual tax of 3,264 *modioi* of second quality land, corresponding to the size of a large estate.<sup>30</sup> In this period, there were wine-carrying boats on the Sea of Marmara far larger than that of Patmos.<sup>31</sup>

As noted, the Byzantine state also made demands on the means of maritime or terrestrial transportation by which commerce was carried out.<sup>32</sup> The owners or operators of these means could be requested to transport goods for the state or make a payment instead.<sup>33</sup> Certain exemption lists of the late eleventh and twelfth century show that private boats could be commandeered and sent to transport goods necessary to the empire; they could be subject to the loading (*eisagoge* or *emblemis*) of *synone*, grain (*gennemata*, *kokkos*), wine, and other foodstuffs, as well as timber and wood for fuel, iron, fodder, and armors, goods they obviously had to deliver at the localities indicated by state officials; and boats could also be asked to carry exiles.<sup>34</sup> In the ninth and tenth centuries, *synone* was a regular demand in grain that was used to provision the capital and the army.<sup>35</sup> It could also be demanded to confront emergencies.<sup>36</sup> In the eleventh century,

29 *Lavra*, 1: no. 67, ll. 80–83.

30 On the boat of Patmos: Πάτμου, 2:no. 60. 2,000 *modioi*, of 17 liters each, correspond to approximately 3,400 *metra* of wine, of 10 liters each: E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich, 1970), s.v. *metron*, *modios*. On the retail price of wine in 12th-century Constantinople: C. Morrisson and J.-C. Cheynet, "Prices and Wages in the Byzantine World," in *EHB* 2: table 8. On the rate of the basic tax in the middle Byzantine period: N. Oikonomides, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance (IXe–XIe s.)* (Athens, 1996), 49–50.

31 D. Jacoby, "Mediterranean Food and Wine for Constantinople: The Long-Distance Trade, Eleventh to Mid-Fifteenth Century," in *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert)*, ed. E. Kislinger, J. Koder, A. Külzer (Vienna, 2010), 135. In 1196, *Lavra* owned a boat of 3,250 *modioi*, which carried wine to the capital: *Lavra*, 1:no. 67.

32 The compulsory transportation (*metakomide*, *diakomide*, *katabibasmos*) over land of often requisitioned goods (grain, wine, meat, wood, oars) is included in certain 11th-century lists of exemptions; see for example *Lavra*, 1, no. 33; P. Gautier, "La diataxis de Michel Attaliat," *REB* 39 (1981): 107. The *sa(g)mariatikon* may also be related to a transport obligation: *I trattati con Bisanzio, 992–1198*, ed. M. Pozza and G. Ravegnani (Venice, 1993), no. 11 (1198); *MM* 3:48 (1199).

33 Naval commanders could also demand *corvées* from sailors of private boats or enlist them into the navy: *Lavra*, 1:no. 55 (1102).

34 Πάτμου, 1:nos. 7 (1088), 11 (1197); *Lavra*, 1:no. 55 (1102).

35 Oikonomides, *Fiscalité*, 70–72; cf. J. Haldon, "Synônê: Re-considering a Problematic Term in Middle Byzantine Fiscal Administration," *BMGS* 18 (1994): 116–53.

36 In 960, for example, the demand of *synone* and –its loading on requisitioned– commercial boats were ordered in response to a grain shortage in Constantinople: *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 479 (ἐξελάσαι συνωνὰς καὶ ἐμπορευτικὰ πλοῖα). Another case of apparent commandeering of private vessels comes from a collection of miracles attributed to St. Eugenios. Basil II is said to have ordered grain



*synone* appears as a tax acquitted in cash but its payment in kind may have continued as suggested by the chrysobulls exempting boats from the obligation to transport it. There is no obvious reason why our texts distinguish between *synone* and *gennemata* or *kokkos* other than that the latter were probably acquired by the fisc through different processes (production, purchase, or requisition). Even if the fisc owned or chartered boats in order to carry provisions,<sup>37</sup> it is likely that the state made use of its prerogative to commandeer private vessels frequently and irrespective of any emergency.

A treatise on the calculation of a boat's capacity provides precious information on the private vessels' transportation obligations towards the state.<sup>38</sup> Here, it is necessary to discuss this text in some detail as it remains little understood. The treatise consists of two parts, each composed at different times. The first and earlier part (pp. 126–31) provides instructions, obviously for a fiscal official operating in the provinces, on how to calculate the capacity of a boat in *modioi* using amphorae in order to requisition a part of it for the carrying of goods for the state; *synone* (i.e. grain) and wood for fuel are repeatedly mentioned.<sup>39</sup> With regard to the loading (*eisagoge*) of the "imperial" *synone*, the official is told that, unless a *naulon* was paid,<sup>40</sup> half of the capacity of the boats found inside the Sea of Marmara (*esabyda*) should be requisitioned, one third of those found west of Abydos (*exabyda*), and again half of those boats found in "the western parts beyond Hieron."<sup>41</sup> This practice is presented as having already had some history since it is said to conform to "the *prostaxeis* of the emperors of old and the standard practice that followed." At least as far as the *synone* is concerned, it is obvious that the assumed destination was

to be sent to Constantinople by boats from all Black Sea villages and towns during the civil war with Bardas Phokas: A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Fontes Historiae Imperii Trapezuntini* (St. Petersburg, 1897), 81. Cf. Laiou, "Exchange and Trade," 721.

37 As suggested by an early-9th-century letter: *The Correspondence of Ignatios the Deacon*, ed., trans., and commentary C. Mango, with S. Efthymiadis (Washington, D.C., 1997), no. 21.

38 The treatise is copied on folios 88v–91r of the Vat. Palat. gr. 367, on which see, *Griechische Briefe und Urkunden aus dem Zypern der Kreuzfahrzeit*, ed. A. Beihammer (Nicosia, 2007), 33 ff. The treatise was last edited and commented by E. Schilbach: *Byzantinische metrologische Quellen* (Thessalonike, 1982), 126–32, 161–70. See also H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance. À propos du Thème des Caraviens* (Paris, 1966), 129–37.

39 This was an empirical and involved process by which the official had to ascertain how many amphorae (*koupha*, *magarika*) could fit in the boat's hull; the areas not used for the storage of merchandise were left out. Each amphora was considered equivalent to 6 *modioi*; see Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 100–1.

40 Ἄνευ δηλονότι δόσεως ναύλου. G. Rouillard had already suggested that the *naulon* stands in opposition to the *eisagoge* of *synone*: G. Rouillard, "Les taxes maritimes et commerciales d'après les actes de Patmos et de Lavra," in *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1930), 1:282; cf. Oikonomides, "The Role of the State," 1051. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou asserts that the *naulon* here refers to the actual freight that the fisc did not pay (thanks to its right to impose the transportation) whereas the term *naulon* in late 12th-century documents (see below) is another way of expressing the transportation obligation of private boats and not a cash payment: Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Histoire maritime*, 134–35; cf. below n. 49.

41 Ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ Ἱεροῦ δυτικῶν μερῶν. This expression is difficult to understand. E. Schilbach (*Quellen*, 167 n. 1) proposes amending *dytikon* into *anatolikon*, which would mean that boats in the entire Black Sea ought to surrender half of their capacity for the *synone*. This, however, seems too onerous given the distances implied and against the logic of the treatise that demands more from the boats in the Sea of Marmara than from those in the Aegean as the latter were farther away from Constantinople.

Constantinople. Boats found nearer the city, in the Sea of Marmara, had to surrender half of their capacity to the fisc whereas those further away had to give over one third. Boat owners or operators could opt for paying the *naulon* in order to avoid this *corvée*. This, then, appears to represent an onerous imposition on the merchants and must have amounted to a significant contribution to the state, probably allowing it to cover free of cost much of its transportation needs, at least as far as Constantinople was concerned.

It is difficult to date this first part of the treatise with any precision. The fact that it mentions the *eisagoge* of *synone*, the carrying of wood, and the *naulon*, as several late eleventh- and twelfth-century documents also do, suggests that the first part is temporally close to these texts. It is thus rather unlikely that it dates from before the tenth century. We can also exclude the post-1204 period, since these fiscal demands are absent from the documentation of that era. How close to 1204 one can go depends on where one places the second part of the treatise. If the second part dates from before 1195, as I suggest below, then we are obliged to accept that the first part could have been written no later than the eleventh century, given the significant distance that seems to separate it from the second part.

The second part of the treatise (pp. 131–32) begins by stating that the "writing of the people of old," that is, the method described in the first part, was not entirely secure and accurate and in fact caused damage to the fisc.<sup>42</sup> It then goes on to outline a modified technique for measuring the capacity of a boat, again using amphorae. The description of the procedure ends with the statement that, once the official has established the capacity, he may request the corresponding *antinaulon*. This demand thus appears as the main objective of the operation. In spite of the basic technical similarities, the vocabulary used in the second part to describe the boat parts is often different from that employed in the first part, suggesting that the two parts are chronologically quite far apart. One of the words used in the second part, *koutza*, seems to be of Venetian origin and therefore unlikely to have entered Greek before the eleventh century.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, the mention of the *antinaulon* suggests a date after the middle of the eleventh century as it is only after that time that taxes appear bearing names composed of the preposition "anti" and the name of another demand that they replaced (*antikaniskion*, *antimitatikion*).<sup>44</sup> The fact that in this part only the *antinaulon* is mentioned and not the loading of *synone* and wood or the *naulon* could be seen to suggest a post-1204 date since, as noted, those demands disappear from the sources after the twelfth century; the *antinaulon*, on the contrary, continues to exist. However, certain elements, without being conclusive, suggest that the second part was composed before the end of the twelfth century. In three documents dating from 1195, 1197 and 1203, we see officials in the capital employing an entirely different measuring technique, making use of a cord to determine the three dimensions.<sup>45</sup>

42 The only reason given for this is that amphorae larger than 6 *modioi* might be used for the measuring.

43 Schilbach, *Quellen*, 168.

44 The first mention of such a tax is in a document of 1060 (*antikaniskion*): Oikonomides, *Fiscalité*, 291. The first dated mention of *antinaulon* is in a document of 1102: *Lavra*, 1, no. 55.

45 *Πάτμον*, 2:nos. 56, 59, 60. The rudimentary calculation method used resembles that of an undated example

The aim of the procedure was to verify that boats exempted from impositions related to their capacity (the *naulon*, *antinaulon*, and *kommerkion*) were indeed of the size provided by the imperial privilege. Apart from being simpler, this technique also seems better suited to a context where amphorae were not the only type of recipient and where barrels were also used, as was apparently more and more the case from the eleventh century.<sup>46</sup> A final argument comes from the composition of the Vat. Palat. gr. 367 in which the treatise was copied in early-fourteenth-century Cyprus. This miscellany requires further study but the impression one gets by examining its contents is that it has very little to do with post-1204 Byzantium. It contains texts composed or reworked in Cyprus as well as texts, including our treatise, which come from Byzantium proper. Whereas all datable “Cypriot” texts come from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the “Byzantine” ones almost exclusively date from before the thirteenth.<sup>47</sup>

The *naulon* liberated boats not only from the obligation to carry *synone* for the state but also all other commodities.<sup>48</sup> Unlike *antikaniskion* and *antimitatikion*, cash payments replacing respectively a demand in kind and a *corvée*, it is not obvious what the *antinaulon* may have replaced, given that the *naulon* was already a cash payment.<sup>49</sup> One possibility is that the *antinaulon* was requested each time there was nothing to be transported, when no *naulon* could be demanded. Both the *naulon*, replacing a very onerous obligation, and the *antinaulon* were probably significant.<sup>50</sup> If my dating of the second part of the treatise is correct, the apparent emphasis on the *antinaulon* and the absence of any allusion to

of boat measuring: F. Hulstsch, *Metrologorum scriptorum reliquiae*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1864, 1866), 1:204 (no. 23). In 1195, the use of this technique by the fisc seems to have been a recent development. As in the case of both methods described in the treatise, officials in 1195, 1197, and 1203 did not count the areas of the boat that were not used for storing merchandise. However, they also subtracted 10% from the capacity they found since their calculation did not take into account the boat’s concavity (except in 1203, in the case of a particularly elongated vessel). The documents of 1195 and 1197 mention a *prostagma* or *horismos* stipulating the subtraction of the 10%; the document of 1203 simply calls the practice customary. The reference to a specific imperial order suggests that this had not been issued very long before. As it is hard to imagine this type of capacity calculation without some sort of subtraction, it is likely that this order was the one by which the new measurement technique was officially introduced.

46 An imperial order concerning the *dekateia* of the wine (*dekateia oinarion*), issued in 1193 or earlier, addresses the possibility of wine being carried in amphorae, barrels, or other recipients: *Lavra*, 1:no. 67, ll. 79–83. On the importance of barrels in Byzantium in different periods, see M. McCormick, “Movements and Markets in the First Millennium. Information, Containers, and Shipwrecks,” in *Trade and Markets*, ed. Morrisson, 93.

47 Beihammer, *Griechische Briefe*, 43–50; cf. 35–36, 98–102. The only “Byzantine” texts that can be dated from after 1204 are a letter of patriarch Gregory II sent to the king of Cyprus, Henry II, and a letter of introduction for a priest issued by the metropolitan of Chalcedon (*ibid.*, nos. 89 and 95).

48 Unlike *antinaulon*, *naulon* is never attested together with the transportation obligations in exemption lists: *Lavra*, 1:no. 55; *Πάτμου*, 1:nos. 8, 11; cf. *Πάτμου*, 2:nos. 56, 59. It is unclear what might have been the *naulotikon* that appears in a tax exemption list; the reading of this word, however, is uncertain (*Lavra*, 1:no. 67, l. 77).

49 It is clear that the *antinaulon* did not replace the transportation obligation, contrary to what is suggested by Antoniadis-Bibicou (above n. 40); in 1119, for example, the boat of Patmos was exempted from the *antinaulon* while it was already free from the transportation obligations since 1088: *Πάτμου*, 1:nos. 7 and 8.

50 An indication of the importance of the *antinaulon* is that the exemption from it was one of two concessions awarded to Patmos by the chrysobull of 1119, the other concerning an increase of the grain subsidy: *Πάτμου*, 1:no. 8.

transportation for the state may be taken to indicate that this sort of demand was less common in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries than it had been earlier.

In addition to these taxes or impositions, we know of many other dues relating to commerce; in the main, however, their significance is impossible to assess. Taxes were extracted from boats for docking in a port or at a wharf;<sup>51</sup> until at least the late tenth century boats had to pay a substantial fee at Abydos, when entering and exiting the Straits, as indicated by the chrysobull awarded to Venice in 992;<sup>52</sup> and merchants traveling by land were requested tolls for passing across fords, through passes, and probably through city gates.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, numerous officials demanded gratuities from merchants, as they did from the rest of the population.<sup>54</sup> Many additional taxes from which boats were exempted are of an uncertain nature.<sup>55</sup>

As already noted, the *phoundax* created by Nikephoritzes in the 1070s suggests an increased interest in the taxation of trade. From the reign of Michael VII we know of another initiative also aimed at tapping some of the wealth produced by trade. The emperor resorted to the drastic measure of confiscating the wharfs (*skalai*) situated on the coasts of Constantinople and its suburbs which yielded important revenues thanks to the fees their owners charged on exchanges.<sup>56</sup>

Apart from taxes on exchanges and on the means of transportation, a number of other fiscal demands also affected trade less directly. As already stated, the *synone* is

51 *Lavra*, 1:no. 55 (*limeniatikon*, *skaliatikon*). The *ammiatikon* (*Chilandar*, 1, no. 5, 1199) has been identified as a tax for putting in or for loading and unloading at a beach: LBG, s.v.; N. Oikonomides, “Le bateau de Chilandar,” in *Huit siècles du monastère de Chilandar* (Belgrade, 2000), 32 [repr. in *idem*, *Social and Economic Life*, no. IV].

52 Pozza and Ravegnani, *I trattati*, no. 1. The total fees each Venetian boat was asked to pay at that date was more than 30 *nomismata*, an increase to what they used to pay. The emperor reduced this to 17 *nomismata*, possibly the amount the Venetians used to pay earlier. Cf. Gerolymatou, *Αγορές*, 205–6; Jacoby, “Venetian Commercial Expansion,” 375. The fee may have continued being demanded in our period. Towards the end of the 11th century, a boat of Patmos was instructed to sell its cargo of cheese and dry meat at the Straits, possibly in order to avoid paying the fee: MM 6:146 and Oikonomides, “The Economic Region,” 227–28.

53 In spite of the fact that these tolls are mentioned in relation to boats; *diabatik(i)on* and *poriatikon* or *passagium* and *pedagium* (*Lavra*, 1:no. 55; MM 3:48; Pozza and Ravegnani, *I trattati*, no. 11); *porteatium* or *portiatium* (*ibid.*, no. 2, 1082), most likely a city gate toll rather than a harbor fee since *limeniatikon* is also mentioned in the list; the *portuaticon* (*ibid.*, no. 11, 1198) may translate *limeniatikon* unless it is a corrupt version of *portiatium*.

54 *Archontikon*, *kaniskion*, *synetheia* (*Lavra*, 1:no. 55); *proskynetikon* (*Πάτμου*, 1:no. 11). With the exception of the *archontikon*, all other dues are also attested in contexts that are independent from any commercial activity.

55 *Xylokalamos* and *pakton* (Pozza and Ravegnani, *I trattati*, no. 2); *empletikon* and *ekbletikion* (*Chilandar*, 1:no. 5; the latter possibly the same as the *exempletikon* in *Lavra*, 1:no. 55); *pratikon* (*ibid.*), *causa onerandi* and *savuratikon* (Pozza and Ravegnani, *I trattati*, no. 11). See the different interpretations in Rouillard, “Taxes maritimes,” 281–84; H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Recherches sur les douanes à Byzance* (Paris, 1963), 122–23, 134–35; G. Makris, “Ships,” in *EHB* 1:95; Oikonomides, “The Role of the State,” 1051–52; Gerolymatou, *Αγορές*, 205, 216–20; Morrisson, “Weighing,” 392.

56 Attaleiates, *Historia*, 199–200; bibliography on p. 331 nn. 24–34. According to Attaleiates, the emperor did this with the zealous collaboration of Michael, metropolitan of Neokaisaria and imperial *sakellarios*. Although the historian attacks the metropolitan for dealing with worldly affairs and despoiling the church, he does not accuse him of personal gain, unlike in the case of Nikephoritzes.

likely to have continued to be demanded in kind in our period.<sup>57</sup> In addition, the state could requisition grain and other foodstuffs, charcoal, iron, horses, and other products, as we see in tax exemption lists. This may have taken place regularly, not only during emergencies. Producers were apparently also requested to sell to the state grain and other foodstuffs, as well as animals of burden or for consumption, at a price set by the state. Another practice that affected exchanges was the more or less regular request for provisions or gratuities by officials and soldiers in the countryside.<sup>58</sup> These demands are for the most part seen in eleventh-century exemption lists and tend to disappear in later documentation. This must be the result of changes in the way tax exemption was defined in official documents rather than the state's renouncing this form of demands.<sup>59</sup> The significance of such requisitions is difficult to assess. Our evidence, especially the frequency of exemption from these impositions, suggests that they were both regular and onerous. Leaving aside their financial impact on individuals, the taxation in kind, the requisitions, and the provisioning of public servants meant that the state and many relatively well-off people covered many of their needs without recourse to the market.

### Exemptions from Fiscal Demands

Tax exemptions were awarded to boats at least since the later tenth century, as shown by the example of the monastery of Lavra enjoying *exkousseia* for a boat of six thousand *modioi*.<sup>60</sup> The exemption for a total capacity of thirty thousand *modioi* enjoyed by the Great Church in the middle of the twelfth century may date from a much earlier period.<sup>61</sup> In the tenth century emperors also conceded privileges to foreign people, notably the Venetians in 992.<sup>62</sup> Our documentation regarding concessions to private individuals is very poor. The only such privilege known to me is the one awarded to the boats of Isaac Komnenos by his father Alexios I in the early twelfth century for a total capacity of four thousand *modioi*.<sup>63</sup> No doubt all close relatives of the Komnenian rulers enjoyed exemptions for any boats they may have had. Moreover, it is very likely that at least in the eleventh and late-twelfth centuries, such privileges were conceded to professional merchants as

57 Taxation in kind was important for a time at least in the 11th century in Bulgaria and possibly in other areas of the empire: Oikonomides, "The Role of the State," 991.

58 On all these see Oikonomides, *Fiscalité*, 97–105. On requisitions see also J. Haldon, "The Army and the Economy: The Allocation and Redistribution of Surplus Wealth in the Byzantine State," *MHR* 7.2 (1992): 149–50.

59 Cf. Oikonomides, *Fiscalité*, 232–34. The forced sale or requisition of tow and tallow (*stypion* and *axouggion*) is mentioned in a law of 1181: Zepos, *Jus*, 1:428; a list of exemptions in 1186 includes the requisition of horses: *Πάτριον*, 1:no. 10.

60 *Iviron*, 1:no. 6. On the exemption of monastic boats, cf. M. Nystazopoulou-Pélékidou, "Les couvents de l'espace égéen et leur activité maritime, Xe–XIIIe siècles," *Symmeikta* 15 (2003): 112–25.

61 Zepos, *Jus*, 1:380.

62 See above n. 52.

63 We only know about this privilege because Isaac later founded a monastery to which he attached his properties, including the boats: L. Petit, "Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d'Aenos (1152)," *IRAIK* 13 (1908): 53.

well.<sup>64</sup> During this time, commercial privileges may have also been awarded to provincial towns, as in the case of Ani, around 1060.<sup>65</sup>

The exemption from commercial taxes seems to have been on the increase in the late tenth and eleventh centuries. From the reign of Basil II, not known for being liberal, we have the two earliest dated privileges, those of Lavra and Venice. The concession of privileges probably became more common in the second half of the eleventh century. In 1045, the boat of the monastery of Vatopedi, third in rank on Mount Athos, did not enjoy any privilege.<sup>66</sup> As noted, several emperors of this period were generous, in particular Constantine IX Monomachos and Nikephoros III Botaneiates. Lavra's exemption seems to have reached sixteen thousand *modioi* before the end of the eleventh century.<sup>67</sup> Since the second half of the same century, at the latest, emperors were trying to restrict the privileges awarded to boats, a clear indication of their proliferation. A chrysobull of 1102 confirming the exemptions of the boats of Lavra speaks of the "*prostigmata* of earlier emperors," issued before 1081, that were a burden on the monastery's vessels.<sup>68</sup> These *prostigmata* correspond to one or all of the acts mentioned later in the same chrysobull: a) "the act on the [chrysobulls awarding] *exkousseiai* to boats," stipulating that only those exemptions from *epereiai* explicitly (*rhetos*) mentioned in the beneficiaries' chrysobulls ought to be respected;<sup>69</sup> b) the *prostaxeis* invalidating boat immunities.<sup>70</sup>

We have better information on concessions from the late eleventh and twelfth century. Apart from Lavra, the monasteries of Patmos and, at the end of this period, Chilandar were also awarded exemptions.<sup>71</sup> The Italian city states of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa were equally granted privileges.<sup>72</sup> The general impression about this era is that,

64 Certain emperors in these periods gave privileges freely, including to non-aristocrats; see in particular the case of Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–1081), praised for his benefactions to the craftsmen: Attaleiates, *Historia*, 201.

65 They are known from an Armenian inscription: J.-P. Mahé, "Ani sous Constantin X, d'après une inscription de 1060," *TM* 14 (2002): 407; cf. the more recent translation by T. Greenwood, "Aristakēs Lastivertc'i and Armenian Urban Consciousness," in *Being in Between: Byzantium in the Eleventh Century. Papers from the Forty-fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, April 2012*, ed. M. Lauxtermann and M. Whittow (forthcoming; kindly provided by the author before publication).

66 *Prôtaton*, no. 8, ll. 76–77.

67 *Lavra*, 1:no. 55.

68 *Ibid.*, no. 55, ll. 5–7.

69 *Ibid.*, ll. 64–69. This act is probably identical to a *prostigma* quoted in 1196: *Ibid.*, no. 67, ll. 74–79. What is reported in 1102 on the "act on the *exkousseiai*" precisely fits the contents of the *prostigma* that also speaks of *exkousseia*, *epereastai*, and the explicit mention (*rhetos*) of taxes. If the "act on the *exkousseiai*" was indeed emitted by a predecessor of Alexios I and is the same as the *prostigma*, which was issued in a June of a first indiction, then it may date from 1078, at the latest, but more probably from an earlier year (1063 or 1048 or 1033...), the first months of the reign of Botaneiates being an unlikely time for the issuing of such an order.

70 *Ibid.*, ll. 79–80. Cf. N. Svoronos, "Les privilèges de l'Église à l'époque des Comnènes: un rescrit inédit de Manuel Ier Comnène," *TM* 1 (1965): 353, 384–85.

71 *Lavra*, 1:no. 55; *Πάτριον*, 1:nos. 7, 8, 9, 11; *Chilandar*, 1:no. 5.

72 Venice: Pozza and Ravagnani, *I trattati*, nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11. Pisa: MM 3:9–23, 48. Genoa: A. Sanguineti and G. Bertolotto, "Nuova serie di documenti sulle relazioni di Genova coll'Impero bizantino," *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria* 28 (1896–1898): 413–23; MM 3:48–49. On these privileges, see D. Jacoby, "Italian Privileges

with the exception of the early parts of the reigns of Isaac II Angelos (1185–1195) and his brother Alexios III (1195–1203), emperors were quite cautious with regard to concessions. New exemptions were limited and the existing ones were extended slowly, if at all. Moreover, privileges were undermined by restrictive interpretation that was sanctioned, or at least tolerated, by the emperors. The late-twelfth-century evidence shows that officials in Constantinople only respected the exemptions explicitly mentioned in chrysobulls, in conformity to an imperial order.<sup>73</sup>

The capacity of the boats of Lavra enjoying exemption had decreased from sixteen thousand to six thousand *modioi* before 1102, the date of a chrysobull confirming the monastery's privileges that had been questioned by fiscal officials.<sup>74</sup> Lavra's exemption was apparently total, including all important demands, the *kommerkion*, the transportation obligations, the *antinaulon*, and most of the secondary taxes mentioned above. The tax exempt capacity of Lavra remained unchanged until the end of the twelfth century.<sup>75</sup> In spite of its prestigious founder and strategic location, in 1088, Patmos received a privilege that, by comparison, seems extremely limited. It covered a small boat of five hundred *modioi* that was only freed from secondary taxes and only for the provisions carried to the monastery itself. In 1119, John II Komnenos confirmed the privilege conceding in addition the *antinaulon* to this same boat.<sup>76</sup> For the remainder of the reign of John II and under Manuel I the boat's privilege remained the same. The single new commercial concession made to Patmos only underlines how careful the Komnenoi were not to surrender the revenue from these taxes. John II apparently allowed the monks to export from Crete products of a value of forty-eight *trikephala* once a year without paying the *kommerkion*; Manuel I later increased this sum to sixty-three *trikephala*.<sup>77</sup> The fiscal revenue thus conceded was 2.1 *hyperpyra*. Not only was the awarded tax amount tiny, it was also exactly delimited, in contrast to a tax exemption conceded to a boat that could travel several times every year to Crete.

The chrysobulls issued to the Italians and the way their provisions were implemented also suggests a restrictive attitude. The privileges conceded to Venice

in 1082, in exchange for much-needed military assistance, were significant indeed, especially considering the complete exemption from the *kommerkion*. At least until 1126, however, Byzantine tax collectors, no doubt with the emperor's permission, still exacted the full *kommerkion* from people selling goods to the Venetians, thus severely limiting this privilege.<sup>78</sup> Another interesting point is that the 1082 chrysobull including a list of the taxes from which the Venetians were exempted—a list which remained valid until the end of the twelfth century—omits many of the taxes from which Lavra's boats had been exempted before 1102.<sup>79</sup> The most notable absences from the list of exemptions are those of the transportation obligations (*eisagoge* or *emblemis* of various goods) and the *antinaulon*. The privileges awarded to Pisa and Genoa in 1111 and 1155, respectively, were much inferior to those of Venice. They essentially lowered the *kommerkion* to four percent, but only for the importation of foreign goods. No doubt the Pisans and the Genoese still had to pay the rest of the taxes. Moreover, in 1169, the Genoese seem to have suffered a serious restriction of the transactions to which their partial exemption from the *kommerkion* applied.<sup>80</sup>

As already noted, the Angeloi were less resistant to demands than their predecessors. The privilege of Patmos expanded significantly from five hundred *modioi* to 1,500 in 1186, and then to two thousand *modioi* in 1197. The privilege now covered all types of exchange, including speculative trade. Yet as regards Constantinople it was limited to only one trip a year and did not cover high-value goods.<sup>81</sup> The privileges of Pisa and Genoa were also extended in 1192.<sup>82</sup> Most likely in reaction to his brother's and his own earlier liberalities, between 1196 and 1197 Alexios III issued an order that invalidated all chrysobulls awarding exemptions to boats “because these had multiplied and thus caused great loss to the fisc.”<sup>83</sup> The impact of this measure is hard to assess. Obviously, it did not mean the end of tax exemptions for boats. Not counting the privileges of the Italians, which the new edict left untouched in any event, we know that exemptions continued to be confirmed or awarded. As we saw, in 1197, the privilege of Patmos was expanded. What Alexios III's measure likely meant in concrete terms was that all privileged individuals and institutions had to seek the confirmation of their rights. Some probably lost their privileges in this process. Those who did manage to renew them

and Trade in Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade: A Reconsideration,” *Anuario de estudios medievales* 24 (1994): 349–63 [repr. in idem, *Trade, Commodities, and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT, 1997), no. II].

73 See above n. 69.

74 *Lavra*, 1:no. 55. The reasons for this reduction are unclear. In 1102, the monks claimed they needed less capacity than before because their increased numbers had led to a reduction of the monastery's revenues—scil. the agricultural surplus they could sell. This statement implies that, apart from provisioning Lavra, the main purpose of the boats was to carry excess produce from the monastery's estates to the market (M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle* [Paris, 1992], 304–6). It also implies that speculative trade, whose growth was causing tensions among the Athonites in 1045, was insignificant. While not impossible, this is unlikely. The monks' claim sounds more like a way to avoid saying that their privilege was reduced by some imperial measure.

75 In 1196, the only privilege invoked with regard to its boats is the chrysobull of 1102: *Lavra*, 1:no. 67.

76 *Πάτμον*, 1:nos. 7, 8.

77 *Ibid.*, no. 22.

78 Pozza and Ravegnani, *I trattati*, nos. 2 and 3. N. Oikonomides has suggested that the late-12th-century fiscal officials' insistence to distinguish the *dekateia oinarion* from the rest of the *kommerkion* may have been a way of circumventing the exemption of the Venetians: “The Role of the State,” 1051.

79 The chrysobull of 1082 was regularly confirmed until 1198: Pozza and Ravegnani, *I trattati*, nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 11.

80 Jacoby, “Italian Privileges,” 359–62.

81 *Πάτμον*, 1:nos. 9 and 11. The chrysobull of 1186 (no. 9) falsely attributes to Alexios I the exemption from all taxes except the *kommerkion* of three boats of 1,500 *modioi* (the privilege still concerned a boat of 500 *modioi* in 1119: no. 8). This is strange. If an emperor after 1119 had conceded an expansion of the exempt capacity, the 1186 chrysobull ought to have mentioned it. One may suspect a false report by the monks here but other possibilities also exist. On the items of high value (*kekolymena eide*): no. 11, ll. 52–53 and Oikonomidès, “Le bateau de Chilandar,” 31.

82 MM 3:17; Sanguineti and Bertolotto, “Nuova serie,” 416 and Jacoby, “Italian Privileges,” 358–59, 362.

83 *Πάτμον*, 1:no. 11 and p. 105 on the date of the order.

may have been forced nonetheless to pay for a period taxes from which they had been previously exempt. In addition, the fisc, or at least the emperor and his associates, must have earned a tidy sum solely from the petitions for new chrysobulls, a rather costly affair.<sup>84</sup> The newly circumscribed liberality of Alexios III can also be seen in the chrysobull he awarded in 1199 to a boat of one thousand *modioi* belonging to Chilandar, a monastery newly founded by the former grand župan of Serbia. The emperor awarded exemption from all taxes but only for the provisions necessary to the monastery and within a limited zone of the empire.<sup>85</sup>

### The Tax Officials

The officials who collected the dues and imposed the transport obligations are largely invisible in the sources. This is especially true in the case of the provinces. The collection of different taxes and the requisitions were apparently entrusted or farmed out to different people, globally called in twelfth-century documents “those carrying out (*energountes*) the service of the fisc.”<sup>86</sup> The people collecting the *kommerkion* are called *kommerkiarioi* or *dekatistai* in documents throughout the period.<sup>87</sup> A document of 1119 refers to “those entrusted with the demand of the *antinaulon*.”<sup>88</sup> Tax collectors could be working under a salary contract (*eis to piston*) or be tax farmers (working *epi pakton*) as stated in a chrysobull of 1197.<sup>89</sup> The case of the Raideostos *phoundax*, where the *phoundakarios* working for Nikephoritzes was in charge of the *kommerkion*, shows that tax farmers could employ people in the provinces to collect taxes for them. In the twelfth century, when individuals or institutions were exempt from the *kommerkion* or the *antinaulon*, the tax collectors were meant to demand nothing from them but a receipt for the sum that was not paid. The tax collectors, or their employers, later presented this paper to the fisc and were thus exonerated from the amount in question.<sup>90</sup> As far as tax farmers are concerned, this procedure implies that at least part of the money they agreed to pay to the fisc was acquitted after the collection of the taxes.<sup>91</sup> Late twelfth-century evidence

84 See Smyrlis, *La fortune*, 215 n. 230.

85 *Chilandar*, 1:no. 5 and Oikonomidès, “Le bateau de Chilandar,” esp. 32–33.

86 *Πάτμον*, 1:nos. 9, 22; *Πάτμον*, 2:no. 58. In the second half of the 11th century, there appear in the provinces *parathalassitai*, officials who may have dealt with boat taxation as was apparently the case with the *parathalassites* of Constantinople in the same period: Oikonomidès, “Organisation administrative,” 133 n. 44 and below.

87 Pozza and Ravegnani, *I trattati*, no. 2; *Lavra*, 1:no. 55; *Πάτμον*, 1:no. 11.

88 *Ibid.*, no. 8, l. 30.

89 *Ibid.*, no. 11. The same chrysobull also uses the expression “those entitled to demand” the taxes (l. 28: τοῖς δικαιουμένοις εἰς τὴν τοῦτον ἀπαίτησιν), as if all tax collectors were in fact farmers.

90 On this technique, called *doche*, attested between 1119 and 1197 (*Πάτμον*, 1:nos. 8 and 11), see N. Svoronos, “Notes à propos d’un procédé de techniques fiscales: la δοχή,” *REB* 24 (1966): 97–106.

91 This system may have been abandoned in November 1197. A letter of the *megas logariastes* issued in that month still evokes the *doche* and so did, in its original form, a slightly later chrysobull. Soon after this chrysobull was written, however, the emperor cancelled the passage concerning the *doche*: *Πάτμον*, 2, no. 58 and *Πάτμον*, 1:no. 11. It may be significant that the *doche* is absent in the chrysobull awarding an exemption

shows that in Crete the revenues from the *kommerkion* were under the jurisdiction of the local governor, the *doux*, as were the taxes on the land.<sup>92</sup> Much of these revenues was probably forwarded to Constantinople.

Populous and commercially active, Constantinople and its region constituted a special case both in terms of regulation and taxation, as we have seen, and as regards its administrative mechanism. The volume and financial significance of the commercial activity in this region explain the numerous personnel and the sophisticated practices we see in our sources. This administration was primarily concerned with exchanges taking place in the capital. It does not seem to have exercised any control over the taxation of trade in the provinces, apart from measuring the capacity of tax exempt boats in Constantinople as seen in documents of the late twelfth century.<sup>93</sup>

At least up until the late tenth century, special *kommerkiarioi* were stationed at Abydos. They may have collected the entrance and exit fee and possibly a *kommerkion*.<sup>94</sup> In the chrysobulls issued to Venice in 992 and 1082, the eparch, assisted by his staff (his *chartoularioi*), appears as the primary authority over boats and trade in Constantinople. Next to him was the *parathalassites* whose duties included taxation.<sup>95</sup> After 1082, the eparch is no longer mentioned in commercial privileges; only the *parathalassites* and his representative are mentioned in 1102.<sup>96</sup> The privileges of 992, 1082, and 1102 mention, among the people instructed to respect the boats’ exemption, a number of other officials whose duties and area of activity, the capital or the provinces, are often uncertain: the *limenarchai* or *limenarioi*, the *hypologoi* (*eparchion*), the *xylokalamoi*, the *epiteretai* of the sea, the *genikos elaioparochos*, the *exangelistai*, and the *synonarioi*.<sup>97</sup> Only the *genikos elaioparochos* can be safely placed in Constantinople. *Elaioparochos* is also the only official mentioned in later documents; in the late twelfth century several *elaioparochoi* were active in the city.

to the boat of Chilandar two years later: *Chilandar*, 1:no. 5. One may see in this a unilateral imperial decision to pass the burden to the tax collectors, who would try to make up their losses by increasing their exactions from the unprivileged: Oikonomidès, “Le bateau de Chilandar,” 30–31. But this could also be related to a change in the tax farming agreements.

92 *Πάτμον*, 2:no. 58 (1197), l. 25.

93 See above n. 45. Three official documents of the late 12th c. concerning Patmos state that the monastery’s fully tax exempt boats were not registered in any “fiscal codex” suggesting that boats were normally included in such books, obviously in connection to fiscal obligations: *Πάτμον*, 1:nos. 9, l. 8; 11, l. 21; *Πάτμον*, 2:no. 56, l. 2; cf. no. 58, l. 18.

94 Pozza and Ravegnani, *I trattati*, no. 1 and above n. 52.

95 Pozza and Ravegnani, *I trattati*, nos. 1, 2; H. Ahrweiler “Fonctionnaires et bureaux maritimes à Byzance,” *REB* 19 (1961): 249–51. The privilege of 992 does not mention the *parathalassites* but only the *notarioi parathalassioi*, likely his secretaries.

96 *Lavra*, 1:no. 55.

97 According to H. Ahrweiler (“Fonctionnaires,” 249), the *epiteretai*, *exangelistai*, and *limenarioi* of 1102 were under the authority of the *parathalassites* in Constantinople but this is uncertain. The *limenarioi* were presumably in charge of ports and may have collected, in particular, the *limeniatikon*. The chrysobull of 1102 also mentions the *praktores*, the generic term for tax collectors, or the *paktonarioi* (according to *Lavra*, 1:no. 67); *praktores* are also mentioned in 1111 in connection to the *kommerkion*: MM 3:12.

Three documents recording the capacity of the boats of Patmos and two additional ones concerning the judgment of a dispute over Lavra's exemption shed an unusually bright light on the administration in the capital during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.<sup>98</sup> The taxation of boats was the responsibility of the department of the sea (*sekreton thalasses*) in which there now served not one but two *parathalassitai* (or “*energountes* of the affairs of the sea”), perhaps an indication of increased business.<sup>99</sup> Several other officials also belonged to the *sekreton*: those heading the offices of the *protomandatorikon*, *protoelatikon*, a few *elaioparochoi*, and about a dozen secretaries (*notarioi*). All of these people were involved in one way or another in the measurement of the capacity of boats. The *notarioi* also kept documents, in particular copies of imperial directives and court decisions related to the taxation of boats. The *parathalassitai* were evidently in charge of the collection of the *kommerkion*, in particular the *dekateia oinarion*, clearly an important source of revenue at the time. Most likely, the offices of the *protomandatorikon*, *protoelatikon*, and the *elaioparochoi* were also in the business of taxing or requisitioning boats. Given their active participation in the measurement of boats, their demands may have included the *naulon* and *antinaulon*, both of which were related to capacity. The dispute over the exemption of Lavra in 1196, which led the monastery to turn against the *sekreton thalasses*, reveals that maritime taxation involved three additional fiscal departments that were also represented at court among the defendants: the two *megala logariastata sekreta* and the *sekreton* of the *megas sakellarios*.<sup>100</sup>

Beyond the complexity of the administration in Constantinople, another noteworthy feature is that the administrators in charge of the *protomandatorikon*, *protoelatikon*, and often the two *parathalassitai* as well, were only representatives or employees of other persons.<sup>101</sup> One of the *notarioi*, too, had a representative acting in his name in 1195 and 1199.<sup>102</sup> The documents of 1195 and 1196 suggest that each *parathalassites* was appointed and fired by a different superior. In October 1195, the superiors of the two *parathalassitai* were the *oikeios* of the emperor, *pinkernes* John Sergopoulos, and the *primikerios* of the

98 *Πάτριον*, 2:nos. 56 (1195), 59 (1199), 60 (1203); *Lavra*, 1:nos. 67, 68 (1196). They complement the information coming from chrysobulls awarding privileges: *Πάτριον*, 1:nos. 9 (1186), 11 (1197). See P. Lemerle, “Notes sur l’administration byzantine à la veille de la IVe croisade d’après deux documents inédits des archives de Lavra,” *REB* 19 (1961): 258–72; Ahrweiler, “Fonctionnaires,” 251–52.

99 *Πάτριον*, 2:nos. 56, 60; *Lavra*, 1:nos. 67, 68. The *sekreton thalasses* is first mentioned in a chrysobull of 1186; it refers to *parathalassitai* rather than *parathalassites*: *Πάτριον*, 1:no. 9, ll. 21, 27.

100 *Lavra*, 1:nos. 67, 68; see also the signatures to *Πάτριον*, 1:nos. 9, 11. On the *megas sakellarios* and the two *megala logariastata sekreta* see Oikonomidès, “Organisation administrative,” 135, 140–41. The *sekreta* of the *megas logariastes*, the *megas sakellarios*, and the *genikon* kept copies of chrysobulls, orders, and decisions relevant to boat taxation.

101 A similar system may have already been in place in 1102, when, as we saw, the chrysobull for Lavra spoke of the *parathalassites* and his representative. Nevertheless, the *parathalassitai* who signed the documents of 1199 and 1203, two *sebastoi* and the *protonobelissimohypertatos* Konstantinos Kastamonites, do not refer to any superior of theirs: *Πάτριον*, 2:nos. 59, 60.

102 The exercise of official functions through representatives was clearly widespread in the 12th century, especially in the case of Constantinopolitans entrusted with positions in the provincial administration: Magdalino, *Manuel I*, 220–21 and Choniates, *Historia*, 328–29.

Vardariots, Konstantinos Taronides. Sergopoulos still occupied this position in May and June 1196 but Taronides had been succeeded by the *megas doux*, Michael Stryphnos, *syggambros* of Alexios III.<sup>103</sup> Stryphnos had already been involved in the collection of the *kommerkion* before 1192, when the Genoese demanded the return of the taxes their boats had paid since 1185. Apart from Stryphnos, who was *epi tou vestiariou* in 1192, the Genoese also mentioned among the people who had collected *kommerkia* from them the late *megas logothetes*, that is, Theodore Kastamonites, and the late *sebastos* Choumnos. It is possible that these people had also been superiors of the *parathalassitai*.<sup>104</sup> The superior of the *protomandatorikon* from 1195 to 1203 was Konstantinos Tornikes, uncle of Alexios III, at first *epi ton deeseon*, later also eparch, and finally *logothetes* of the *dromos*.<sup>105</sup> The superior of the *protoelatikon* in 1195 and 1199 was the *vestiarites* Eustathios Kastamonites. We recognize in the persons heading the collection of the maritime taxes some of the most powerful individuals or members of the greatest families under the Angeloi.<sup>106</sup> The authority of these persons over the different offices of the *sekreton thalasses* seems unrelated to the positions they held in the imperial administration, as suggested, for example, by the case of Tornikes.<sup>107</sup> As with the chrysobull awarded to Genoa in 1192, already discussed, the contemporary chrysobull for Pisa also includes a request for the return of the *kommerkia* and other taxes. The Pisans similarly refer to specific officials who had extracted taxes from them, rather than to the fisc or fiscal agents in general, naming again the *megas logothetes* and Choumnos. This suggests that the money collected did not enter the imperial treasury but the purses of these high-ranking individuals.<sup>108</sup> These obviously lucrative positions may have been awarded by the emperor in order to provide remuneration to high officials or important people, as Isaac II reportedly did for his brother, Alexios. It seems more likely, however, that these positions had been farmed out to these high-ranking officials by the fisc in the same manner as the *phoundax* in Raideostos had been given over to Nikephoritzes more than a century earlier.

103 In 1195, next to Sergopoulos and Taronides signing a boat measurement act, there appears the *protonobelissimohypertatos* Michael Mesopotamites, represented by his brother John. He reappears in a similar fashion in 1199. It is not clear what his no doubt superior position may have been: *Πάτριον*, 2:nos. 56, 59; cf. C. M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180–1204* (Cambridge, MA, 1968), 143.

104 The demand of the Genoese is preserved in the chrysobull issued to them in 1192: Sanguineti and Bertolotto, “Nuova serie,” 414. Stryphnos is described as extremely greedy and a purloiner of public wealth (Choniates, *Historia*, 491, 541); another passage of this historian may be referring to the –excessive– taxation of merchant boats by Stryphnos: 482. On Stryphnos, Kastamonites, and Choumnos: Brand, *Byzantium*, 98, 109, 142 and *passim*.

105 On Tornikes: *Πάτριον*, 2:98.

106 One may note here that, according to a Latin source, the chronicle of Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, Isaac II had awarded to his brother and future emperor, Alexios, the tax revenues of the port of Boukoleon, a daily 4,000 pounds of silver: MGH SS 23:870; cf. Brand, *Byzantium*, 111 and M. Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium: The Institution of Pronoia* (Cambridge, Mass., 2013), 168.

107 Cf. the different approach in Rouillard, “Taxes maritimes,” 286–87.

108 Sanguineti and Bertolotto, “Nuova serie,” 414 and MM 3:5–6. This would also explain the Pisans’ request to be allowed to sue these officials because they could not obtain satisfaction from the imperial *vestiarion*: *ibid.*, 7.

Finally, one also notes that different positions in the *sekretion* were frequently held by people bearing the same family name. In some cases, one suspects that certain families managed to have one of their members continually occupy a position in a sort of hereditary succession.<sup>109</sup> In other instances, we see people being represented at the *sekretion* by close relatives, an image that does not contradict the idea that these positions were first and foremost business ventures.<sup>110</sup>

### Administrative Practice

The discrepancy between the stipulations of imperial orders and privileges and actual practice has been rightly underlined, in particular by David Jacoby.<sup>111</sup> I am leaving aside here those periods during which relations between the Byzantines and different Italian cities were hostile and the privileges thereby suspended. There is ample evidence that tax collectors often ignored or interpreted privileges in a deliberately restrictive fashion. Such a strategy is not hard to understand in the case of tax farmers and was not always discouraged by the central authority. Indeed, we have already seen that, at times, emperors issued decrees specifying that privileges should be interpreted restrictively. Apart from the Venetians, we know that Patmos and Lavra also had difficulties in having their privileges recognized. Between 1082 and 1126 the *kommerkion* was imposed on Byzantines selling goods to Venetians. In 1102, the monks of Lavra requested a confirmation of the exemption of their boats since it was apparently being questioned.<sup>112</sup> Until 1147, it seems the Venetians' privilege was not respected in either Crete or Cyprus as neither island was mentioned in the chrysobull of 1082. A chrysobull was issued in 1147 enjoining an end to this practice.<sup>113</sup>

A document of 1174, listing the losses that subjects of Genoa had suffered within Byzantium in the previous years, reveals the extent to which merchants were exposed to abuses by imperial officials.<sup>114</sup> Grievances included the extraction of unjustified or excessive *kommerkia* by *kommerkiarioi* in Constantinople, Crete, and Adrianople. Many instances were also reported of local officials, often *doukes*, seizing large sums of cash and goods of all sorts from merchants or the entire cargoes of shipwrecked boats. There is also one case of a likely requisition of goods by the navy. The imperial orders issued

109 After the *megas logothetes* Theodore Kastamonites, apparently associated with the *sekretion* before 1192, we find, in 1195, the *vestiarites* Eustathios Kastamonites as superior of the *protoelatikon* and, in 1203, Konstantinos Kastamonites as *parathalassites*. The *pinkernes* John Sergopoulos, superior of a *parathalassites* in 1195 and 1196, is followed by Alexios Sergopoulos, *notarios* in 1199 and 1203.

110 In 1195, John Mesopotamites represented his brother Michael (see above n. 103). In the same year, Epiphanius Krateros represented his uncle, the *notarios* Stephanos Gabalas. The latter was probably related to the *parathalassites* John Gabalas of 1196.

111 Jacoby, "Italian Privileges," esp. 363–64.

112 *Lavra*, 1, no:55.

113 Pozza and Ravegnani, *I trattati*, no. 4.

114 Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Codice*, 2:206–22; Sanguineti and Bertolotto, "Nuova serie," 369–405. Cf. Jacoby, "Italian Privileges," 364.

in favor of the merchants on certain occasions had little effect. Notably, several of those accused of committing injustices can be identified, with greater or lesser certainty, as individuals who were very close to the emperor or belonged to powerful families.<sup>115</sup>

The abuses by officials did not diminish in the late twelfth century. In 1198, we hear again that the privilege of the Venetians was not recognized throughout the empire, as fiscal agents demanded taxes in places not mentioned in previous chrysobulls.<sup>116</sup> In 1197, the *doux* of Crete was tasked with ensuring the respect of the exemption of the boats of Patmos, in particular from the *dekateia*.<sup>117</sup> In 1196, the *parathalassitai* in Constantinople did not accept that Lavra's exemption from the *kommerkion* also covered wine, since the specific expression (*dekateia oinarion*) was missing from the monastery's chrysobull.<sup>118</sup> The behavior of the *parathalassitai* is best understood as an effort to maximize their superiors' revenues rather than as an attempt to uphold the rights of the fisc.<sup>119</sup> Lavra petitioned the emperor who had the affair judged in Constantinople by a court presided by the *megas logariastes* and *logothetes* of the *sekreta* including several senior judges, heads of fiscal departments, and other high imperial officials.<sup>120</sup> Lavra won its case against the *sekretion* but one can easily imagine that less influential privilege holders would not be as successful.

### Conclusions

The image of the Byzantine state's intervention in trade is ambiguous. It clearly remained a powerful factor throughout the period under discussion. The state furnished a legal framework and structures that had a positive impact on exchanges. At the same time, it continued to enforce, albeit to a diminishing degree, limitations on trade that had been inherited from the empire of earlier centuries. Moreover, the state's large scale agricultural activity, which aimed at self-sufficiency, the requisitioning of products, the forced sales, and the commandeering of transportation means, were additional obstacles to the expansion of trade. However, other measures or practices proved more favorable to

115 "Mauresonus, *curie baiulus*" (Sant'Angelo, *Codice*, 2:215) is likely Theodore Maurozomes, chief minister of Manuel I. A *doux* of Attaleia is said to be the son of the *megas hetaireiarches* (*megatriarcha*; p. 215, note); in 1174, this office was held by John Doukas. Kyr Andronikos, "at that time *doux* of Rhodes" (p. 217, note), kyr Andronikos -*doux*?- of Attaleia, Andronikos "Fortino" who extracted a high *kommerkion*, and Andronikos "Fordinianus" apparently active in Attaleia (p. 218, note) are probably the same person. It is possible that this was Andronikos Phorbenos, cousin of Manuel I and *doux* of Cilicia in the 1160s. The "*despotes*" Angelos, governing Crete through a representative (p. 218, note), is probably Constantine, uncle of Manuel I. On all these individuals, see Magdalino, *Manuel I*, index s.v.

116 Pozza and Ravegnani, *I trattati*, no. 11 (pp. 129–31).

117 *Πάτμον*, 2:no. 58.

118 *Lavra*, 1:no. 67.

119 Cf. Lemerle, "Notes," 271–72.

120 On the court and judgment see *ibid.*, 261–72 and P. Magdalino, "Justice and Finance in the Byzantine State, Ninth to Twelfth Centuries," in *Law and Society in Byzantium, Ninth–Twelfth Centuries*, ed. A. E. Laiou and D. Simon (Washington, D.C., 1994), 111–14.

merchants. Apart from the *phoundax* project in Raideostos, rich merchants must have also benefited from tax exemptions as privileges began to be conceded to a wide spectrum of individuals. Yet arbitrary measures, ordered or tolerated by the emperors, such as the arrest of the Venetians in 1171, the massacre of the Latins in 1182, the invalidation of privileges, and the abuses committed by tax collectors and other imperial officials, all affected merchants significantly.

The importance of trade for state finances is suggested by the vigilance and creativity of the fisc and the people who stood to gain from taxation in collecting existing dues and expanding the tax base. Commerce was taxed heavily. This was done through a number of dues imposed on merchants, the most important of which was the *kommerkion*, as is well known, and the *naulon* and *antinaulon*, whose significance has been overlooked. In addition, the state appears to have exploited on a large scale the boats, carts, and mules belonging to private merchants in order to defray its own transportation costs. In addition, administrators also appropriated cash and goods by abusing their authority. This practice seems to have been frequent and onerous enough to constitute an additional form of taxation. Although unofficial, this taxation was something officials could count on and, in the case of tax farmers, it was no doubt reflected in the payments they promised to the fisc.

The volume of trade seems to have grown over the course of the eleventh century. The significant wealth generated by this activity, which was apparent to all, ended up corroding the earlier protectionist policies as the state and people in power wanted to ensure their share of it, a motivation particularly in evidence in the Raideostos incident of the 1070s. Moreover, the late-twelfth-century documentation suggests that, rather than controlling trade, the main concern of maritime officials in Constantinople was the extraction of as many taxes as possible.

Overall, the interest in the taxes from trade seems to have been motivated as much by larger fiscal considerations as by the desire of high-ranking individuals to enrich themselves personally. In the instances of Nikephoritzes and of the late-twelfth-century superiors of the *sekretion thalasses*, we witness the most influential people under the emperor —ministers, imperial relatives, and other high dignitaries— securing for themselves the revenues from the taxation of trade. In both cases, it seems this was achieved through tax farming agreements that were certainly advantageous for the influential entrepreneurs. No doubt, this practice was not invented by Nikephoritzes and did not lapse after him only to reappear in the 1180s. Nevertheless, one has the impression that, under the Komnenoi, the initiative came more from the emperors, primarily interested in safeguarding the fisc, and less from high-ranking individuals seeking enrichment. Moreover, while abuses were common throughout the period, they seem to have flourished most in certain periods of relative confusion, as suggested by the confiscations of Michael VII and the late-twelfth-century invalidation or disrespect of privileges. In the period of the Komnenoi, a time of greater stability and more powerful rulers, the state appeared less predatory but no less interested in taxing trade. Emperors

froze the concessions or kept the issuing of privileges to a minimum, requesting the restrictive application of existing tax exemptions. Finally, although the fisc could only have had a rough idea of the revenues that were conceded to the Italians, the principle of privilege in exchange for service was strictly enforced. Overall, it may be said that in spite of contradictory official measures and policies, trade was expanding and, with the exception of periods of instability and great corruption, the Byzantine state could rely on its providing a steady stream of revenue.



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**COMMODITIES  
AND  
CERAMICS**

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# Salt for Constantinople

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“So, you don’t want to respect bread and salt?”<sup>1</sup> This evidently popular question in a multilingual phrasebook, written for the Ottoman court in the late fifteenth century, clearly demonstrates the high traditional and ritual significance of the common partaking of bread and salt. Salt was a well-known symbol for hospitality and peaceful relations during the Byzantine centuries too. Similar expressions for the peace-keeping symbolism of salt were, for example, proverbs like “to partake of the same table and the same salt”<sup>2</sup> or to share “salt and the table of harmony”<sup>3</sup> or that “one should not transgress common salt and table.”<sup>4</sup> Symbolism may also be found in sayings like “nobody eats bread without salt.”<sup>5</sup> The symbolic power of salt stands in a broad ancient tradition, which was also alive in the Old Testament<sup>6</sup> and found continuity in the New Testament.<sup>7</sup> In Byzantium

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1 'a-lā tahfazu l-mumālahata / āxer nadāri negāh nān va-namak-rā / Ἄρα οὐ φυλάττεις τὸ ψωμὶν καὶ τ' ἄλας; / ne bḵūdīš-lī sōl 'l hlēb: *Eine Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte: ein arabisch-persisch-griechisch-serbisches Gesprächslehrbuch vom Hofe des Sultans aus dem 15. Jahrhundert als Quelle für die Geschichte der serbischen Sprache*, ed. W. Lehfeldt, T. Berger et al. (Cologne-Vienna, 1989), 97-98 (12b-13a).

2 ... τῆς ἴσης τὲ τραπέζης καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀλάτων συμμετασχεῖν, Euthymios Tornikes' letter to Michael Choniates, ed. Ph. Kolovou, “Euthymios Tornikes als Briefschreiber. Vier unedierte Briefe des Euthymios Tornikes an Michael Choniates im Codex Buc. Gr. 508 (mit zwei Tafeln),” *JÖB* 45 (1995): 66-73; similar: ... πάντα ἐπὶ τοὺς κοινοὺς ἄλας συγκαλουμένου καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τραπέζαν, Philotheos Kokkinos, ed. D. G. Tsames (Thessalonica, 1985), 64.21-22.

3 ... εἶναι γὰρ οὐ μάχην, ἀλλ' ἀλήθειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην τὴν συνάπτουσαν καὶ συνδέουσαν ἀνδρῶν ὁμοφύλων τὰς ἀλλοφύλους ψυχὰς πρὸς τε τοὺς κοινοὺς τῆς εἰρήνης ‘ ἄλας καὶ ’ τὴν τῆς ὁμοφροσύνης ‘τραπέζαν’, Nikephoros Gregoras, *Nicephori Gregorae epistulae*, ed. P. L. M. Leone, 2 vols. (Matino, 1983), 2:11.30-33.

4 Ἄλας καὶ τραπέζαν μὴ παραβαίνειν φησὶν ἢ παροιμία...., *The Correspondence of Ignatius the Deacon*, ed. C. Mango and S. Efthymiadis, CFHB 39 (Washington, D.C., 1997), letter 51.1f; similarly Patriarch Gregory II (13th c.), ed. E. L. von Leutsch, *Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 1851, repr. Hildesheim, 1958), 2.25, and Nicetas Eugenianus, *De Drosillae et Chariclis amoribus*, ed. G. Conca (Amsterdam, 1990), 6.241.

5 Οὐ γὰρ βρωθήσεται, κατὰ τὸ λόγιον, ἄρτος ἄνευ ἀλός, Ignatius Diakonos, l. c. 13.5-6.

6 The “covenant of salt”: ... διαθήκη ἀλός αἰωνίου ἐστὶν ἔναντι Κυρίου σοὶ καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου μετὰ σέ, Numbers 18.19; see also Genesis 19.26, Exodus 30.35, 2 Chronicles 13.5, Leviticus 2.13, Ezekiel 16.4, 43.24, Ezra 6.9, Psalms 107.34, Job 39.6, Jeremy 17.6, Judges 9.45.

7 Matthew 5.13, Mark 9.49-50, Luke 14.34-35; see also Colossians 4.6 and James 3.12. In the Koran this symbolism is absent: see Suras 25.53, 35.12, 56-70.

the connotation of salt was —with rare exceptions<sup>8</sup>— in principle positive. Its symbolic power is only comparable to bread and water.<sup>9</sup>

On another occasion I discussed the religious and traditional symbolism of salt.<sup>10</sup> In this paper I would like to speak mainly about a practical theme, close to everyday life, namely the specific demand for salt in the megalopolis of Constantinople and its supply under pre-industrial conditions. Salt, in Byzantine Greek *halation* or *halas* or *hals*, has always been essential for human life and from prehistoric times<sup>11</sup> has fulfilled many necessary functions in everyday life: as one of the oldest basic food seasonings, as preservative for food, as a feeding additive for grazing cattle and as necessary constituent of many manufacturing processes, some of which will be mentioned later on.

In view of the far-reaching importance of salt for many purposes, it may be astonishing that the interest for it in Byzantine texts is rather limited. But this fact may be explained by a more generally observed phenomenon, namely that an interest for everyday life is nearly non-existent in Byzantine written sources. Furthermore, in the particular case of the practical use of salt this absence in texts can only rarely be compensated by information from archaeological evidence. The sparse information which is useful in our context is dispersed over many categories of sources. Nearly no legal regulations are to be found;<sup>12</sup> some practical hints come from the agricultural handbook *Geoponika*, some more from medical and dietetic texts.

Literary texts speak about salt and other elements of nutrition if there are special non-material reasons, as for example, the questions of identity and otherness in view of religious or ethnic differences. So, Michael Psellos mentions the recipe for bread in a polemical poem against the Jews, in which he compares their unleavened bread with the “orthodox” bread: The right bread, he says, consists of four elements, sour-dough, water, salt and flour, but the unleavened only of three, water, salt and flour. And his conclusion is that the Jews did everything wrong: circumcision, unleavened bread, the Lamb (of God) and the law.<sup>13</sup>

8 A negative use is mentioned by Eustathios of Thessalonike, namely to sprinkle salt in the enemy’s fields, in order to make them infertile: ... ἄλατι κατασπείρειται τὴν ἀρόσιμον, ὡς ἂν ἀκαρπίαν ἢ ζείδωρος ἐνέγκῃ αὐτοῖς, *Eustathii Thessalonicensis opera minora magnam partem inedita*, ed. P. Wirth, CFHB 32 (Berlin, 1999), 208 (or. 13). The botanical basis of his observation is that the concentration of salt in the soil has the effect of preventing the salt ions in the roots from extracting water, but, on the contrary, the plants lose water and dry up.

9 For the symbolism of salt see J.-Fr. Bergier, *Une histoire du sel. Avec une Annexe technique par A. Hahling* (Fribourg, 1982), 154-164; especially for Greek ethnology: St. G. Katsuleas, “Ἡ ορολογία τοῦ ‘αλατιοῦ’ ἀπὸ γλωσσολογικῆ καὶ λαογραφικῆ ἀποψη,” in *To helleniko halati* (Athens, 2001), 349-76, esp. 352-55.

10 J. Koder, “Salz – Anmerkungen zu Wortbedeutung und Realie,” in *Geschehenes und Geschriebenes. Studien zu Ehren von Günther S. Henrich und Klaus-Peter Matschke*, ed. S. Kolditz and R. C. Müller (Leipzig, 2005), 39-49.

11 See H. Blümner, “Salz,” *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 2.1.2 (1920), 2075-99; R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, 9 vols. (Leiden, 1965), 3:164-81; A. Laiou, “Salt,” *ODB* 3:1832-33; K.-P. Matschke, “Salz II,” *LexMA* 7:1327-28.

12 One may doubt that the regulations in the *Basilika concerning halikai*, especially the right to establish *hetaireiai* or *systemata* or *somateia* (B 8.2.101 = D 3.4.1), and to transfer *halikai* (B 38.9.5 = D 27.9.5) still had any validity. But see G. C. Maniatis, “Organization and Modus Operandi of the Byzantine Salt Monopoly,” *BZ* 102 (2009): 661-96, esp. 665 (David Jacoby, Jerusalem, kindly drew my attention to this article).

13 ... καθὼς ὁ ἄρτος ἐστὶν ἐξ ἰσαρίθμων,

Table salt is a crystalline mineral and consists primarily of sodium chloride (NaCl). It has a specific density of 2.165, hence 1 kg corresponds to 0.462 l. However, in medieval reality sea salt had, depending on its degree of humidity, a volume of up to 0.8 l per kg.<sup>14</sup> This difference may be of importance for some practical aspects, for example for the transportation from the producer to the consumer.

It is well known that salt is essential for the stability of health. The necessary adequate intake for an adult is estimated at between 3 and 6 grams per day,<sup>15</sup> depending on climate, body weight and perspiration. But the real consumption was at least twice as much, as a result of the losses (jettisoned cooking water, garbage etc).<sup>16</sup>

These figures correspond roughly to the quantities of about 25 grams per day, which were calculated already by ancient Roman authors.<sup>17</sup> The eleventh-century scientist Symeon Seth explains the dangers of an overdose: the consequences of excessive consumption are “overheating of the blood and weak sight ... it reduces fertility and causes itching, and it harms the intestines.”<sup>18</sup> Salt is a component of nutrition at every social level. In Byzantium its daily intake was not called into question in monastic and generally in Lenten regulations. Even the most rigid vegetarian monk would not avoid the intake of salt. The hermit Antiochos, a contemporary of the emperor Maurice, refrained for sixty years from partaking of oil and wine, and for thirty years he ate no bread, only raw vegetables, but these seasoned with vinegar and salt.<sup>19</sup> Later examples are Athanasios, the founder of the Lavra on Mount Athos, who accepted only after sunset to eat bread, made of bran, but macerated with warm water and spiced with salt,<sup>20</sup> or Michael Synkellos (ninth century), who abstained over long periods even from bread, being satisfied with wild herbs and salt.<sup>21</sup>

ζύμης, ὕδατος, ἄλατος καὶ ἀλεύρου·  
ὁ ἄζυμος δὲ οὐσιῶν ὡς ἐκ τριῶν,  
ἢ ἐξ ὕδατος, ἄλατος καὶ ἀλεύρου. (180)  
πάντα γὰρ ἦσαν ἐλλιπῆ τῶν Ἑβραίων,

περιτομή, ἄζυμα, ἀμνὸς καὶ νόμος, L. G. Westerink, *Michaelis Pselli poemata* (Stuttgart, 1992), 57.177-182. See also John of Damascus, *De azymis*, PG 95:392.

14 According to a measurement taken from sea salt from the saltworks in Ston (Dalmatia): 1 kg = about 750 cm<sup>3</sup> (2013.03.13).

15 See [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Speisesalz#Verwendung\\_von\\_Speisesalz](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Speisesalz#Verwendung_von_Speisesalz), 2013.02.10, and [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salt#Recommended\\_intake](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salt#Recommended_intake), 2013.02.05.

16 <http://www.chemie.de/lexikon/Speisesalz.html>, 2013.04.17.

17 Bergier, *Histoire du sel*, 29ff; Pliny the Elder, Lucius J. Columella.

18 ἀμέτρως δὲ χρόμενον ὑπερόπτησιν ποιείται τοῦ αἵματος καὶ ἀμβλυωπίαν ἐργάζεται καὶ ἐλαττοῖ τὴν γονίην καὶ κνησιμὸν ἐμποιεῖ, βλαπτικὸν τέ ἐστι τῶν ἐντέρων, Symeon Seth, *Simeonis Sethi syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus*, ed. B. Langkavel (Leipzig, 1868), alpha 195-98.

19 ...ἐξηχοστὸν δὲ ἔτος εἶχε μὴ μετασχῶν οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἢ τῶν λοιπῶν, ἄρτου δὲ μὴ γευσάμενος τριακοστὸν ἔτος· ἢ δὲ βρώσις αὐτοῦ ἦν λάχανα ὡμὰ μετὰ ἄλατος καὶ ὄξους, καὶ ποτὸν ὕδωρ, *Vie de Théodore de Sykeon*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, vol. 1, *Subsidia hagiographica* 48 (Brussels, 1970), c. 73.

20 ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ τροφή μὲν ἐκ πυτύρων μετὰ δύσιν ἡλίου χλιαρῶ ὕδατι δευομένων καὶ μικρῶ ἄλατι παραρτυομένων, *Vita Athanasii*, ed. J. Noret (Turnhout, 1982), c. 162.

21 Τροφή δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ τῶν πάντων ἄλλο τι οὐδὲν ἢ λαχάνων ἀγρίων ἀπόμοιρα πλὴν ἄλατος, Nikephoros Gregoras, *Encomium in Michaelem Syncellum*, ed. T. Schmitt, *IRAIK* 11 (1906), 266. Similar also is Symeon the New

Next in importance after the direct intake of table-salt was the preservation of food. The Byzantines knew a great variety of methods to preserve food of vegetable and animal origin: sun- and air-drying, smoking, sugaring, salting, and pickling in brine, which consisted of salt and vinegar or wine or olive oil; finally also the fermentation of cheeses, butter, wines and juices. These procedures are often combined by canning in closed jugs<sup>22</sup> and storage in dark and cool places.<sup>23</sup>

In many of these methods salt was the most important or even the only ingredient for the preservation of vegetables and wild plants,<sup>24</sup> but also for meat. According to the *Souda*, salted meat was canned in “amphoras and other clay vessels,”<sup>25</sup> in which it could be stored up to five years, as Procopius argues.<sup>26</sup> Salting (in Greek *taricheuein*) was also most common for fish and other seafood.<sup>27</sup> Eustathios of Thessalonike tells us a strange story about the emperor Manuel I Komnenos, who arranged a midnight wedding banquet during Lent. The archbishop describes a great variety of seafood: “salted fish, some of it only recently cured, but much also preserved in vinegar; not even salted fish eggs were lacking, from both kinds, those gleaming reddish, which are arranged in a pair of briquettes (pressed), and the black ones which are piled up in baskets.”<sup>28</sup> The catalogue of dishes evidently describes a luxurious Lenten meal, but it demonstrates also, on a general level, the importance of preserved seafood.

For the preservation of food probably substantial quantities of salt were needed. Depending on the method, the salting of meat requires 50-100 grams of salt for 1 kg of meat (between 5 and 10 percent).<sup>29</sup> For the production of clipfish (salted and dried fish)<sup>30</sup> the recommendations vary between a “concentration of between 6 and 10 percent salt

in the tissue,”<sup>31</sup> and about 16 percent of salt for “raw, prepared fish.”<sup>32</sup> However, the quantities of consumed meat and fish<sup>33</sup> were not very high —the reasons are not only the fasts, which lasted half of the year, but also the economic situation of the great mass of the inhabitants of Constantinople, who could not afford expensive foodstuffs.

We should also mention that salted meat and sausages were produced in many regions of the Byzantine realm, also in Constantinople, whereas most of the salted fish was cured on the shores of the Marmara Sea, the Black Sea, and the estuaries of the Don (Tanais) and other rivers.<sup>34</sup> Inside Constantinople the fishmongers, as a rule, were not allowed to sell fish to foreigners, nor to cure it, except for the surplus of the daily catch, which would otherwise rot in the evening.<sup>35</sup> Only this remaining stock could be processed by the fish salters (*taricheutai*). Hence, in Constantinople the necessary quantities of salt for the curing of fish might not have been very large.

Probably more important than today was the salting of vegetables and of olives. Salted olives were called *halmades* (literally “salt-things”),<sup>36</sup> and salted vegetables *halmaia*. Originally the term *halmaia* was an adjective and meant generally “brined” and, as a substantive, “brine;” but in the Byzantine period its meaning changed slightly to “preserved vegetables.”<sup>37</sup> *Halmaia* is not an exact equivalent to Turkish *turşu* or Greek *toursi*, which was often restricted to certain categories of vegetables, such as fruits, bulbs, sprouts and roots. The word *turşu* derives from Arabic *ṭurshu*; the origin of the term supports the view that this pickling method was originally common in the Levant. The Byzantine term *halmaia*, on the other hand, includes additionally many sorts of greens and leafy vegetables, which often correspond to the vegetation in a cooler and more humid climate, as for example cabbage. These vegetables were cut and put into a barrel or another container, where a layer of leaves of about 30 cm was sprinkled thickly with salt and stamped barefoot; this procedure was repeated, until the container was filled to the brim.

The name *halmaia* was also given to a soup dish, made from different leafy salted vegetables,<sup>38</sup> oil and spices, apparently a very common everyday meal, that was offered

Theologian: ... μόνον ἄρτου ξηροῦ μετὰ ἄλατος καὶ ὕδατος μεταλαμβάνειν ψυχροῦ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ ἀρίστου, *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, Catechèses*, ed. B. Krivochéine and trans. J. Paramelle, vol. 1, SC 96 (Paris, 1963), 12.220ff.

22 Special jugs, named *psykter*, served for the storage of milk: ψυκτήρ, διότι ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ γάλα ψύγεται, *Etymologicum Gudianum*, ed. F. W. Sturz (Leipzig, 1818), 523.

23 For example in cellars, and snow or ice served as coolant: Νεαρὰ ἐπὶ πλείστον διαμένει κρέα καθαρθέντα καὶ ἀναψυγέντα, ἐν τόποις σκιεροῖς καὶ νοτεροῖς τεθέντα, βορείοις μάλλον ἢ νοτίοις. Ἦδιώ δὲ αὐτὰ ποιεῖ χιών περιτεθείσα καὶ ἄχυρα δὲ ἐπιβληθέντα, *Georonica*, ed. H. Beckh (Leipzig, 1895), 10.9.1-2.

24 ... βοτάνας δὲ ἦσθιε μόνον, καὶ ταύτας ἀγρίας ἐπὶ χρόνου μήκος τεταριχουμένας ἀλίσι τε καὶ ὄξει, Procopius, *De aedificiis* 1.7.10.

25 ... εὐρίσκουσι δὲ ἀμφορέας, καὶ ἄλλα τεύχη κεραμαῖα κρεῶν μεστὰ τεταριχουμένων, *Souda*, T 432.

26 ... εὐρήται δὲ καὶ σίτου καὶ τεταριχουμένων κρεῶν μέγα τι χρῆμα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων, ὅσα δὴ ἔμελλε πενταετὲς τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις πᾶσιν ἐπαρξέσθαι, Procopius, *Bella* 8.12.18.

27 See *Ancient Fishing and Fish Processing in the Black Sea Region*, ed. T. Bekker-Nielsen, Black Sea Studies 2 (Aarhus, 2005) and <http://www.pontos.dk/publications/books/black-sea-studies-2>. Remarkable in this context are the broken amphoras in the shipwreck Marmaray 22 (Yenikari), which were filled with salted anchovies (following the paper read by Mehmet Ali Polat in Istanbul, 24 June 2013).

28 ... ἰχθύες ταριχευτοί· τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐκ προσφάτου ἀλίπαστοι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὄξωτοί· οὐκ ἐνέλιπον οὐδὲ ὡὰ ἰχθύων τεταριχουμένα· γένος αὐτὰ ἐκότερον, ὅσα τε εἰς δυάδα πλακώδη παράκεινται παραυγάζοντα εἰς ὑπέρυθρον καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ ἀροίγων μέλανα κέχυνται σωρηδόν, *Eustathii Thessalonicensis De emendanda vita monachica*, ed. K. Metzler, CFHB 45 (Berlin-New York, 2006), c. 66.

29 See <http://peterhug.ch/lexikon/Einp%C3%B6keln?Typ=PDF> and [http://www.rezeptesammlung.net/einkochen\\_raeuchern\\_und\\_poekeln.htm](http://www.rezeptesammlung.net/einkochen_raeuchern_und_poekeln.htm), 24.2.2013.

30 Other than clipfish, the stockfish is not salted, only dried.

31 <http://www.greenstone.org/greenstone3/nzdl?a=d&c=hdl&d=HASH016533e631153e6bee749c43.4&sib=1&p.a=b&p.sa=&p.s=&p.c=hdl>, 7 March 2013.

32 [http://autonopedia.org/food\\_and\\_nutrition/How\\_To\\_Salt\\_Fish.html](http://autonopedia.org/food_and_nutrition/How_To_Salt_Fish.html), 7 March 2013.

33 In comparison, nowadays (2007) in Turkey the consumption of meat is estimated at 25.4 kg / person / year, <http://de.scribd.com/doc/91840616/Meat-Consumption-Per-Person>, and (1995-1997) of fish at 8.3 kg, [http://www.st.nmfs.noaa.gov/st1/fus/fus99/per\\_capita99.pdf](http://www.st.nmfs.noaa.gov/st1/fus/fus99/per_capita99.pdf), 14 March 2013.

34 ... ὦν χορηγὸς ἐκ τῶν βορείων πρὸς ἄλλοις τόποις καὶ ὁ εἰς τὸν Εὐξείνιον ἐκβάλλων Τάναϊς, ἡθροιστο ταῦτα ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀναληφθέντα ἐπὶ τε ἡμιόνων καὶ λοιποῦ βασιτάγματος ἀπήχθη, *Eustathii Thessalonicensis De emendanda vita monachica*, l. c., c. 66; ἰχθύας τεταριχουμένους οὓς Προποντίς τε καὶ ποταμοὶ βόσκουσιν ἀπεσταλκῶς, *Michaelis Choniatae epistulae*, ed. F. Kolovou, CFHB 41 (Berlin-New York, 2001), letter 150.28-29. For the provisions with meat and fish see G. Dagron, “The Urban Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries,” in *EHB* 2:456-59.

35 Μὴ ἐξέσω τοῖς ἀπεμπολοῦσι ταριχευεῖν τοὺς ἰχθύας ἢ ἐξωτικοῖς ἀπεμπολεῖν τοῖς ἔξω διακομίζουσιν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς περιττεύοντες πρὸς τὸ μὴ διαφθαρήναι τούτους, *Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, ed. J. Koder, CFHB 33 (Vienna, 1991), 17.2.

36 ἡ ἀλμάς ἐλαία, *Eustathii De emendanda vita monachica*, 6l. c. 6.28; see also Michael Choniates, *Epistulae*, ed. Kolovou, letter 150.14, and LSJ 71b ἀλμάς, salted olive.

37 LSJ 71b, LBG 59b.

38 ... ἀλμαῖα ἢ ἔνδοξος, ἢ πολυσύνθετός τε καὶ πολυσκεύαστος, ... καὶ γὰρ τὰ τῆς ἀλμαῖας φύλλα ἐσθίοντες,

also in the cookshops along the streets in Constantinople.<sup>39</sup> In monastic *typika*, *halmaia* “without oil” (χωρίς ἐλαίου) is mentioned as a Lenten meal.<sup>40</sup> So far I have found no source that would point to an industrial or professional production of salted vegetables; my conclusion is that pickled vegetables were produced domestically, in the cellars of households, taverns and monasteries. As for the total amount of salt, which would be required for the preservation of foodstuffs, even an approximate quantification is impossible for the middle Byzantine centuries.

Next to nutrition and preservation of food the written sources mention the medical use of salt.<sup>41</sup> It appears as a common component of remedies against tumors, rashes and dropsies, and more generally in dietary recommendations. It was popular also for external application,<sup>42</sup> for the treatment of wounds and to enhance virility. Salt also was considered to be a disinfectant for plants, and therefore recommended, for example, for the protection of fig-trees from losing their fruits.<sup>43</sup> As a component for the embalming of corpses salt is only mentioned in the context of ancient history.<sup>44</sup>

In Byzantium we observe different industrial needs of salt. Minor quantities were in use for bleaching of linen with the help of chlorine, which is a component of salt; furthermore for dyeing textiles and silk, because salt helps to fix or increase the fastness of colors.<sup>45</sup> Salt was also used in metallurgical processes and for the production of glass and pottery: it was thrown into the kiln during the firing process.<sup>46</sup> Finally the production of soap and some procedures in the manufacturing of ink needed salt.<sup>47</sup>

Theodorus Laskaris, *Epistulae CCXVII*, ed. N. Festa (Florence, 1898), letter 54.50-51 and 56-57.

39 ... παρὰ ταῖς καπηλίαι προβεβλημένην ἐνόδιον ἐδωδήν, ἣν ἡ κοινὴ διάλεκτος ἀλμαίαν ὀνόμασεν, Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. A. van Dieten, CFHB 11 (Berlin, 1975), 57.

40 See for example the following *typika*: Stoudiou, ed. A. Dmitrievsky, *Typika. Opisanie liturgicheskikh rykopysei*, vol. 1.1 (Kiev, 1895), 235; Lavra, ed. P. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Amsterdam, 1965), 137, and Pantokrator, P. Gautier, “Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator,” *REB* 32 (1974): 27-131, l. 468 (*Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents. A complete translation of surviving founders' typika and testaments*, ed. J. Thomas, A. Constantinides Hero, G. Constable, R. Allison, 5 vols. [Washington, D.C., 2000], 110, 226, 747).

41 In general Bergier, *Histoire du sel*, 140-43. In TLG some fifty medical texts between the 2nd c. (Galenos) and the 14th c. (Ioannes Actuarius), and the Hippatrika.

42 See the chapter Περί τοῦ ἄλατος in Symeon Seth, ed. Langkavel, alpha 189ff; against tumors: A. M. Ieraci Bio, *Paolo di Nicea, Manuale medico*, Hellenica et byzantina neapolitana 16 (Naples, 1996), c. 71; against rashes (ἐξανθήματα) and dropsies (ὕδρωπώντας): *Georonica*, l. c., 12.30.3; also Symeon Seth's chapter on mushrooms (Περί τῶν ὄνων, truffles?), l. c., ypsilon 7-12; Hierophilos, ed. J. L. Ideler, *Physici et medici Graeci minores*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1841), month July, § 3: σῦκα λευκά μετὰ ἄλατος.

43 Συκὴ ... ὁμοίως οὐκ ἀποβάλλει τὸν καρπὸν, ἐὰν τὰς ῥίζας αὐτῆς ἄλατι καὶ φυκίοις θαλαττίοις καταπλάσῃς ..., *Georonica*, l. c., 10.48.2.

44 For example: ... τοῦτου δὲ τὸ σῶμα κελεύσει Χοσροῦ ἄλατι ταριχευθὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκομίσθη, Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1885), 315; Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐταρίχενον, ἵνα ὄλον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ποτε ζώντος ἔχουσιν εἰς μνήμης ζώπυρον. πῶς δὲ ἐταρίχενον ἱστορεῖ Ἡρόδοτος, *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, ed. M. van der Valk (Leiden, 1976), 1:294.970.11-12.

45 J. Goodwin, *A Dyer's Manual* (New Lodge, Southfield, 2003), 12; Forbes, *Studies*, 4:99-150.

46 Bergier, *Histoire du sel*, 140; [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salt\\_glaze\\_pottery](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salt_glaze_pottery) (30 April 2013).

47 “als körnige Reibhilfe zum Zerkleinern weicher Metalle wie Gold und Silber”: P. Schreiner and D. Oltrogge, *Byzantinische Tinten-, Tuschen- und Farbrezepte*, Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse 419 /

A prominent example is the leather industry, which had a much greater significance in everyday life than in our times. Leather was not only needed for the production of clothing and shoes, but also for belts and straps, as a component of weapons, saddles and bridle, as seals or frames or hinges for doors and windows, also for bags and water skins (the so-called *askodaula*).<sup>48</sup> Salted cattle intestines were used “instead of pipes” (*anti solenon*) for water and other liquids,<sup>49</sup> probably because they were lighter and easier to transport and handle than wooden or clay pipes, especially on the occasion of military campaigns. The *Book of the Eparch* distinguishes between tanners (*byrsodepsai*), leather producers (*byrsopoioi*), belt makers (*lorotomoi*), producers of fine leather goods (*malakatarioi*) and sealers of doors and windows (*askothyriarioi*).<sup>50</sup>

In the processing of animal skins and hides salt was necessary for curing in order to avoid the decay of the raw material, and later, in the course of tanning, for curing the pelts by rubbing their fleshy side with salt.<sup>51</sup>

Unfortunately, in all these cases the written sources do not mention the necessary quantities. Jean-François Bergier supposes (without arguments) that the industrial need was altogether less than 10 percent of the production.<sup>52</sup>

In Byzantium salt was mainly produced during the hot months of the year, and most of it in marine saltworks, the *halykai*.<sup>53</sup> The related Greek word families *\*halyk-*<sup>54</sup> and *\*halmyr-*<sup>55</sup> appear also in toponyms in coastal regions.<sup>56</sup> Also the Latin term *Salinae* served as a toponym, for example as a place-name near Antioch.<sup>57</sup>

In the Roman world the production of salt was in the hands of the state or the emperor, at times as a monopoly, whereas in Byzantium institutions like the church (often

Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen 4 (Vienna, 2011), 124.

48 Φακὸς ὕδατος, εἶδος ὑδατοδόχου ἀγγείου ἐνόδιου, ὃ ἀρχοικικῶς παρ' ἡμῖν ἀσκοδαῦλα λέγεται, *Souda*, phi 23; ασκοδάβλαι διάφοροι μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis*, 467; LBG 215a.

49 ... ἀντὶ σωλήνων τῶν τὸ ὕδωρ πεμπόντων ἔντερα βοῶν εἰργασμένα ὡσάν τεταριχευμένα παρατίθενται ὕδωρ ἐπιχέοντα. Τούτοις τοῖς ἐντέροις ἀσκοὶ πλήρεις ὕδατος ὑποτίθενται· ἐκθλιβόμενοι δὲ καὶ πεζόμενοι ἀναφέρουσι τὸ ὕδωρ, Heron, *Strategemata* (10th c.), ed. R. Schneider, *Griechische Poliorketiker*, Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Kl. N.F. 11.1 (Berlin, 1909), 247.

50 βυρσοδέψαι, βυρσοποιοί, λωροτόμοι, μαλακατάριοι, *Eparchenbuch*, c. 14; ἀσκοθυράριοι, *Eparchenbuch*, c. 22; see also *Ptochoprodomos*, ed. H. Eideneier, *Neograeca Medii Aevi* 5 (Cologne, 1991), 2.57: ἀσκοθυριάριος, and LBG 215a.

51 Forbes, *Studies*, 5:1-79.

52 Bergier, *Histoire du sel*, 139-0.

53 The terms *halopegia*, *halopegion* and similar (cf. Maniatis, “Organization,” 661-62) appear after Strabon only in antiquarian contexts, e.g. *Etymologicum magnum* (Kallierges), 252, and Eustathios of Thessalonike, Or. 13.208.

54 *Halykai*: καταλαμβάνει τοῖνον τόπον παρὰ μὲν τῶν Ἀλυκάς ὀνομαζόμενον, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Κυπαρίσιον, Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ed. D. R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis, CFHB 40 (Berlin, 2001), 6.10.6.

55 *Halmyros*: Ἀλμυρὸς δ' ὁ χώρος κικλήσκειται, Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, 612; Ἀλμυρὸς τῷ τόπῳ τὸ ὄνομα, Ioannes Staurakios, ed. I. Iberites, “Λόγος εἰς τὰ θαύματα τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου,” *Μακεδονικά* 1 (1940): 334-76 (c. 18.30).

56 For example *Almiro*, *Halmyrissos*, *Halmyropotamos*, *Halmyros*, *Halikies* and *Halyke*, see the related lemmata in TIB 1, 3, 10, 12.

57 *Vita di Sant' Elia il Giovane*, ed. G. Rossi Taibbi (Palermo, 1962), 30.594f (10th c.).

monasteries) or persons are also documented as owners.<sup>58</sup> A prominent example is the *dorea* of the emperor Justinian II, who donated in 688/689 the saltworks of Thessalonike to the church of Saint Demetrios in Thessalonike.<sup>59</sup>

An important inland area of salt production was the Tuz Gölü at the boundaries between Cappadocia and Galatia. Its traditional name since antiquity was Tatta limne, in the Byzantine period also Karateia limne. This lake has a surface of more than 1,600 km<sup>2</sup>, and is one of the largest salt lakes in the world.<sup>60</sup> It has a salinity of up to 32.9 percent. Nowadays, the three mines which operate near Tuz Gölü produce more than 60 percent of the salt consumed in Turkey,<sup>61</sup> and the information from Constantine Porphyrogenitos, that Karateia limne is “the lake, which gives birth to salt,”<sup>62</sup> may be an indicator that it was exploited also during the Byzantine period, though the importance of marine saltworks then was much higher.

The saltworks that produced for Constantinople were located at many places along the shores of the Aegean (nearly 4 percent salinity) and the Black Sea (1.8–1.9 percent salinity), but mainly on the Marmara Sea (with a salinity of approximately 2.2 percent).<sup>63</sup> Written sources mention *halykai* for example near Anchialos, in the Gulf of Izmit<sup>64</sup> and near Ainos.<sup>65</sup> The salt was brought to Constantinople by sea or land, in sacks (*σακκία*) or in baskets (*καλάθια* – the term *kalathion* was also a measure of capacity).<sup>66</sup>

The methods and ways of retail distribution of salt inside Constantinople unfortunately are not described in the written sources. We may conjecture from the *Book of the Eparch*, which reflects the situation at least until the tenth century, that salt was sold by the *saldamarioi*, who in this source are classified as grocers in a wider sense (not only for food): They offered “salted meat and fish, sausage, cheese, honey, oil, all sorts of legumes, butter, dry and liquid pitch, gum-juniper, hemp, flax, gypsum, spades, barrels, nails and all other things, which are sold with a steelyard balance.”<sup>67</sup> Therefore they probably had also salt in their assortment.

58 See Maniatis, “Organization,” 672–75.

59 Inscription ed. by J.-M. Spieser, “Inventaires en vue d’un recueil des inscriptions historiques de de Byzance I: Les inscriptions de Thessalonique,” *TM* 5 (1973): 156–59 (no. 8), cf. F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453, Abt. 1, Regesten von 565–867*, 2nd edition by A. E. Müller (Munich, 2009), no. 258 (I am grateful to Cécile Morrisson, Paris, who drew my attention to this inscription).

60 *TIB* 2:64, and *TIB* 4:230f (Tatta Limne).

61 [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tuz\\_G%C3%B6l%C3%BC](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tuz_G%C3%B6l%C3%BC), 7 March 2013.

62 ... ἡ λίμνη ἢ τὸ ἄλας τίκτουσα, ἣν ἀρτίως βαρβαρίζοντες Καράτειαν καλοῦσιν, Constantine Porphyrogenitos, *De thematibus*, Anatole, 2.53–54.

63 Salt lagoons and saltworks along the coast of the Black Sea and the Aegean coast of Thrace, near Ainos, and Anchialos (*TIB* 6:56–57, 123, n. 431, 151, 170–73, 175–77). Saltworks in Tuzla, H. Stephanos / Yeşilköy (about 15 km wsw. from Constantinople), Chersonesos, and Melas Kolpos (*TIB* 12:66, 202, 221, 312, 529, 659–60).

64 Ignatios the Deacon, letter 13.

65 *Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. M. Philippides, *Emperors, Patriarchs and Sultans of Constantinople, 1373–1513* (Brookline, Mass., 1990), c. 49.

66 See E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie*, *Byzantinisches Handbuch* (Munich, 1970), 101 and n. 13.

67 Ἐμπορευέσθωσαν δὲ κρέας, ἰχθύας τεταριγευμένους, νεῦρον, τυρόν, μέλι, ἔλαιον, ὀσπρίων πᾶν εἶδος, βούτυρον, ξηρὰν πίσσαν καὶ ὑγράν, κεδραίαν, κανάβιν, λινάριον, γύψον, σκαφίδια, βουττία, καρφία καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα καμπανοὶς ἀλλὰ μὴ ζυγοῖς διαπιπράσκονται, *Eparchenbuch* 13.1 (σαλδαμαριοί).

This hypothesis is supported by the fact, that already in late antiquity *salgamarioi* are explicitly mentioned as retailers of salted meat and fish,<sup>68</sup> whereas, on the other hand, the *tarichemporoi* and *tarichopolai* (or *tarichopoloι*), who are mentioned in Byzantine sources,<sup>69</sup> evidently were restricted to trade in foodstuffs preserved with salt. They may have been the importers, who brought the *taricheuta* goods from abroad (by sea or by land), or also the wholesalers, who bought from the importers and resold to the retailers.

Though no precise information is available, it may be assumed that salt was not extremely expensive. The documents that mention an exact relation between price and quantity are limited to late antiquity. Diocletian’s *Edict on Maximum Prices*, which was published in 311, defined price ceilings for over a thousand products. The edict limited the price for salt (*salis*, ἄλατος)<sup>70</sup> with 100 *denarii* for 1 *modius castrensis* (the *denarius* corresponded probably to 1/10 *solidus*,<sup>71</sup> the *modius castrensis* was equivalent to 13.131 l<sup>72</sup>). The same price limit for the same quantity was fixed for wheat and for many sorts of legumes.<sup>73</sup> For spicy salt (*salis conditi*, σαλακονδείτου) the limit was 8 *denarii* for 1 *Italicus sextarius* (0.547 l).<sup>74</sup>

Another regulation from the year 389 provides a price limit of 1 *solidus* for 12 (Roman) *modii* (at 8.75 l).<sup>75</sup> Following Hugo Blümner, the mentioned prices would correspond to 1.14 or 1.37 German gold marks (before 1915) per 10 liters of normal salt, and to 2.74 German

68 See the *Concilium Chalcedonense* (451), ed. E. Schwartz, *ACO* 2,1,3.52 (Berlin, 1933), l. 29–31: Διογένης ὁ εὐλαβέστατος ἐπίσκοπος Κυζίκου εἶπεν· ... εἰ ἐγένετο ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, οὐκ εἶχεν ταῦτα γίνεσθαι. ἐκεῖ σαλγαμαριοὺς χειροτονοῦσι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνατροπὴ γίνεται. See also LSJ 71b: ἄλμαιοπόλης, *salgamarius*.

69 ταριχέμπορος: *Souda*, alpha 249, *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, vol. 2, 294.9; ταριχοπόλης: M. Schmidt, *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, 5 vols. (Halle, 1862), 4:omega 295– W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos, Historische Gedichte*, WBS 11 (Vienna, 1974), poem 77.27. For *tarichopoloι* see LBG s. v. \*ταριχοπόλος, ὁ “Händler mit Pökelfischen,” with reference to Ioannes Katrares (14th c.); for the ancient Greek terminology of ταριχ- see LSJ 1758a–1759b.

70 *Salis* <k.> *mo. unum* <denariis> *centum* / ἄλατος κ. μο. α´ <δηναρῖοις> ρ´, S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt* (Berlin, 1971), 104–5 (3.8) and 220 (commentary).

71 1 Pound (Diocletian) = 72000 *denarii*, 1 *solidus* / *nomisma* = 1000 *denarii* (since Constantine the Great) = 24 *siliquae*, see M. F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c. 300–1450* (Cambridge, 1985), 449–50.

72 According to F. Mitthoff, *Annona Militaris. Die Heeresversorgung im spätantiken Ägypten. Ein Beitrag zur Verwaltungs- und Heeresgeschichte des Römischen Reiches im 3. bis 6. Jh. n. Chr.* (Florence, 2001), 240, 1 *modius castrensis* / καστρήσιος μόδιος (“Lagerscheffel”) = 1.5 *modii Italici* (à 8.754 l) = 13.131 l; see also Lauffer, *Preisedikt*, 54 and 213.

73 Lauffer, *Preisedikt*, 98–99, and commentary 213–16.

74 Lauffer, *Preisedikt*, 104–5 (3.9), and commentary 220.

75 IDEM AAA. CYNEGIO P(RAEFECTO) P(RAETORI)O PER ORIENTEM. Cum ante placuisset, ut a primipilaribus secundum dispositionem divi Gratiani species horreis erogandae comitatensibus militibus ex more deferrentur, limitaneis vero pretia darentur, nunc placuit, ut aurum ad officium inl(ustris) per Illyricum praefecturae cum certa taxatione, id est pro octogenis libris laridae carnis, pro octogenis etiam lib(ris) olei et pro duodenis modiiis salis singuli solidi perferantur. DAT. V KAL. IUL. TIMASIO ET PROMOTO CONSS, *Codex Theodosianus*, 8.4.17.

gold marks per 10 liters of spicy salt.<sup>76</sup> Following a common calculation,<sup>77</sup> one German gold mark of 1913/14 is equivalent to 4.70 € (1 liter = 50-75 eurocent?).

The tariff of Abydos (dated “vers 492”)<sup>78</sup> does not mention salt, but the so-called “Tariff of Anazarbos,” a fragmentary inscription, which is commonly dated to the reign of emperor Anastasius I (491–518), prescribes a price of 55 *argyra* (*nummi*) for 1 burden (*gomos*) of salt (in case of mules 1 *gomos* or *gomation* equal to 96-97 kg)<sup>79</sup>. In this tariff the same price for the same quantity may be found for wine.<sup>80</sup>

Later information is even less helpful. In the ninth century the metropolitan of Nicaea Ignatios the Deacon (d. after 845) wrote a letter to the bishop of Helenopolis (Hersek) at the Gulf of Izmit and asked him for salt from his local saltworks “for a suitable price” (μισθοῦ τοῦ προσήκοντος). Ignatios payed three gold *nomismata* as deposit and mentioned a total of twelve *nomismata*, a sum which hints to a considerable quantity (perhaps some 1,500 l); but unfortunately he speaks only about the “agreed quantity” (τὸ ἐκ συμφωνήσεως ποσὸν), without being more precise.<sup>81</sup> Ptochoprodromos mentions in one of his poems *halas* as one of more than thirty items, which he cannot afford,<sup>82</sup> because he does not know how to provide for the thirteen persons of his household; therefore, he implores a member of the imperial family to increase his donation to him. Finally, an imperial donation from the saltworks near Smyrna provides for the Lembiotissa monastery 200 *annonikoi modioi* (227.8 l)<sup>83</sup> of salt (which would have been sufficient for approximately 270 persons); but also in this document the price is not mentioned.<sup>84</sup>

76 Blümner, “Salz,” 2096, proposes the following equivalents:

100 *denarii* ≈ 1.80 German gold mark ≈ 0.137 M (0.643 €?) per l.

8 *denarii* ≈ 0.15 German gold mark ≈ 0.274 M (1.287 €?) per l.

1 *solidus* ≈ 12 German gold mark ≈ 0.114 M (0.535 €?) per l.

77 [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deutsche\\_W%C3%A4hrungsgeschichte](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deutsche_W%C3%A4hrungsgeschichte) (17 April 2013).

78 J. Durliat and A. Guillou, “Le tarif d’Abydos (vers 492),” *BCH* 108 (1984): 581-98.

79 Ἄλατος γο’ ἀρ’ NE, G. Dagron and D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie*, TM, Monographies 4 (Paris, 1987), 170-75 and 179 (no. 108).

80 Dagron and Feissel, *Inscriptions*, 171 and 178.

81 ... ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν νόστιμον κερωρήκαμεν δεξιάν, ἵν’ ἐκ τῶν παρ’ ὑμῖν πονηθέντων ἁλῶν καὶ τοῖς χρῆζουσι τιμήματος νεμομένων καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀλισθῆναι δαψιλῶς, εἰ προαιρέσεως ἔχοιτο, οὐ προῖκα, ἀλλὰ μισθοῦ τοῦ προσήκοντος· ὄρω γὰρ ἀρραβῶνος χρυσίνους τρεῖς ἐκπεπόμφαμεν, ἕως ἂν ἡμῖν ἐπιμετρηθῇ τὸ ἐκ συμφωνήσεως ποσὸν καὶ τινικᾶδε χορηγηθεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, θεοῦ τοῦτο ἐπὶ καιροῦ ἐπιτρέποντος, τῆς πάσης τιμῆς ἀνασθεῖσης ὑμῖν· εἰς γὰρ δωδεκάτην αὐξήσει χρυσίου ποσότητα· καὶ εὐχεσθαι δυσωπούμεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἱερώτατε, Ignatios the Deacon, *Correspondence*, ed. Mango and Efthymiadis, letter 13.8-16 (see commentary, 173-75). ... ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν νόστιμον κερωρήκαμεν δεξιάν, ἵν’ ἐκ τῶν παρ’ ὑμῖν πονηθέντων ἁλῶν καὶ τοῖς χρῆζουσι τιμήματος νεμομένων καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀλισθῆναι δαψιλῶς, εἰ προαιρέσεως ἔχοιτο, οὐ προῖκα, ἀλλὰ μισθοῦ τοῦ προσήκοντος· ὄρω γὰρ ἀρραβῶνος χρυσίνους τρεῖς ἐκπεπόμφαμεν, ἕως ἂν ἡμῖν ἐπιμετρηθῇ τὸ ἐκ συμφωνήσεως ποσὸν καὶ τινικᾶδε χορηγηθεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, θεοῦ τοῦτο ἐπὶ καιροῦ ἐπιτρέποντος, τῆς πάσης τιμῆς ἀνασθεῖσης ὑμῖν· εἰς γὰρ δωδεκάτην αὐξήσει χρυσίου ποσότητα· καὶ εὐχεσθαι δυσωπούμεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἱερώτατε, Ignatios the Deacon, *Correspondence*, ed. Mango and Efthymiadis, letter 13.8-16 (see commentary, 173-75).

82 *Ptochoprodromos*, ed. Eideneier, 2.39.

83 1 *annonikos modios* = 11.389 l, see Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 99-100 and 270.

84 ... κατ’ ἔτος τὴν σεβασμίαν μονὴν τῆς βασιλείας μου <ἀπὸ> τῶν ἁλυκῶν τῆς Σμύρνης ... ἅλατος μοδίου ἀνοννικῶς διακοσίους, MM 4:Prostagma 1 et passim. See also the donation of a *halyke* at H. Georgios

Information about taxes and other dues on salt and about control by the state is also rare.<sup>85</sup> A salt-tax (*halatotelos*) is mentioned in late Byzantine imperial deeds about tax-exemption for the Patmos monastery;<sup>86</sup> and from exemption deeds for the monastery of Megiste Lavra on Mount Athos we learn about the obligation to produce and deliver salt (*ekphoresis kai metakomide halatos*),<sup>87</sup> but again without quantification.

What about the quantities of salt, which were needed in Constantinople? After the sixth century and until 1204 the Byzantine capital had most of the time significantly more than 100,000 inhabitants. Due to the lack of specific sources the population numbers for the city are speculative, but one should accept that at times “in the wake of its demographic recovery in the second half of the ninth century,” as Gilbert Dagron puts it, 200,000 or perhaps even 250,000 inhabitants are possible.<sup>88</sup> These population figures include a changing, but always important number of monks and nuns, of soldiers in the garrisons, and of merchants, pilgrims and other visitors or travelers. As a megalopolis Constantinople needed (and most of the time had) well working systems of logistics, most probably a mixture of private and state initiative, with a differentiated system of distribution,<sup>89</sup> including a strong presence of the state in comparison with contemporary states in Western and Central Europe.<sup>90</sup>

If the normal intake of salt is calculated at a maximum of roughly 6 g per day, but has at least to be doubled for the already mentioned reasons,<sup>91</sup> the annual need per person may be calculated at 4.5 kg a year. Therefore the minimum annual need for 100,000–200,000 inhabitants would be between 450 and 900 t. These figures include virtually at least a part of the salt, which is contained in salted meat, fish and vegetables.

We should, however, have a look at the figures, which are mentioned in the *typikon* of the Pantokrator monastery, dated to 1136. Emperor John II Komnenos, the monastic founder, provided accomodation and two *minsoi*, two servings (courses or meals)<sup>92</sup> a day, for up to fifty *xenonitai* (patients and poor persons) in the hospital, which was attached to the monastery. The catalogue of donations in the *typikon* includes thirty *monasteriakoi*

Exokastrites, a. 1230, *ibid.*, 4-18, 43-46 and 48-51.

85 See Maniatis, “Organization,” 690-93.

86 ... το π ι κ ῶς συν ἡ θων ἀπαιτήσεων ... τοῦ ἀλατοτέλους, *Πάτμου*, 1:168-69, l. 43-45 (a. 1326) and 176-78, l. 62-64 (a. 1331).

87 ἐκφορήσεως καὶ μετακομιδῆς ἅλατος, *Lavra*, 2:72-76, l. 21 (a. 1298), and *Lavra*, 3:4-8 (a. 1329).

88 Dagron, “Urban Economy,” 394-95. The figure of some 400,000 inhabitants at the end of the 12th century seems to be very high: P. Magdalino, “Medieval Constantinople: Built Environment and Urban Development,” in *EHB* 2:529-37, here 535.

89 See T. Thomov and A. Ilieva, “The Shape of the Market: Mapping the Book of the Eparch,” *BMGS* 22 (1998): 105-16; M. Mundell Mango, “The Commercial Map of Constantinople,” *DOP* 54 (2000): 189-207.

90 A. E. Laiou, “Economic and Noneconomic Exchange,” in *EHB* 2:689-90. See also A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900-1200* (Cambridge, 1989), 163ff (“patterns of demand”); A. E. Laiou and C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* (Cambridge-New York, 2007), 235-47; N. Oikonomides, “The Role of the Byzantine State in the Economy,” in *EHB* 3:1018-19 (“system of command economy”).

91 <http://www.chemie.de/lexikon/Speisesalz.html>, 2013.04.17.

92 For *minsoi* see Gautier, “Pantocrator,” l. 1122 (*Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 761) et passim. I am grateful to Elisabeth Schiffer, Vienna, for her comments on this term.

*modioi* of salt.<sup>93</sup> This quantity (about 410 l)<sup>94</sup>, corresponds to between 16.5 g salt per person per day, a figure which is higher than the approximate 12 g per day estimated above, but the director of the hospital (ὁ μειζότερος) received these goods not only for the kitchen in the hospital, but also for the preparation of medicines for the hospital itself and for the outpatient department.<sup>95</sup> (That he had to fulfill also the duties of the *kellarites*, which means that he administered the food supply for all inhabitants of the monastery,<sup>96</sup> including the 80 monks,<sup>97</sup> may be neglected in this context, which concerns only the provisions for the hospital).

To the figures for direct dietary consumption in Constantinople should be added the salt for other needs —for industrial purposes and the preservation of perishable foodstuffs. In the context of food preservation two observations may be helpful: 1) as I mentioned already, the quantity of salt that is necessary for curing may at least in part be included in the quantities for nutrition; 2) in principle the salted fish and seafood were brought to Constantinople from outside (mainly from the Black Sea). However, I see no possibility to specify these quantities; the margin for error makes any estimation misleading.

As a result we may stick to the above calculations: a minimum annual need of 450 t of salt for 100,000 (and 900 t for 200,000) inhabitants of Constantinople.

The required transportation capacity would be approximately 450 t, corresponding to about 4,600 mule burdens (*gomatia*),<sup>98</sup> and 900 t to about 9,200 *gomatia*. If the salt was imported by ship, the equivalents in cubic meters would depend also on the humidity of the salt: for 450 t the equivalent would be 208–335 m<sup>3</sup> corresponding to between 74 and 119 RT or (at least) 4–7 shiploads. For 900 t, the equivalent of 417–675 m<sup>3</sup>, corresponding to about 148–239 RT, needed (at least) 8–14 shiploads.<sup>99</sup> It is quite clear, however, that

these figures can demonstrate only very roughly how much salt had to be imported to Constantinople and what transportation capacities were needed.

93 Gautier, “Pantocrator,” l. 1128 (*Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 761): ... ἄλατος μοδίους τριάκοντα.

94 In this case the founder speaks explicitly about monastic *modioi*: τὰ ὅλα μετὰ τοῦ μοναστηριακοῦ μοδίου καὶ μέτρου, Gautier, “Pantocrator,” l. 1130 (*Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 761), corresponding to 13.667 l, see Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 98–99.

95 See Gautier, “Pantocrator,” l. 980–84: Ἐπέκεινα δὲ τῶν προδιαληφθέντων ἰατρῶν καὶ νοσοκόμος ἔσται καὶ μειζότερος καὶ λήφονται πάντα τὰ χρειώδη κατὰ τὸ αὐταρχεῖν καὶ ἐπιχορηγήσουσι δαψιλῶς οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐντὸς ἀνακεκλιμένων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἀρρώστων, ὡς εἴρηται· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ ἀλογαρίαστοι ὑπὲρ τούτων ἔσονται πρὸς τὸ ποιεῖν ἀνελλιπῆ τὴν πρόνοιαν ἀπάντων, and *ibid.*, l. 1122ff. (*Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 758 and 761).

96 Ὁ δὲ μειζότερος, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὴν τοῦ κελλαρίου δουλείαν ὀφείλει ἐκπληροῦν..., Gautier, “Pantocrator,” l. 535–36 (*Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 752).

97 Gautier, “Pantocrator,” l. 1120–21 (*Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 761).

98 Guide value for 1 donkey / mule / camel *gomarion* 64 / 96 / 128 kg, see Dagron and Feissel, *Inscriptions*, 173 and Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 170.

99 1 RT = 2.831 m<sup>3</sup>. The calculations rely on six shipwrecks between the 6th and 12th c., published in A. J. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean and the Roman Provinces*, BAR Int. Series 580 (Oxford, 1992): 1., no. 518 / 6th c. (Iskandil Burnu, near Rhodos: about 20 × 5 m, cargo: wine amphoras) – 2., no. 1239 / a. 626 or little later (Yassi Ada A, near Bodrum: length about 20 m, beam about 6.5–8 m, estimated capacity about 37 t, maximum 50–60 t, cargo: about 900 amphoras, possible maximum 1200) – 3., no. 71 / 6th–7th c. (H. Stephanos, Chios: about 24 × 12 m, cargo: over 1000 amphoras) – 4., no. 1110 / 11th/12th c. (Northern Sporades: about 20 × 5 m, cargo: amphoras) – 5., no. 1111 / 11th/12th c. (Northern Sporades: about 20 × 5 m, cargo: amphoras) – 6., no. 796

/ mid-12th c. (Northern Sporades, at least 25 × 8 m, at least 100 t, cargo: mill-stones, pottery, glazed sgraffito ware). See also J. Koder, “Maritime Trade and the Food Supply for Constantinople in the Middle Ages,” in *Travel in the Byzantine World*, ed. R. Macrides (Aldershot, 2002), 109–24.



# Trading in Wood in Byzantium: Exchange and Regulations\*

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*Pour ce qu'il en est des bois [Byzance] en a une telle abondance,  
qu'elle n'en manquera pas pour des siècles, en provenance d'Europe comme d'Asie.*  
Pierre Gilles (1489-1555)<sup>1</sup>

Two quotations from leading French historians will serve as an introduction. They tell us obvious facts that apply equally to the Byzantine world and speak for themselves. In *La civilisation de l'Occident médiéval*, Jacques Le Goff recalls that “Le Moyen Âge est le monde du bois. Le bois est alors le matériau universel,”<sup>2</sup> and Fernand Braudel, in his *Civilisation matérielle, économie, capitalisme*, notes: “Le bois sert indistinctement à l'homme pour se chauffer, pour ‘maisonner,’ construire ses meubles, ses outils, ses voitures, ses bateaux.”<sup>3</sup> Although all of us take this for granted, few historians have explored the topic in the Byzantine domain. Maurice Lombard’s pioneering articles, which appeared in 1958 and 1959, drew attention to the crucial importance of wood for shipbuilding, its scarcity in the Islamic world and hence indirectly the particular importance of Western and Byzantine resources for the various Islamic states of the period.<sup>4</sup> In a little-known but

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1 Pierre Gilles, *Itinéraires byzantins*, ed. J.-P. Grégoire (Paris, 2007), 268.

2 J. Le Goff, *La civilisation de l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1964), 258.

3 F. Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle, économie, capitalisme (XVe-XVIIIe siècle)*, vol. 1: *Les structures du quotidien* (Paris, 1979), 318.

4 M. Lombard, “Arsenaux et bois de marine dans la Méditerranée musulmane VIIe-XIe siècles,” in idem, *Espaces et réseaux du haut Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1972), 107; idem, “Le bois dans la Méditerranée musulmane,

enlightening study Xavier de Planhol outlined the role of this imbalance, together with essential cultural factors, in the long maritime contest between Islam and the West down to the Ottoman period.<sup>5</sup> Few Byzantinists have shown interest in the subject, with the notable exception of Archie Dunn's landmark studies,<sup>6</sup> that are centered however on exploitation and the environmental context and say little about trade. This is not surprising since our documentation is rather limited, as I already noted in my earlier research about combustible resources in the Byzantine world.<sup>7</sup> This paper aims to shed some provisional light on an essential but elusive and rather neglected subject; it will focus firstly on the large demand for wood that can be assessed from its many uses, secondly, on the production of wood in Byzantium from the fifth to the fifteenth centuries, and lastly on what is known or can be assumed or should be looked for about its trade. It will however leave aside, for the moment, the secondary products of certain trees like mastic, kermes or pitch, although the latter is closely associated with wood in shipbuilding or cooperage (production of barrels).

### Demand for Wood

The large demand for wood results from its many uses that are nicely summed up by Braudel in the above cited passage: "heating, building houses, making furniture, tools, vehicles, and ships."

For heating and cooking, wood was obviously the most important fuel, though it was supplemented or replaced in drier areas by various substitutes like straw (*akhyron*) or animal excrement (*zarzako*, the origin of Turkish *tezek*).<sup>8</sup> The dimensions of this demand for firewood that took the form either of logs, scrub, or charcoal can be assessed in the late Byzantine period through various archival sources. One of the most detailed is the famous *typikon* of the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople (1136): the *nosokomos* (infirmarian) receives annually 20 *peisai* of firewood for the concoction of medications and the cooking of juices and *kollyba* (ξύλης καυσίμης πείσαι εἴκοσιν ὑπὲρ ἐψήσεως τῶν χρωιδῶν ἰατρικῶν σὺν τῇ ἔψησει τῶν χυλῶν καὶ τῶν κολλύβων);<sup>9</sup> for cooking of food and beverages, the *meizoteros* (superintendent) gets "for two cauldrons, one big one and one small one, which are going to be heated continuously in the hospital, also for the kitchen forty maritime *peisai* of firewood ... each month," plus "one length of pine torch (δαδίου

κορμίον ἐν);"<sup>10</sup> for "baking the bread for the sick in the hospital and the brothers in the old age homes, one hundred and eighty maritime *peisai* of firewood each year,"<sup>11</sup> finally, the three braziers in the hospice are supplied yearly with twenty wagons of charcoal (ἐτησίως καρβωνίου ἄμαξαι εἴκοσι).<sup>12</sup> The total would have amounted to consuming some 95 tons every year for heating and cooking for a community of 50 patients and 63 attendants.<sup>13</sup>

Other indications are found in the documents that stipulate the staples to be provided yearly – as *adelphata* – in exchange for their endowment to the donors who will reside in a monastery. Several of these are preserved in the Archive of the Prodrimos monastery on Mount Menoikeio near Serres:

- Together with wheat, wine, oil, cheese and *motzios*, as well as butter, olives, salt and nuts (a very healthy diet), the widow Hypomonè will receive each year for her maintenance (εἰς ζωαρκίαν καὶ κυβέρνησιν ἡμῶν) 12 *gomaria* of wood (ξύλων γομάρια ιβ') – *gomarion* = a load of some 96 kilos – and one *gomarion* of small wood [for kindling] (δάδων γομάριον α') (1339).<sup>14</sup>
- Another document dated 1353<sup>15</sup> provides for the same purposes (εἰς ζωαρκίαν καὶ παντοίαν κυβέρνησιν σωματικήν) 12 *gomaria* of wood to George Batatzès Phôkopoulos and his wife Anna Aggélina, "as is given to the brothers in the monastery," in addition to wheat, wine, oil, olives, *motzios* and pulses.
- A donation made about the same time by Maria Basilikè, *prôtallagatôrissa*,<sup>16</sup> entitles her aunt, the nun, or herself to receive each year 18 *mouzouria* of wheat, 24 of wine, three of pulses, one *litra* of oil, one load (*zygè*) of *papoutzia* (beans), three *kontia* of salt, and eight loads of wood (ξύλου γομάρια η').

The annual quantities involved vary between 8 and 12 *gomaria* (768 and 1,152 kilos), plus 96 kilos of small wood in the first case. They were proportionate perhaps to the importance of the donation received rather than to the number of recipients. In the second case, the 12 *gomaria* (1,152 kilos) are said to be the same amount as that given to each monk and may reflect an annual average consumption.<sup>17</sup> They can be compared to the circa 712 kilos

VIIe- XIe siècles. Un problème cartographié," *ibid.*, 153-76; *idem*, "La marine adriatique dans le cadre du Moyen Âge, VIIe-XIe siècles," *ibid.*, 95-105.

5 X. de Planhol, *L'Islam et la mer: la mosquée et le matelot, VIIe-XXe siècle* (Paris, 2000).

6 A. Dunn, "Woodland and Scrubland in the Byzantine World," *BMGS* 16 (1992): 235-98; *idem*, "The Control and Exploitation of the Arboreal Resources of the Late Byzantine and Frankish Aegean Region," in *L'uomo e la foresta, sec XIII-XVIII* (Prato, 1996), 479-97.

7 C. Morrisson, "Feu et combustible dans l'économie byzantine," in *Il Fuoco nell'alto medioevo, Settimane* 60 (Spoleto, 2013), 777-803.

8 C. Morrisson, "Feu et combustible," 785-87.

9 P. Gautier, "Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," *REB* 32 (1974): 1-145, at 95, ll. 1099-1100.

10 Gautier, "Pantocrator," 97, ll. 1135-39.

11 Gautier, "Pantocrator," 103, ll. 1260-62.

12 Gautier, "Pantocrator," 99, ll. 1153-54. E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich, 1970), 170 cites this passage as the sole testimony of ἄμαξα ("Wagenladung") with no estimate of weight. Diocletian's Price Edict (14.8) cites wagon loads of 1,200 pounds. According to J. Roth, *The Logistics of the Roman Army at War* (Leiden-Boston, 1999), 211-12, "the figures were probably meant not as *maxima*, but rather as typical cases."

13 Reckoning a *peisa* (*pensa*) of 128 kilos and an *amaxia* of 1,200 Roman pounds (ca. 390 kilos).

14 *Le Codex B du monastère Saint-Jean-Prodrôme (Serrès) (XIIIe-XVe siècles)*, ed. L. Bénou (Paris, 1998), 283, l. 34. For the *gomarion*, a weight measure of 300 *logarikai litrai*, i.e. some 96 kilos, see Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 170 (*ein Last ... die ein Mensch, vor allem aber auch ein Tier tragen kann*).

15 *Codex B*, ed. Bénou, 289, l. 26.

16 *Ibid.*, no. 171, p. 306, l. 30.

17 Data summed up in K. Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monastères byzantins, fin du Xe-milieu du XIVe siècle* (Paris, 2006), table 8, 143. 8 to 12 *gomaria* of 96 kilos each give a range of 0.92 to 1.15 tons per year.

that could have been provided to each nun in the foundation of George Goudeles, by spending yearly for *ligna, iperperi unius*.<sup>18</sup> These amounts are in line with the quantities provided to the Pantokrator patients, with greater needs than healthy people and in a richly endowed imperial foundation: some 1.9 tons per year.<sup>19</sup>

For the reduced number of inhabitants in Constantinople in the fifteenth century, let us say 40,000 adults, an average consumption of ca 800 kilos could have amounted to some 32 tons. In the early Byzantine period, the needs of the capital, if one assumes an adult population of ca. 300,000 persons, would have amounted at least to 240,000 tons, to which one should add “the mountains of wood needed ... for the gigantic baths of late antiquity” plus the quantities needed for the heating of some public buildings with hypocaust systems.<sup>20</sup> According to technicians’ estimates, the famous Aula Palatina in Trier with its 1,745 m<sup>2</sup> area and 29 m height required for preheating 250 kilos of wood per hour and 125 to maintain the temperature; so it may have needed some 107 tons every year.<sup>21</sup> Archaeological experiments carried out in Germany have shown that moderately sized baths like those at Weissenburg (Bavaria) would have required over 200 tons of hardwood fuel for year-round operation.<sup>22</sup> Probably baths were consuming more energy than heating, since according to an inscription from Catania (434 AD), the Achillean baths in the city were entitled daily to 32 *pesai* of wood, plus 17 for preheating, that is a total of 6.27 tons, some 260 kilos per hour or 418 on a twenty-four or fifteen-hour basis respectively. By multiplying the number of baths cited in the *Notitia* (nine large public baths and 153 smaller ones) by an average 2,000 tons for the larger and seven for the smaller<sup>23</sup> in the capital in the time of Theodosius II or Justinian, with an estimated population of 400,000 inhabitants, we come to some 18,000 tons, to which should be added 208,000 tons for cooking needs and some 10,000 tons for heating, a minimum amount of 236,000 tons every year. In the colder, but richer and slightly more populated Paris in 1789 charcoal and firewood amounted to some 2 million tons every year.<sup>24</sup>

18 Th. Ganchou, “L’ultime testament de Géorgios Goudèles, hommes d’affaires, mésazôn de Jean V et ktêtôr (Constantinople, 4 mars 1421),” *TM* 16 (2010): 277–358, at 337–38.

19 If one relates the total 95 tons to the 50 patients; probably less if the attendants were also fed by the hospice.

20 McCormick, *Origins*, 97.

21 J.-B. Degbomont, *Le chauffage par hypocauste dans l’habitat privé* (Liège, 1984), Appendix, 191–99. The very rough estimate of the total assumes that the building was heated some 150 days a year for 18 hours, counting with preheating every day. The use of baths continued after 626 but the baths themselves were of a much reduced size. See A. Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit* (Munich, 1982), 56–71 and, for a recent update, however with no mention of heating, idem, “Baths in the Byzantine Age,” in *Bathing Culture of Anatolian Civilizations: Architecture, History, and Imagination*, ed. N. Ergin (Louvain, 2011), 49–63.

22 H. C. Grassman, “Wirkungsweise und Energieverbrauch antiker römischer Thermen,” *JRGZM* 41 (1994): 297–321.

23 Berger, *Das Bad* and *per epist.* (24.1.2014).

24 F. Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle et capitalisme, XVe–XVIIIe siècle*, 3 vols (Paris, 1979), 1:321, after J.-C. Toutain, “Le produit de l’agriculture française de 1700 à 1958,” *Cahiers de l’ISEA* 115 (Paris, 1961): 134. In 1789, Paris had ca. 524,000 inhabitants: A. Landry, “La démographie de l’ancien Paris,” *Journal de la Société statistique de Paris* 76 (1935): 34–45.

Wood was also an important element in houses and monumental building. It is unfortunately less well studied than brick, marble or mosaics, as Cyril Mango pointed out already in 1976.<sup>25</sup> Private housing made great use of wood, which explains the well-known dangers of fires in Constantinople and other cities that the Late Antique regulations preserved by Julian of Ascalon tried to prevent.<sup>26</sup> Phaidôn Koukoules described its various elements from literary sources and comparative evidence of nineteenth- or twentieth-century houses in Greece or the Ottoman Empire. Charalambos Bouras surveyed the available archaeological documentation in 1983, where wooden remains play a small part.<sup>27</sup> But many acts from the Athos archives include information on wooden parts of modest private houses; a modest but highly valuable preliminary study of the then unpublished acts of the Xenophon monastery concerning its possessions in Thessalonike was made by Denise Papachryssanthou. One of the main constitutive elements is the *phalsa* which partition the different rooms of these homes, some of them with a tiled roof laying atop a wooden framework (*πεταυρόστεγος*) instead of the more usual and cheaper thatched roofing (*καλαμόστεγος*).<sup>28</sup> Several wooden houses (*ξύλοικήματα*) in Constantinople are described in an imperial donation to Lavra in 1342.<sup>29</sup> Much more documentation can be assembled by searching the ‘Typika’ database on “Artefacts and Raw Materials in Byzantine Archival Documents,” built by Maria Parani, Brigitte Pitarakis and Jean-Michel Spieser, available on the University of Fribourg (Switzerland) website at <http://elearning.unifr.ch/apb/Typika/>.

The role of wood in monumental building is better documented for the early Byzantine period where literary sources can be combined with archaeology. The correspondence between Pope Gregory the Great and the Patriarch of Alexandria, Eulogios, offers many details (between 596 and 599) about the long beams that the pope offers to send to his Egyptian colleague, but whose transport is continuously delayed for lack of adequate ships,<sup>30</sup> while the *Life of St. Nicholas of Sion* reports how the saint

25 C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976), cited here from the French translation, *Architecture byzantine* (Paris, 1981), 22.

26 C. Saliou, *Les lois des bâtiments: Recherches sur les rapports entre le droit et la construction privée du siècle d’Auguste au siècle de Justinien* (Beyrouth, 1994); *Le traité d’urbanisme de Julien d’Ascalon, VIIe siècle*, ed. C. Saliou (Paris, 1996).

27 P. Koukoules, *Byzantinon bios kai politismos*, vol. 4 (Athens, 1952), 249–317. Ch. Bouras, “Houses in Byzantium,” *ΔΧΑΕ* 11 (1982–1983): 1–26.

28 D. Papachryssanthou, “Maisons modestes à Thessalonique au xive siècle,” in *Amètos stè mnèmè Phot. Apostolopoulou* (Athens, 1984), 254–67. The documents are now published: *Actes de Xénophon*, ed. D. Papachryssanthou (Paris, 1986), nos. 8–10, 24.

29 *Lavra*, 3: no. 123 (1342), ll. 140–43.

30 Gregory the Great, *Gregorii I papae Registrum epistolarum*, ed. P. Ewald and L. M. Hartmann, *MGH Epist.* vols 1–2: VI, 58,1:432–33, 433, l. 22: “vobis ligna trasmisimus, quae construendis apta navibus;” VII, 37, 1:486, l. 13; VIII, 28, 2:28–29; IX, 175, 2:171, ll. 9–13; X, 21, 2:256–58, 258, ll. 31–36: “Ligna autem transmittere volui, sed quia navis parva fuit quae venit, ea portare non potuit, quamvis haec ipsa, quae viderunt alexandrini venientes, parva sunt. Nam alia vobis omnino maiora paraveram, quae necdum ad Romanam civitatem tracta sunt, quia expectavi, ut veniente Alexandrina navi trahi debuissent, et in loco quo incisa fuerant remanserunt.” New edition of Gregory’s register by D. Norberg, *S. Gregorii Magni, registrum epistolarum*, 2 vols, CCSerLat

miraculously defeats the demon protecting a very tall cypress, forty cubits (18.8 m) high and three and a half (1.64 m) wide at the base that is transported to his church, probably to be used as a beam.<sup>31</sup> The beams for the first basilica of St. Peter in Rome were at least some 24.38 m long<sup>32</sup> and, although carpenters knew how to assemble several pieces of wood to make a longer beam, *monoxyla* were highly praised and rated. Procopius recalls that for the construction of the Nea Ekklesia in Jerusalem, Justinian's officials looked for long and straight timbers: "so they searched all the woods and forests and every place where they had heard that very tall trees grew, and found a certain dense forest which produces cedars of extraordinary height."<sup>33</sup> Papyri give precise accounts of materials such as acacia (*akanthea*), sycamore, fir, cypress or fig tree wood and boards (*σανίδια*) or planks from palm trees (as well as carpenters and other builders) requested from Egypt for the construction of public buildings or mosques in Damascus, Jerusalem or al-Fustat in the early Umayyad period, particularly under al-Walid (705–715).<sup>34</sup>

Dendrochronological studies of some beams from al-Aqsa –many reused from sixth-century Byzantine churches or other public buildings– confirm that they originated from the former imperial forests in Lebanon.<sup>35</sup> The Athos archives add to our documentation from the later period with details on wooden elements in monastic churches<sup>36</sup> including the mostly wooden (rather than bronze due to its higher cost) *simantron* to call for prayers.<sup>37</sup>

Wood was also needed for making furniture, which features frequently in testaments,<sup>38</sup> and eating implements like the bowls, vases, basins, drinking cups, and dishes (*conchas, catinos et naps*) mentioned in a Venetian document of 971,<sup>39</sup> to which we will turn later. Among the furniture and other equipment of the late Byzantine house cited in the documents, wood provided for chests (*κιβώτια*), high mattresses, tables, seats, or stools and benches, barrels, sometimes plates and spoons.<sup>40</sup> The Yenikapı excavations, besides the expected 251 pulleys and tongues from the ships, yielded 362

combs, 112 toggles, 56 dishes and other kitchen utensils as well as 63 spoons.<sup>41</sup> Merchants of all levels needed wood for all kinds of packaging, notably for barrels (*karouta* in a donation to Lavra, *barili* used by Badoer for many varieties of staples, not only wine, but also dried fish, incense, ginger, copper, brass or zinc oxide, alum, wax, tesserae for mosaics).<sup>42</sup> Since iron was too expensive for most peasants, a great many agricultural tools<sup>43</sup> were made of wood. Diocletian's Price Edict names a few of them: the *tribolos/tribulum* (threshing sledge), the *paugla/pavicula*, the *pala* (winnowing shovel), the *tyrkhe/furca* (fork);<sup>44</sup> many similar instruments were still in use in the 1950s when Xavier de Planhol wrote his exemplary study on Pamphylia, like the *sürgü* (rake) or the *düven* (Fig. 1).<sup>45</sup> Late Byzantine wills also contain many mentions of them.<sup>46</sup> Arms form a special category of tools and required wood for their shafts or other parts, especially with bows and later with crossbows. Diocletian's Price Edict cites the *astilion kraneion*, a spear shaft made of the hard wood of a corner cherry tree.<sup>47</sup> All terrestrial vehicles were mostly made of wood, even if possibly strengthened with iron (*sesidëromenos hyper tou xylidou*).<sup>48</sup> But it is with ships that we come to the use of wood that is best known. It was sought after, and in great demand, especially for oars or for masts that require one-piece trunks as long as 15 meters, for which cypress and pine were the most appreciated, though oak could prove more lasting. A measure of the amounts needed can be gained from eighteenth-century data stating that a mid-size frigate would require 1,600 oak trunks, each 150 years old, while an oak trunk of one meter diameter would give four beams for the inner structure of the ship.<sup>49</sup> Of course a Byzantine *dromon*, or galley would have needed less and the ongoing studies of Yenikapı have already thrown light on the dimensions (from 6 to 9 m long for the cargo ships to 22.50 m for the *dromones*), building technique and origin of wood<sup>50</sup> and will surely tell us more. As we visited the site during the Symposium, the last of the discovered wrecks (no. 37) (Fig. 2) was still undergoing preservation, and we could

140–141 (Turnhout, 1982); trans. J. R. C. Martyn, *The Letters of Gregory the Great*, 3 vols. (Toronto, 2004).

31 *The Life of St. Nicholas of Sion*, trans. I. Ševčenko and N. P. Ševčenko (Brookline, MA, 1984), 38–39, § 19.

32 R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford, 1982), 218ff.

33 Procopius, *De Aedificiis* V.6, 15, trans. H. B. Dewing, *On Buildings* (Cambridge, MA-London, 1940), 345.

34 F. Morelli, "Legname, palazzi e mosche. Vindob. G 31 e il contributo dell'Egitto alla prima architettura islamica," *Tykhē* 13 (1997): 165–90. I am grateful to Vivien Prigent for this reference.

35 S. Lev-Yadun, "The Origin of the Cedar Beams from Al-Aqsa Mosque: Botanical, Historical, and Archaeological Evidence," *Levant* 24 (1992): 201–8.

36 *Iviron*, 2: no. 52 (1104), commentary of architectural terms used in the description of the monastery's *metochia* in Thessalonike, 223–24. Several elements are *plinthinioi*, or *xylinoi*, e.g. a corbel (*ἄγκυρος*), a threshold (*βαθμῖς*), a step (*σολέα*).

37 See the synthesis in the Typika database. For this reason the shortcut for *simantro* was τὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς συνάξεως ξύλον or simply τὸ ξύλον, as opposed to τὸ χαλκοῦν.

38 *Lavra*, 1: no. 59 (1110), 309, l. 49: three brothers agree to share the movable property found in the house and other items made of wood, copper, iron and other materials (τὰ ἐν τῷ ὀσπητίῳ εὐρεθέντα κινήτὰ εἶδη καὶ λοιπὰ ἀπὸ τε ξυλικῶν χαλκωμάτων σιδηρικῶν καὶ ἐτέρων ὑλικῶν).

39 TT, 1:27.

40 N. Oikonomides, "The Contents of the Byzantine House from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century," *DOP* 44 (1990): 205–14.

41 M. M. Gökçay, "Yenikapı Ahşap Buluntularından Seçmeler" (Selected Wooden Finds from Yenikapı), in *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri 1. Marmaray-Metro Kurtarma Kazıları Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı*, 5-6 Mayıs 2008 / *Istanbul Archaeological Museums: Proceedings of the 1st Symposium on Marmaray-Metro Salvage Excavations 5th-6th May 2008*, ed. U. Kocabaş (Istanbul, 2010), 135–39, see notices and illustrations 140–41.

42 *Il libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer (Costantinopoli 1436-1440): complemento e indice*, ed. G. Bertelè (Padua, 2002), s.v.

43 A. Bryer, "The Means of Agricultural Production: Muscle and Tools," in *EHB* 1:101–13.

44 *Diokletians Preisedikt* 15.41–47, ed. S. Lauffer (Berlin, 1971), 147.

45 X. de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne aux lacs pisidiens, nomadisme et vie paysanne* (Paris, 1958), 143–44: rake (*sürgü*), roller (*taban*), threshing sledge (*düven*), "planche ayant la forme d'un trapèze ... fait de bois de pin incrusté de silex particulièrement tranchants."

46 See the Typika database.

47 *Diokletians Preisedikt* 14.4, ed. Lauffer, 141.

48 *Diokletians Preisedikt* 15.1–40, ed. Lauffer, 141–45.

49 F. H. Kjolsen, "The Old Danish Frigate," *The Mariner's Mirror* 51 (1965): 27–33, cited by W. Müller-Wiener, *Die Häfen von Byzantion – Konstantinupolis – Istanbul* (Tübingen, 1994), 44.

50 See, *The 'Old Ships' of the 'New Gate'/Yenikapı'nın Eski Gemileri*, ed. U. Kocabaş (Istanbul, 2008), 97–183 and on the origin of the wood, N. Liphshilz and C. Pulak, "Shipwrecks of Theodosiacus Portus. Types of Wood Used in Some Byzantine Roundships and Longships Found at Yenikapı, Istanbul," *Skyllis. Zeitschrift für Unterwasserarchäologie* 9.2 (2009): 164–71.

see parts of a large trunk (or trunks) that had been unearthed previously, a testimony for raw material available on the harbor, before it was going to be sawn into planks or beams adapted to the needs of the shipbuilders (Fig. 3).

### Production of Wood in Byzantium (Fifth through Fifteenth Centuries)

Because of their high consumption of wood, arsenals were always situated in regions with abundant forest resources. Therefore the distribution of Byzantine shipbuilding installations (*neôria, exartyseis*), whether imperial building or maintenance, or smaller private ones, is a good indicator of the main areas of wood production, and the 1954 map of forests in Turkey highlights Thrace and Anatolia's northern and western or southwestern resources (Fig. 4).<sup>51</sup> Literary sources, archival documents, medieval or modern travelers' reports and now dendrochronology combined refine the picture.

Southern Thrace (the Strandza mountains) provided for the imperial and private shipbuilders of Constantinople: for example Henry of Flanders sent Conon of Béthune to the "mountains of the Propontis" to collect wood to build siege engines in 1205 during his campaign against the Cumans,<sup>52</sup> and Kantakouzenos resorted in part to the same resources in 1348.<sup>53</sup> On the Strandza mountains dendrochronological studies by Tomasz Wazny, along with Ünal Akkemik and Nesibe Köse (Istanbul University) are now in progress as part of the Aegean Dendrochronology Project.<sup>54</sup>

Bithynia's wood also features in this project. These forests are well known through Louis Robert's studies; the wealth of data he assembled from historical sources and travelers' reports is full of details about the abundant resources of the region of Düzce and Bolu, where the forests (compared to a "sea of trees," *agadj-denizi*) were more like those of Central Europe than Mediterranean ones, due to prevalent humidity and altitude. They offered various resources (tall oaks, beeches, pines) to local industries and above all to the provisioning of Constantinople.<sup>55</sup> The same riches came to Nicomedia from the forests of present-day Gökdağ and Samanlı dağ.<sup>56</sup> And further west the forests near Balıkesir in ancient Mysia (Byzantine Hellespontos) also reminded travelers like Theodor Wiegand of those of Central Europe.<sup>57</sup>

51 H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer. La marine de la guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VIIe-XVe siècles* (Paris, 1966), 419-39.

52 Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten (Berlin-New York, 1975), 624: "Ὅθεν ἐς συμπήξεις ἄλλων μηχανῶν ἀπδόντες ἴστούς διαρμένων νηῶν ἐκ τῶν παραλίων ξυνέλεγον πόλεων, καὶ ὅσων δὲ ὑπεσπανίζον ἐκ τῶν τῆς Προποντιδος ὄρων ταυτὶ ἀπέτεμνον.

53 John Kantakouzenos, *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri quattuor*, ed. B. G. Niebuhr (Bonn, 1832), 3:72.

54 See <http://dendro.cornell.edu/reports/report2010.pdf>.

55 L. Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure: poètes et prosateurs, monnaies grecques, voyageurs et géographie* (Paris, 1980), chap. 2, 29-106 passim, notably 51, 65, 67-70.

56 Idem, "Documents d'Asie Mineure. VI. Épitaphes de Nicoméde," *BCH* 102.1 (1978): 414-19 (exports of beech, nut tree, oak, and entire firs for ship masts from Izmit; Ottoman shipyard).

57 Robert "Documents," 437-52, 443-52 about forests in Mysia.

Similar conditions prevailed in the Pontus, from Paphlagonia -where several Byzantine sources point to shipbuilding fostered by local resources- to Sinop and Trabzon (Fig. 5).<sup>58</sup> As Strabo summed it up: "The tract of land belonging to Sinope and all the mountainous country as far as Bithynia, situated above the sea-coast ... furnishes timber of excellent quality for ship-building, and is easily conveyed away (*εὐκατακόμητος*). The territory of Sinope produces the maple, and the mountain nut tree, from which wood for tables is cut."<sup>59</sup> The situation obtained in Byzantine times, when Idrisi cited shipbuilding in the region of Oinaion (Ünye),<sup>60</sup> and lasted into the Ottoman period. In the mid-sixteenth century, Pierre Gilles could write:

Des forêts en effet, immenses, inépuisables, longues de plus de quarante jours de marche s'étendent sans interruption de la Propontide à la Colchide, et bien au delà. Aussi assure-t-elle [Byzance] non seulement son approvisionnement et celui des contrées voisines, mais aussi de lointaines, et bien plus de l'Égypte elle-même, de la mer Rouge et de l'Afrique, en bois d'œuvre pour les édifices et les navires. Seule aussi parmi les très grandes villes, elle est celle qui ne tombera jamais dans la pénurie de bois, pour faire non seulement du feu, mais même des édifices et des navires, ce qui arrive de nos jours, nous le voyons, aux plus grandes villes d'Europe et d'Asie.<sup>61</sup>

Southern Asia Minor was the second major provider of wood to the Byzantine navy and to silver and lead metallurgy in the Taurus.<sup>62</sup> Numerous references document the riches of Caria, Pamphylia, Isauria and Cilicia and their importance for shipbuilding in Attaleia (Antalya) and Rhodes.<sup>63</sup>

Mediterranean forests, mostly of pines, were renowned and famous for their extent in antiquity.<sup>64</sup> Although no Byzantine source mentions them, the early interest of the Arabs in Cyprus was certainly spurred not only by the island's strategic location but also by its essential resources for shipbuilding, praised by Strabo and Ammianus Marcellinus.<sup>65</sup> In spite of extensive exploitation over centuries, aggravated during the Venetian period,<sup>66</sup> they still cover 19 percent of the island today (Fig. 6).

58 As surveyed by K. Belke, *TIB 9. Paphlagonien und Honorias* (Vienna, 1996), 136-40. Robert, *Asie Mineure*, chap. 8, 211ff.

59 Strabo XII, 3, 12, ed. H. C. Hamilton, <http://data.perseus.org/texts/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0099.tlg001.perseus-eng2>.

60 *La géographie d'Edrisi*, trans. P.-A. Jaubert, 2 vols. (Paris, 1840), 2:393.

61 Gilles, *Itinéraires*, ed. Grégoire, 268. For references to travelers' and his own observations on the region of Sinop, see Robert, "Documents," 424-28.

62 B. Pitarakis, "Mines anatoliennes exploitées par les Byzantins: recherches récentes," *RN* 153 (1989): 141-85 (with data from Turkish surveys about medieval exploitation and quantities treated).

63 See F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper, *TIB 5. Kilikien* (Vienna, 1990), 114-15; L. Robert, "De Cilicie à Messine et à Plymouth, avec deux inscriptions grecques errantes," *JSav* 3 (1973): 161-211, at 178-83 (shipbuilding in Aigeai [Yumurtalık] and local forest resources).

64 See S. E. Harris, "Colonial Forestry and Environmental History: British Policies in Cyprus, 1878-1960" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2013).

65 Strabo XIV, 6, 5; Ammianus Marcellinus XIV, 8, 14.

66 G. Grivaud, "Les institutions économiques de Chypre à l'époque ottomane," *Μελέται και Υπομνήματα* 6 (2009).

In Dalmatia, the Byzantine arsenals of Ragusa, Dyrrachion and Salona, and the maintenance *skala* of Karavasta at the mouth of the Shkumbi,<sup>67</sup> relied on the rich forests located to the north of Dürres in the valley of the Drin and other mountainous rivers. Their importance was of great concern later to the Venetians, who took control of the region in the late fourteenth century for fear of the edge it could give to the Turkish navy.<sup>68</sup>

Italian forests located on the Apennine chain provided various species of wood to Rome via the Tiber valley and to Ravenna via the smaller rivers on the Adriatic slopes.<sup>69</sup> In a group of letters referring to Theodoric's attempts at building a large fleet of thousand *dromones* in 525–526, Cassiodorus (V, 16–20) shows that the Po valley also at that time could still provide material.<sup>70</sup> In the south, wood for shipbuilding and construction from Calabria's forests in the Serre and Aspromonte was sent to Rome in the sixth century, and provided combustible for local pottery makers.<sup>71</sup> Ravenna could also rely on wood from the Alps. A confirmation of this overall abundance of wood in Italy is found in Cassiodorus' *Variae*, according to whom the peninsula was rich enough to be able to export wood to other regions.<sup>72</sup>

This brief overview explains how Byzantium was never wanting in such resources, a fact that is now generally accepted, in spite of the denial in the relevant ODB article.<sup>73</sup> As Hélène Ahrweiler stressed in 1966, "Byzantium never faced a problem of shipbuilding, for the necessary resources in material, in manpower and in convenient sites were available in great abundance."<sup>74</sup> This constant availability is confirmed by palynological analyses and studies carried out in Eastern Macedonia by Lefort, Geyer and their group, by Bottema in Central Macedonia, as well as in other regions.<sup>75</sup> In spite of the clearance movement related with demographic expansion in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and in spite of mining and metallurgy demand for fuel in some of these regions (Eastern Macedonia and the Taurus for instance), there was never an insuperable deforestation. This explains

67 Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, 426.

68 A. Ducellier, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au moyen âge: Durazzo et Valona du XIe au XVIe siècle* (Thessaloniki, 1981), 60, 278, 360–61, 397, 508 and passim. The length of beams mentioned in 14th-century documents (from ca. 26 to 31 m) indicates their use for shipbuilding: *ibid.*, 590.

69 M. Destro, "Boschi e legname tra antichità e Medioevo: alcuni dati per l'Appennino umbro-marchigiano settentrionale," *Ocnus* 12 (2004): 77–94.

70 M. Destro, "Costruzione di navi e approvvigionamento di legname nelle *Variae* di Cassiodoro," *Rivista di topografia antica* 15 (2005): 107–18.

71 Gh. Noyé, "Économie et société dans la Calabre byzantine (IVE– XIe siècle)," *JSav* (2000): 209–80 (refs.), at 212–13, 223. In the 10th century, the *Life of St. Neilos the Younger* (PG 120, col. 107) records the building of *chelandia*, from local resources, imposed onto the cities by the magister Nikephoros.

72 Cassiodori *Senatoris Variae*, ed. Th. Mommsen, MGH Aa XII (Berlin, 1889), V, 16, 2: *ubi tanta lignorum copia suffragatur, ut aliis quoque provinciis expetita transmittat.*

73 Ch. Bouras, "Wood and Woodworking," ODB 3:2204.

74 Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, 427: "Byzance n'a jamais eu à faire face au problème de la construction navale, car elle disposait abondamment des ressources nécessaires en matériel et en hommes et des sites propices à l'installation de ses chantiers navals, qui sont souvent passés intacts entre les mains de ses adversaires et continuèrent le même travail mais pour des objectifs différents."

75 Dunn, "Control," 244–45 (with literature).

also how, after the frequent fires in big cities like Constantinople, houses, mostly built out of wood, could easily be restored or rebuilt.<sup>76</sup> The situation probably explains the relative paucity of mentions of wood in the sources, and hence the lack of interest from present-day historians but for the notable exception of Archie Dunn as mentioned above.

That Byzantine authors took this availability more or less for granted is obvious *a contrario* from the few literary mentions of shortage of wood. None of them date before 1204. They all concern exceptional contexts, as happened during the blockade of Constantinople by Michael VIII (1259) when the Latins had to destroy several beautiful houses to meet their needs for firewood,<sup>77</sup> in the spring of 1349, for the construction of Kantakouzenos' fleet, when nearby resources from Thrace were not sufficient and the emperor's shipbuilders set widows and orphans to collect boards and tow to line and seal the hulls, sometimes destroying whole buildings and taking away all the fittings that could be used as building material.<sup>78</sup> Also during the 1398–1402 siege of Constantinople by Bayezid I, "there was no bread nor any cooked food *because of the lack of wood*, so they tore down the palatial residences and used the beams for fuel."<sup>79</sup> But it is true that since the population of the capital had much declined then, these episodes imply that the resources of Constantinople's hinterland were rather low.<sup>80</sup>

It was a fortunate coincidence and an important asset for the empire that most of these resources were located near the sea, in mountainous areas with rivers on which they could reach coastal shipbuilding installations and harbors relatively easily. It is true that in late antiquity wood could be transported in carts: Diocletian's Edict, chapter 14, lists prices for several cart-loads of poles, reeds, shafts, scales, stakes, planks, woodchips and twigs.<sup>81</sup> In 1348, because the Genoese were blockading the Marmara, most of the wood needed to build Kantakouzenos' fleet was brought to Constantinople from the Strandza mountains on ox-drawn carts and mules.<sup>82</sup> But ship transportation, as depicted on the well-known mosaic in the Bardo Museum in Tunis (Fig. 7),<sup>83</sup> was predominant. However, the proper boats were not always available, as the correspondence between Pope Gregory the Great and the Patriarch of Alexandria, Eulogios, in 596–599 demonstrates. The pope

76 Georges Pachymères VIII, 25, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler, 5 vols. (Paris, 1984–2000), 3:199–201 (1305 fire of the agora and immediate reconstruction).

77 Nikephoros Gregoras IV, 1, *Byzantina historia*, ed. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1829–1855), 1:81.

78 Nikephoros Gregoras XVII, 6, ed. Schopen and Bekker, 2:862; cited by K.-P. Matschke, "Builders and Building in Late Byzantine Constantinople," in *Byzantine Constantinople*, ed. Necipoğlu, 315–328, at 327.

79 Doukas XIII, 7, V, *Istoria Turco-Bizantina*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), 79 (emphasis mine).

80 J. Koder, "Maritime Trade and the Food Supply for Constantinople in the Middle Ages," in *Travel in the Byzantine World*, ed. R. Macrides (Aldershot, 2002), 109–24, at 113–14.

81 *Diocletians Preisedikht* 14, ed. Lauffer, 141. Later, modern travelers still saw lines of *arabas* (carts) with wheels of solid wood, drawn by oxen or buffaloes carrying wooden boards, for example, in Bithynia between "Aktchéchéïr and Uskub" (Robert, *Asie Mineure*, 25–26).

82 Kantakouzenos IV, 11, ed. Niebuhr, 3:72: τῆς θαλάττης δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν κατεχομένης, ἐπεὶ ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἦν ξύλα ναυπηγήσιμα κομίζειν ἐκ θαλάττης, ζεύγει καὶ ἡμίονοις ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὸ Σεργέντζιον ὁρῶν ἐκέλευε κομίζειν.

83 M. McCormick, "Movements and Markets in the First Millennium," in *Trade and Markets*, ed. Morrisson, 89, fig. 3–15.

had sent to the patriarch *ligna ... construendis apta navibus* and offered to send bigger ones but could not find an adequate boat. In July 599, he had prepared these larger logs, but the ship was so small that they would have had to be cut in parts and he refused to do so.<sup>84</sup>

Timber felled in the mountainous areas was floated down rivers, as described in the picturesque account of one of the miracles of St. Gregory of Agrigento (ca. 800 ad), which tells how he solved the problem caused by logs that blocked the boats on the Tiber: “ten beautiful trunks had arrived on the river [Tiber] in the city, that were destined for the holy and venerable church of the Apostles Peter and Paul [the Vatican basilica]. These trunks (*xyla*) came to the middle of the river but remained stuck. They went from one river bank to the other, as if someone had fixed them with iron or rather lead, so that boats could not get in or out. And it was a great concern in Rome and people went into processions with the Pope, but could not move them.”<sup>85</sup> The episode may be exaggerated but is not impossible since floating on the Tiber, *perennis amnis et aequabilis*,<sup>86</sup> up to near its source in Umbria is evidenced from antiquity to the nineteenth century. This was also possible on the largest Byzantine rivers (Hebros/Maritza or Halys/Kızılırmak, Sangarios/Sakarya), and on many mountain rivers or torrents, like on the Indos (Fig. 8) in Albania and elsewhere, in seasons of high precipitation.<sup>87</sup> A Roman inscription from Izmit mentions a *σχεδιοναύτης* (raft pilot), certainly active in wood transportation.<sup>88</sup> Logging on Pontic rivers is mentioned for instance in the thirteenth century by the geographer Ibn Said: “Between it [Amasya] and Sinop is six days, and the road is through mountains of pine (*jibāl al-snawbar*) full of wood and water, and cut wood for construction is floated down for the arsenal (*dār al-sinā‘a*) of Sinop.”<sup>89</sup> From Sinop, in Ottoman times, maybe in the Byzantine period too, ship masts were attached together on rafts of some 800 pieces, rigged with a sail, and would sail to the capital with a five-man crew.<sup>90</sup>

84 Gregory the Great, *Registrum*, MGH *Epist.*, VI, 58, 1:433, l. 22 (July 596); IX, 175, 2:171, ll. 9–13 (July 599): “Ligna vera ... maiora paraveram, sed ita parva navis huc transmissa est, ut, nisi recisa essent, ferre non posset. Quae recidi nolui, sed vestro iudicio, quid de his fieri debeat, reservavi...;” X, 21, 2:258, ll. 31–36, cited above, n. 30.

85 *Leontios Presbyteros von Rom. Das Leben des Heiligen Gregorios von Agrigent: kritische Ausgabe, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, ed. A. Berger (Berlin, 1995), chap. 78, ll. 10–12; 237. The editor doubts the plausibility of this floating, but see Destro “Boschi.”

86 Cicero, *De Republica* II, 5.

87 Tiber: Destro, “Boschi.” Asia Minor: Robert, “Documents,” 426–28 on floating on the Sangarios and on its tributary, the Porsuk near Eskişehir; Robert, *Asie Mineure*, 174 on floating on the Parthenios/Bartin suyu, 187 on the Billaios/Filios çay and its tributary the Boluk su.

88 Robert, “Documents,” 424–25.

89 *Kitāb al-Jughrāfiyā*, ed. I. al-‘Arabī (Beirut, 1970), 195. I owe this reference and the translation to Prof. Scott Redford, who includes them in his book on Sinop’s Seljuk inscriptions: S. Redford, *Legends of Authority: The 1215 Seljuk Inscriptions of Sinop Citadel, Turkey* (Istanbul, 2014), 91.

90 Robert, “Documents,” citing Haci Khalfa (17th c.) and Peyssonel (1787).

## Trading in Wood in Byzantium

The several examples cited above show that trading in wood assumed many different forms and levels. Public needs for the construction of ships or buildings or for the heating of baths were mostly met outside normal trade channels by *requisitions* that covered not only the felling of trees, probably from public woodland, but also the transportation of lumber to destination.<sup>91</sup> A few examples illustrate this point:

- In late antiquity, an inscription from Euboea dated 359 ad in which the governor Publius Ampelius requires for public buildings in Chalkis:

ξύλ(α) τετρ(άγωνα) γ', ξύλ(α) μονόζ(υγα) η', κεραμ(ίδια) αμε' ! [K] ANN 'E' (= κάιν(α)ς ε' [εις] τὴν στοὰν τὴν πομπικ(ήν) ἅμα τῷ ἐξεδρίῳ Ἀριστότεμον Πρωτ(ά) καὶ Κάτυλ(λος) Λουκ(ί-ου) λα[μ]-[β]άνοντες ξύλ(α) τετρ(άγωνα) δίζ(υγα) η', ξύλ(α) στρο(γγύ-λα) δ ξύλ(α) KANN' ζ'<sup>92</sup>

“three square poles or beams [lumber],<sup>93</sup> eight one-piece beams, 155 tiles, five reed-fences (*kanna*, Lat. *cannicius*) for the portico and the exedra ... and eight square *dizyga* beams, plus four round beams and seven reed-fences.” In the correspondence of Gregory the Great with patriarch Eulogios, the pope insists that he cannot accept any money from the patriarch for the wood he is sending, not only because of Christ’s recommendation, but also because *he did not buy it*.<sup>94</sup>

- In the middle Byzantine period, a *sigillion* of Alexios I Komnenos (1092) confirms that Lavra’s *metochion* of St. Andrew near Thessalonike is exempted from several *angareiai*, among which were “felling and transportation of any kind of wood, provision of charcoal and all other constraint” (κοπῆς καὶ καταβιβασμοῦ οἰασδήτινος ξυλῆς, παροχῆς καρβόνων, καὶ ἑτέρας ἀπάσ. η.ς. ἐπιρρείας).<sup>95</sup> Other *corvées* include the provision and/or transportation of sawn planks (πίρις, σανίδων), hemp (καννάβεως), pitch (στυπαξούγγου, ὑγροπίσσου), and charcoal (καύσεως καρβόνων).<sup>96</sup>
- In the late Byzantine period these various requisitions concerning wood, according to Archie Dunn, increased gradually as the empire was losing access to its most forested provinces. List of exemptions include *oreike* (“mountain charge”

91 Dunn, “Exploitation,” 267, 278–79, and idem, “Arboreal Resources,” 489–94.

92 *Inscriptiones graecae* 12:9, no. 907; cf. *ibid.*, 12, Suppl. 192, 907. See republication and comments by G. Themelis, *Archeion Euboikōn Meletōn* 24 (1981–1982): 219–36. I am grateful to Denis Feissel for pointing out this inscription to me. On *cannicius* (hence provencal *canisso* and Fr. *canisse*), see *Trésor de la Langue Française*, s.v., <http://atilf.atilf.fr>.

93 Called *tetragōna* in *Prōtaton*, no. 14 (1500).

94 Gregory the Great, *Registrum*, VI, 58; VII, 37; VIII, 28; IX, 175; X, 21: MGH 1:433, 486, and 2:28–29.

95 *Lavra*, 1: no. 51 (1092), p. 271, ll. 10–11.

96 References in Dunn, “Woodland,” 267, notably the chrysobull of John III for the Lembiotissa (MM 4: no. 1, p. 4).

for gathering and cutting wood),<sup>97</sup> *xylosyrma* (dragging of trees), *katergoktisia* (shipbuilding).<sup>98</sup>

Private needs, which were as important, either led to long-distance trade regarding timber for ships for instance or to local or regional exchanges regarding more modest provisioning of smaller timber, planks and firewood (logs or small wood) or straw. Private dealers in charcoal or wood were well known in Byzantine daily life as *άνθρακείς*<sup>99</sup> or *καρβωνάριοι* on the one hand and *ξύλοπράται* on the other. A vivid anecdote in the *Miracles* of St. Artemios tells how the saint was able to cure a young Constantinopolitan by the name of Plato, who “making a contest over the calibre of his strength, engaged in a wager to lift up the stone of a wood-dealer’s scales (τὸν λίθον τῆς ξυλοπρατικῆς τρυτάνης) and to set it on his shoulder. After the size of the wager had been set, he picked up the stone and ... all his intestines ruptured in a hernia.”<sup>100</sup>

### Prices

Data on prices are very scanty and do not allow any comparison over time. Quantities are often counted, expressed in units, as was the case in Diocletian’s edict for boards, reeds, and posts and in Badoer’s *Libro dei Conti* (1436–1440) for *taole d’albedo da refudio* (discarded fir boards) or *fusti da balestro* (stocks for crossbow),<sup>101</sup> and for *legnami de più sorte, fo bordonali e altri legni squaradi* (“various sorts of timber, that is beams and other squared-off logs”).<sup>102</sup> Firewood and charcoal were traded according to weight: the quantities set for monks, nuns or beneficiaries of *adelphata* are weighed and measured in *pesai* (128 kilos) –probably the one that caused the unfortunate hernia–,<sup>103</sup> *gomaria* (96 kilos),<sup>104</sup> or *cantar* (47.8 kilos).<sup>105</sup> The *gomarion* is the most frequent in contexts where sea transportation and direct delivery from a harbor or *skala* is excluded. It goes with traditional transportation on donkeys, mules or other pack-animals.

The maximum price of a wagon-load of 1,200 lbs of wood (ca. 400 kilos) was 150 *denarii*, a bit less than 1/20th *solidus*.<sup>106</sup> One camel-load (400 lb) of wood should therefore have cost 50 *denarii*, 1/60th of a *solidus*. The seventh-century papyri assembled by Morelli give 1 *nomisma* or 1 ½ per piece of acacia but do not state their dimensions. As expected, palm tree wood is less expensive: one whole palm tree (φοίνικος σῶμα ἔν) sells for ½ or 1/3 *nomisma*.<sup>107</sup> In 1436, Badoer was buying in Constantinople one *cantar* (ca. 48 kilos) of firewood for 1/15th of a *hyperpyron* (0.066 *hyp*).<sup>108</sup> As regards finished items, like barrels, Badoer bought them for 10 or 12 *duchateli l’uno*, that is 10 or 12/16th *hyperpyra*, circa 0.062–0.075 *hyperpyron*. A larger search either in papyri or late Byzantine and Italian documents would probably provide more information.

### Regulation

Surprisingly, wood was not formally included among the *keholymena proiionta* (silk, wheat, salt, wine, olive oil and arms) whose sale to foreigners was forbidden under strict penalties. However, since Novel 63 of Leo VI defines these as those “destined to equip and render enemies stronger,” we may suspect that wood as shipbuilding material was also implied.<sup>109</sup>

Lombard’s reference,<sup>110</sup> accepted by Dunn, that Leo V, at the time of the conquest of Crete by the Arabs, forbade the sale of timber to the Muslims, relies on a Venetian chronicle that “says nothing of the sort” according to Michael McCormick.<sup>111</sup> However, its clause, *ne quis in Syriam vel Egiptum auderet accedere*, amounts to a ban on trade in general with these main eastern Islamic provinces. In 971, we are on safer ground when learning that a Byzantine embassy threatened to burn any Venetian vessel transporting wood to the Arabs, after which the doge forbade Venetian merchants to sell military supplies (including timber that can be used for shipbuilding, nails, shields, swords, spears, or any other weapons).<sup>112</sup> One may assume, with David Jacoby, that a similar ban applied in

97 Dunn, “Control and Exploitation,” 489, 492, 493 (refs.). See also *Iviron*, 3:no. 58, p. 91, ll. 47–49.

98 Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, 212, 422, 426.

99 K. Horna, “Eine unedierte Rede des Konstantin Manasses,” *Wiener Studien* 28 (1906): 182.

100 *The Miracles of St. Artemios*, ed. V. S. Crisafulli, J. W. Nesbitt, J. F. Haldon (Leiden-New York, 1997), Miracle 7, 90–93.

101 G. Badoer, *Il Libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer*, ed. U. Dorini and T. Bertelè (Rome, 1956), carta 39, p. 78, l. 7 (sold by the hundred), etc.; carta 91, p. 184, ll. 2–3, etc.

102 Badoer, *Libro*, carta 261, p. 524, l. 41, “Viazio de Maioricha.”

103 Gautier, “Pantocrator,” each old pensioner in the hospice received every year 3 *pesai* of firewood (ξύλης καυσίμης πείσας θαλασσίας τρεῖς). See Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 169–70 for an estimate of 128 kilos and references to the ancient Antiochene “Holztalent,” a special weight for wood used in Syria with an approaching weight of 122 kilos.

104 References in the Prodomos, Serres documents, *Le Codex B*, ed. Bénou, passim.

105 *Il libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer*, ed. G. Bertelè, s.v. “legne (per la casa)” measured in *canter*.

106 *Diokletians Preisedikt* 14.6: κλειμαξ ιδιωτικῆ ἤτοι σγάλη βαθμῶν and 14.8: ἀμαξα ξύλων γεγομομένη. In today’s France a *stère* (1m<sup>3</sup>) of dry oak in 50 cm logs weighing roughly a total of 500 kgs costs around 55€ (roughly a gold equivalent of 0.23 *solidi*). But this is retail price for high quality wood and manpower cost is much higher than it was in the 4th century.

107 Lond IV 1433, 24, cited by Morelli, “Legname,” 170.

108 Badoer, *Libro*, carta 41, p. 82, ll. 7–8.

109 *Les nouvelles de Léon VI le Sage*, ed. P. Noailles and A. Dain (Paris, 1944), 230–33. See C. Morrisson, “L’ouverture des marchés après 1204: un aspect positif de la IV<sup>e</sup> croisade?” in *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences*, ed. A. Laiou (Paris, 2005), 216 and n. 9.

110 Lombard, “Réseaux,” 133, citing Dandolo, *Chronica* 8, 14, in *Rerum italicorum scriptores*, ed. L. A. Muratori (Milan, 1728), 12:170 recte 167, B-C; cf. W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant* (Paris, 1885–86), 1:113.

111 McCormick, *Origins*, 730 and Appendix R 328; *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, ed. F. Dölger (Munich, 1965), no. 400.

112 “...ut a modo in antea nullus audeat arma in Saracenorum terras ad venundandum vel donandum portare, aut lignamen ad naves faciendum, quae ad damnitatem posset esse populo Christiano, non loricas, non clypeos, non spatias vel lanceas, neque alia arma...” *Decretum Venetorum de abrogando Saracenorum commercio*, in TT, 1:no. 14, pp. 26–30, at 27. Cf. Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, 1:110.



Byzantium.<sup>113</sup> In 1016 Basil II banned trading with and travel to Muslim countries.<sup>114</sup> This interdiction, together with a general control of wood exportation, probably still applied in the later Byzantine period when, in 1277, Michael VIII granted Venice permission to buy “rudders, masts, timber and in general everything useful for their ships.”<sup>115</sup>

The *typikon* of Tzimiskes (972) and that of Constantine Monomachos (1059) for Mount Athos may have been related to the same concern. The former forbade selling outside the Holy Mountain small bundles of wood (δαδία), while the latter extended the interdiction to firewood as well as timber, boards, kindling and pitch (ξύλον ἐργάσιμον καὶ σανίδια καὶ δάδας καὶ πίσσαν).<sup>116</sup> This last document encompasses and designates clearly several materials destined for shipbuilding and, as Dunn assumes, the emperor may well have been aiming at preserving against monastic encroachment the imperial rights over forest resources in public domain on the peninsula.<sup>117</sup>

### The Main Directions of Trade

Following Lombard and Goitein, one is inclined to see timber as one of the main exports of the Christian North to the Islamic world.<sup>118</sup> But this classical scheme underestimates the part played by Byzantium in this traffic. We saw above the pope sending wood originating from Central Italy to Egypt in the late sixth century. McCormick found no evidence in the ninth century for Venetian lumber trade although “ecological disparities” –and, let me add, this previous example too– encourage this hypothesis. Balard was wondering in 1976 about which of Amalfi’s exports, beyond cereals, could have paid for its imports of luxury Byzantine commodities.<sup>119</sup> Not only does geography suggest that wood may have been one essential item, but a Fatimid document reports the arrival of Amalfitan and Genoese ships carrying lumber to Egypt in around 1130.<sup>120</sup> And for the twelfth century,

113 D. Jacoby, “Byzantine Trade with Egypt from the Mid-tenth Century to the Fourth Crusade,” *Thesaurismata* 30 (2000): 25–77, at 36 [repr. in idem, *Commercial Exchange Across the Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2005), no. I].

114 Cf. W. Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1981), 68, 80–81, cited by D. Jacoby, “What do We Learn About Byzantine Asia Minor from the Documents of the Cairo Genizah?” in *Hē Vyzantinē Mikra Asia, 6os-12os ai. (Byzantine Asia Minor, 6th-12th Cent.)*, ed. S. Lampakēs (Athens, 1998), 83–95, at 89–90.

115 MIM 3:91: κερατάρια, τεμώνια, κατάρτια, ξυλὴν καὶ ἄλλα χροειώδη ὑπερὸ τῶν ξύλων αὐτῶν.

116 *Prôtaton*, no. 7, ll. 139–40, 229 (*typikon* of 972); no. 8, ll. 102–3 (*typikon* of 1045).

117 Dunn, “Woodland,” 263.

118 S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Genizah*, Vol. 1: *Economic Foundations* (Los Angeles, 1967), 46: “Since wood was scarce in the Middle East, we are not astonished to find Rum chests, cupboards and bedsteads among the furniture mentioned in the Geniza, although their transport by sea must have been precarious in those times. Timber, of course, was a main export from Europe to the Muslim side of the Mediterranean. At the beginning of the twelfth century, we find merchants from Amalfi and Genoa engaged in this trade, while at its end we hear of two Venetian ships carrying to Alexandria this material which was so indispensable in peace and in war.”

119 M. Balard, “Amalfi et Byzance aux Xe-XIIe siècles,” *TM* 6 (1976): 85–95.

120 S. M. Stern, “An Original Document from the Fatimid Chancery Concerning Italian Merchants,” in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1956), 2:529–38, cited by Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 1:46, n. 32 (p. 402).

David Jacoby has assembled a wealth of documents on the supply of war materials to Egypt; the most telling one describes the plan to ship 1,400 trunks of fir or larch “from Verona” and 600 planks of fir from Venice to Alexandria for a total of ca. 450 metric tons.<sup>121</sup>

As already mentioned, extensive thirteenth-fifteenth century documentation of Ragusa also illustrates the role of Northern Albania (notably the Drin, Ishmi and the Boiana valleys) in providing timber for shipbuilding and other needs in Ragusa.<sup>122</sup> This may well have been partly the case in the Byzantine period although we lack the relevant information. There is no evidence for the export of Dalmatian timber across the Adriatic, but there are some occasional indications that the Dalmatian shipbuilding industry may have provided boats to Apulian traders.<sup>123</sup>

In the thirteenth century Venetians began to export timber from Crete.<sup>124</sup> In the fourteenth century Cretan wood resources had probably been partly depleted and we find a Cretan merchant considering that it was profitable to invest 180 *hyperpyra* in buying *legnamen* “and other items” in Venice to transport and sell in Crete.<sup>125</sup>

After the deforestation of Lebanon, Cyprus remained from late antiquity onward a source for nearby Palestine and Egypt. We know that fifty trunks of pine and cedar were imported from Cyprus by Patriarch Thomas I of Jerusalem (807–820) for the restoration of the Anastasis basilica: according to Eutychios’ narrative the patriarch “had had 50 cedars and cypresses felled” and he managed “to introduce in the rafters of the church 40 of these new beams each one fathom wide (if a Byzantine *orgyia* =187.4cm).”<sup>126</sup>

The Genizah archive documents the export of wooden chests, cupboards, and bedsteads from Rum to Egypt in the middle Byzantine period.<sup>127</sup> Most importantly timber from Cyprus or southern Asia Minor must have been a major Byzantine export commodity in spite of the regulation to the contrary. Ibn Hawqal cites Hisn al Tinat (in the Gulf of Alexandretta) as a point of loading for pine timber sent to Egypt,<sup>128</sup> and travelers or later Ottoman documents testify to this trend that had been ongoing for centuries from the

121 D. Jacoby, “The Supply of War Materials to Egypt in the Crusader Period,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001): 102–32, at 110, with calculations in n. 51 [repr. in idem, *Commercial Exchange Across the Mediterranean*, no. II].

122 Ducellier, *La façade maritime*, passim, notably 360 etc., 588–90.

123 R. Dorin, “Adriatic Trade Networks in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries,” in *Trade and Markets*, ed. Morrisson, 235–60.

124 D. Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete from the 5th Century to the Venetian Conquest* (Athens, 1988), 275–76 with ref. to Buondelmonti’s description of massive cypress forests and trunks floating on the island’s rivers.

125 Pietro Pizolo, *notaio in Candia*, ed. S. Carbone, 2 vols. (Venice, 1978), 1:22 and 1:76, nos. 31 and 40.

126 H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle* (Paris, 1914), 220–24, cite Eutychius III, 1–2 (CSCO for the Arab text translated at 244): “[le patriarche] envoya couper en Chypre 50 troncs de cèdres et de pins qu’il fit transporter à Jérusalem. ... démolissant la coupole peu à peu, [il] introduisait les poutres et bâtissait par dessus.” After a dream which had showed him 40 men arising from a column to support the cupola, he recognized in them the Forty Martyrs and decided to introduce under the cupola “forty beams each as large as a fathom” (40 poutres chacune de la grosseur d’une brasse) [ca. 1.82m], etc.

127 Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 1:46.

128 Ibn Hawqal, *Kitab Surat al-ard*, ed. J. H. Kramers (Leiden, 1938), 201, trans. 196.

whole littoral.<sup>129</sup> Later in the fourteenth century a Venetian ship sailing from Thessalonike with wood (*lignamen*) was robbed by Byzantine pirates.<sup>130</sup> And more surprisingly we see timber being sent from Constantinople to the West as in the case of Badoer sending an unspecified number of boards to Sicily.<sup>131</sup> Clearly here the cost of transportation to the deforested island may have been cheaper from Thessalonike, than from the Adriatic.

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This outline may appear more promising than fulfilling. It has provided far more information on the conditions and context for the existence of wood trade in Byzantium, than it has on this important, indeed indispensable, commerce, of which only the tip of the iceberg emerges. We have only faint glimpses into the quantities involved, an impressionistic view of the directions involved and the sectorial balance. It is, however, certain that first the Byzantine Empire, then the Byzantine world at large was a net exporter of timber and wood products such as pitch and other resins, oils, gums, and dyes, the latter omitted here for reasons of space. Wood is an almost “invisible” element that we need to keep in mind. New methods of archaeometry and spectacular discoveries like Yenikapı will undoubtedly contribute to giving it the place it deserves in economic history.

129 S. Redford, “Trade and Economy in Antioch and Cilicia in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” in *Trade and Markets*, ed. Morrisson, 300, n. 6, citing J. McNeill, *The Mountains of the Mediterranean World* (Cambridge, 1992), for the relationship between fuel and mining (238), for the floating of tree trunks down mountain rivers (242, see above n. 89), for the relationship of the Taurus timber trade to Egypt in later centuries (246ff), for the forest cover of the Taurus (289).

130 TT 3:159–281, no. 370 (March 1278). This long and highly illuminating document (“Judicium Venetorum in causis piraticis contra Graecos decisiones”) refers (278) to timber from Macedonia: “item nobili viro, domino Marino Dandolo de contrata sancti Fantini, derobato tempore domini Andree Dandoli, Baiuli Negropontis, dum veniret cum uno suo ligno de Salonicho, honerata de furto et aliis mercationibus, de multis suis rebus et mercationibus, scilicet aurisiis, furto et farina, carnibus porcinis, cera, roiba, lignamine, pannis de Ypro et saia [serge], evasis de dicto ligno passo naufragium...” His losses are valued at more than 350 *hyp*.

131 Badoer, *Libro*, carta 320, p. 643, l. 13 (25.6.1439), “a di 26 zugno per cassa chontadi da Piero Capelo, per segurtà fata a Aldrovandin di Zusti su teste e legnami chargadi su la nave patron Paulo Quirini de qui in Saragoxa, per duc. 200, a 8 per c°, duc.16 che val ----- c. 327 per 51 car.16.”



1



2

Instrumenta agricola.

Fig. 1. Traditional tools in Antalya region. Above: *düven* (İnar köy, Söğüt dağları); below: *sürgü* (Lara). After Planhol, “De la plaine pamphylieenne,” pl. XXIII.



Fig. 2. Yenikapı wreck no. 37 on 28 June 2013 visit by Third Sevgi Gönül Symposium, guided by Dr. Zeynep Kızıltan (seated l.). From left to right, M. Kaplan, C. Lightfoot, C. Pulak, J. Haldon, N. Necipoglu, A. Markopoulos, E. Erdogan, V. Bulgurlu, N. Günsenin.



Fig. 3. Part of trunk found in Yenikapı excavations, diameter ca. one m (original total length unknown, not recorded). To l., Prof. C. Pulak (June 2013).

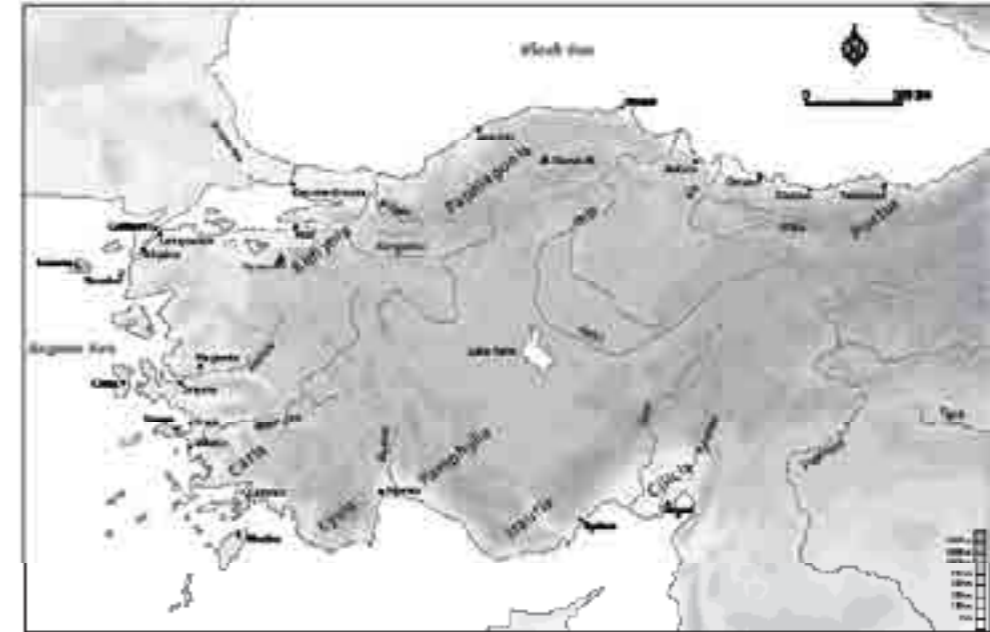


Fig. 4. Forest regions in Turkey, 1954 with probable locations of Byzantine arsenals and shipbuilding places (A. Ter Markosyan-Vardanian, C. Morrisson).



Fig. 5. Mt Olgassys (Ilgaz dağ, Paphlagonia, 2,565m). The Olympos of Paphlagonian gods (L. Robert, "Asie Mineure," 211, fig. 11). Courtesy: Fonds Louis Robert. AIBL, Paris.



Fig. 6. Forests in Cyprus (A. Ter Markosyan-Vardanian, C. Morrisson).



Fig. 8. Floating on the Indos/Dalamançay (Caria) in the 1960s (L. Robert, "Asie Mineure," 69, fig. 5). Courtesy: Fonds Louis Robert. AIBL, Paris.



Fig. 7. Loading wood on a ship. Mosaic (Third c. AD), Bardo Museum, Tunis. Courtesy: Bardo Museum.

# Byzantium and the International Slave Trade in the Central Middle Ages

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In this paper I would like to examine the effects that the international politics in the central Middle Ages had on the slave trade, and the Byzantine slave trade in particular. The geopolitical changes of the seventh and eighth centuries, which transformed the late Roman Empire into a medieval world composed of different civilizations, radically changed the economic dynamics of these regions and the Byzantine slave market as a consequence. However, in what follows I would like to examine the Byzantine slave trade not only as a consequence of these dynamics, but also as one of their causes. In other words, we shall consider the way in which international politics and economy, especially the economy of slavery, intertwined, and in fact became one.

Modern research has traditionally argued that the political and social transformation of the Roman Empire in the early Middle Ages brought, among other changes, also a decline in the use of slaves. This view was challenged in the last twenty years by studies of slavery in the Caliphate, Latin Europe, Byzantium and the Mediterranean economy.<sup>1</sup> In his book *The Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300-900*, Michael McCormick attributed a cardinal role to the slave market in the international Mediterranean dynamics. The sources of the period clearly show that slaves continued to be part of Mediterranean societies, and that no sudden break in their use can be detected.<sup>2</sup> As McCormick has shown, the early medieval slave trade played a major part

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<sup>1</sup> See, in particular, M. Gordon, *Slavery in the Arab World* (New York, 1998); McCormick, *Origins*, 733-77; Y. Râgib, *Actes de vente d'esclaves et d'animaux d'Égypte médiévale*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 2002-2006); A. Rio, "Freedom and Unfreedom in Early Medieval Francia: The Evidence of the Legal Formulae," *Past & Present* 193 (2006): 7-40; Y. Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World*, trans. J. M. Todd (Cambridge, Mass., 2009); C. Perry, "The Daily Life of Slaves and the Global Reach of Slavery in Medieval Egypt, 969-1250" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 2014). But see for a different view K. Harper, *Slavery in the Late Roman World, AD 275-425* (Cambridge, 2011).

<sup>2</sup> For Egypt: Râgib, *Actes de vente d'esclaves*; for Byzantium: Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*; for western Europe: Rio, "Freedom and Unfreedom." Note that this is not McCormick's argument. He does not deal with the

in political and economic international contacts, and was a key element in the transfer of goods, people and money between the North and the South Mediterranean littorals. In these commercial dynamics eastern Europe proved to be a major source of European slaves for the Mediterranean societies, for Byzantium and the Caliphate in particular.

I would like to focus in my paper on these two civilizations, which held the largest slave markets in the period under discussion. The competition between these two markets affected international politics, and proved the importance of the slave market in the early and central Middle Ages. As we shall see, this competition was of major concern to Byzantium and affected Byzantine international politics as is attested in the international treaties that Byzantium signed in the central Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup> This analysis will reveal the international medieval slave trade as a decisive factor in the economic and foreign policy of Byzantium, and will enable us to draw some conclusions about the objectives of Byzantine international policy.

### The Use of Slaves in the Byzantine World

Among the four major sources of slaves —war, commerce, breeding, and selling of oneself into slavery— two concern the international arena: war and commerce. War had been a major generator of slavery in ancient times, and continued to be prevalent in late antiquity. It was complemented by a large importation of slaves. Roman sources reveal a worldwide trafficking in slaves that were imported to the empire from Ethiopia, India and the Caucasus.<sup>4</sup> This trafficking depended, of course, on the fortune and wealth of the Roman Mediterranean societies.

The geopolitical map of the Romano-Byzantine Empire was radically transformed in the seventh century with the loss to the Umayyad Caliphate of all of the Byzantine provinces in Asia and Africa, Asia Minor excepted: Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia and North Africa. The continuous wars between Byzantium and the Caliphate affected the entire geopolitical constellation of the eastern Mediterranean up until the arrival of the Crusades. In antiquity war had been always a major source of slaves. However, thanks to the exchanges of prisoners of war between the two states, the wars between Byzantium and the Caliphate did not become a major provider of slaves to either side.<sup>5</sup>

question of continuity or discontinuity in the use of slaves, but with the supply and demand for slaves in the medieval economies, see McCormick, *Origins*, 752-77.

<sup>3</sup> I have examined this question in Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, 57-81.

<sup>4</sup> See Harper, *Slavery*, chap. 2. For the importation of slaves from Ethiopia, see F. Preisigke, "Ein Sklavenkauf des 6. Jahrhunderts (P. gr. Str. Inv. Nr. 1404)," *APF* 3 (1906): 415-24; for the importation of slaves from India: *Digeste*, XXXIX, 4, 16, 7. The importation of slaves to the empire through the Red Sea in the 6th century is documented by Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographie chrétienne*, ed. W. Wolska-Conus, 3 vols. (Paris, 1968), 2:29-30. And, for the importation of slaves from the Caucasus: Procopius, *Wars* II.15, 5; VIII.3, 15-17.

<sup>5</sup> M. Campagnolo-Pothitou, "Les échanges de prisonniers entre Byzance et l'Islam aux IXe et Xe siècles," *JOAS* 7 (1995): 1-55; A. Kolia-Dermitzaki, "Some Remarks on the Fate of Prisoners of War in Byzantium (9-10 Centuries)," in *La liberazione dei 'cattivi' tra christianità e islam*, ed. H. G. Cipollone (Vatican City, 2000), 583-620; Y. Rotman, "Byzance face à l'Islam arabe VIIe-Xe siècles," *Annales. H.S.S.* 60.4 (2005): 767-88.

The introduction of this new international custom affected greatly the slave trade since prisoners of war were not sold automatically into slavery, but were held by the state in order to be used in a prospective exchange of captives. As stated in the *Military Law* (*nomos stratiōtikos*) captives are not considered as spoil, and should be guarded by the *strategos* and brought to Constantinople for a prospective exchange of prisoners of war.<sup>6</sup> The same was probably also the case in Byzantium's military front in the Balkans as is attested in an inscription from 816, today at the Archaeological Museum in Sofia, which documents an exchange of prisoners of war between the Byzantines and the Bulgars "soul for soul" (*psyche anti psyches*).<sup>7</sup> Trade thus became the major means of supplying the demand for foreign slaves in both Byzantium and the Caliphate.<sup>8</sup>

The slave markets in the major cities of the Caliphate and Byzantium are well attested. The *Patria of Constantinople*, although a later source, provides a short description of the slave market of Constantinople.<sup>9</sup> Other major cities had probably also a place for human merchandise at the local markets although we are not informed about them in the sources that survive. In any case the circulation of slaves into the empire through Abydos and the Dodecanese islands is well attested for the end of the eighth century by Theophanes Confessor.<sup>10</sup>

"Scythian" slaves, i.e. slaves whose origin is from the north of the Balkans, the Black Sea and eastern Europe, are mentioned in Byzantine sources of all kinds: historiographic, hagiographic, juridical and documentary.<sup>11</sup> Their use was not limited to domestic functions within the Byzantine household. They are mentioned as rural workers by the *Farmer's Law* and the *Fiscal Treatise* found in the Bibliotheca Marciana, as well as by other documents.<sup>12</sup> Slaves are also mentioned in the urban commercial activities of tenth-century Constantinople, namely by *The Book of the Eparch*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Leges militares* (version B), chap. 48, ed. A. Korzenszky, in *Jus Graecoromanum*, ed. I. Zepos and P. Zepos (Athens, 1931), 2:89. Note that Leo VI's *Tactica* specifies that captives can be sold as slaves. In case of a prospective exchange of prisoners, the captives should be kept for such a use: *The Taktika of Leo VI*, trans. G. T. Dennis (Washington, D.C., 2010), 384-86 (const. 16.8-9).

<sup>7</sup> V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften* (Berlin, 1963), 190 (no. 41).

<sup>8</sup> Al-Tabarī (*Ta'riḫ a-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk*, 3:1353) narrates how in 845 the number of Byzantine captives held by the Caliphate was inferior to the number of Muslim prisoners offered for ransom by Byzantium. The caliph al-Wathīq ordered the purchase of Byzantine slaves in Baghdad and Raqqa in order to have the right number or people to ransom the Muslims captives. See A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1935), 1:201. See also M. Canard, "Les sources arabes de l'histoire byzantine aux confins des Xe et XIe siècles," *REB* 19 (1961): 286-314 [repr. in idem, *Byzance et les musulmans du Proche Orient* (London, 1973), no. XVII] and Y. Rāgīb, "Les esclaves publics aux premiers siècles de l'Islam," in *Figures de l'esclave au Moyen Âge et dans le monde moderne*, ed. H. Bresc (Paris, 1996), 7-30.

<sup>9</sup> *Patria kōnsantinopoleōs*, II 64: in *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum*, ed. Th. Preger, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1907), 2:185; trans. A. Berger, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople* (Cambridge, MA-London, 2013), 95.

<sup>10</sup> Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, ed. C. De Boor, 2 vols. (Hildesheim, 1963), A.M. 6302, 1:486-87.

<sup>11</sup> Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, 25ff, 130-40.

<sup>12</sup> *Nomos georgikos*, 46-7, 71-71, ed. W. Ashburner, in *Jus Graecoromanum*, ed. Zepos and Zepos, 2:67-71. *Fiscal Treatise*, ed. F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung, besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts* (Hildesheim, 1964), 115. Eng. trans. Ch. M. Brand, "Two Byzantine Treatises on Taxation," *Traditio* 25 (1969): 35-60.

<sup>13</sup> *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, trans. J. Koder (Vienna, 1991), 2.8-9, 3.1, 4.2, 6.7, 7.5, 8.7, 8.13, 11.1, 12.9.

## Prices of Slaves

The following table presents the prices of slaves in the eastern Mediterranean countries (Byzantium, Egypt, Syria). The table regroups different references and is based on the studies of Cécile Morrisson, Jean-Claude Cheynet, and Elisabeth Malamut, documents from Egypt published by Yusuf Râgib, as well as the Genizah documents along with my own findings.

### Prices of slaves in eastern Mediterranean countries, ninth-eleventh centuries

Date	Milieu	Economic transaction	Price <sup>1</sup>	Reference
9 <sup>th</sup> century	Constantinople	Tax for an imported slave	2 <i>nomismata</i>	Theoph. Conf., A.M. 6302 <sup>2</sup>
9 <sup>th</sup> century	Constantinople	Slave bought	10 <i>nomismata</i>	<i>Procheiros nomos</i> 14.5 <sup>3</sup>
11 <sup>th</sup> century	Constantinople	Slave	20 <i>nomismata</i>	Peira, Zepos IGR, 4:83-84
1050	Asia Minor	Sale of murderer to a bishop	24 <i>nomismata</i>	Grumel, <i>Reg. pat.</i> , vol. 1, pt. 2-3, no. 887 (p. 376) <sup>4</sup>
873	Egypt	Sale of a woman	12.5 dinars	Râgib, <i>Actes</i> , I

1 For the equivalence between the *nomisma* and the dinar, see J.-Cl. Cheynet, E. Malamut and C. Morrisson, "Prix et salaires à Byzance (Xe-XVe siècles)," in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*, ed. V. Kravari, J. Lefort and C. Morrisson, 2 vols. (Paris, 1991), 2:339-74; C. Morrisson, "Byzantine Money: Its Production and Circulation," in *EHB* 3:921-24 and table 5 at 931; S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols. (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1967), 1:359, 368-92 (Appendix D: "The Exchange Rate of Gold and Silver Money"); McCormick, *Origins*, 344ff; A. S. Ehrenkreutz, "The Crisis of Dînâr in the Egypt of Saladin," *JOAS* 76.3 (1956): 178-84, table 1 at 179; idem, "Studies in the Monetary History of the Near East in the Middle Ages II. The Standard of Fineness of Western and Eastern Dînârs before the Crusades," *JESHO* 6.3 (1964): 243-77; W. A. Oddy, "The Gold Contents of Fatimid Coins Reconsidered," in *Metallurgy in Numismatics*, ed. W. A. Oddy and D. M. Metcalf (London, 1980), 99-118.

2 Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, A.M. 6302, 1:487.

3 *Procheiros nomos*, in *Jus Graecoromanum*, ed. Zepos and Zepos, 2:395-410.

4 *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, ed. V. Grumel, V. Laurent, J. Darrouzès, 2 vols. in 8 pts (Paris, 1932-1979) = *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, ed. G. Rhalles, M. Potles, 6 vols. (Athens, 1966), 5:48-49.

875	Egypt	Sale of a "yellow" woman born in the house	30 dinars	Râgib, <i>Actes</i> , II
893	Egypt	Sale of a "yellow" woman	14 dinars	Râgib, <i>Actes</i> , III
895	Egypt	Sale of a woman, her daughter and her grandchild	10 1/6 dinars	Râgib, <i>Actes</i> , IV
896	Egypt	Sale of a "black" woman	14 dinars	Râgib, <i>Actes</i> , V
922-923	Egypt	Sale of a "black" woman	16.5 dinars	Râgib, <i>Actes</i> , VI
966	Egypt	Sale of a Nubian woman	15 dinars	Râgib, <i>Actes</i> , VII
977	Egypt	Sale of a Garamante woman	25 dinars	Râgib, <i>Actes</i> , VIII
983	Egypt	Sale of a Nubian woman	13 dinars	Râgib, <i>Actes</i> , IX
994	Egypt	Sale of a Nubian woman, her daughter and grandchild	40 dinars 49 dinars	Râgib, <i>Actes</i> , X-XI
10 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> cent.	Egypt	Average price of a woman	20 dinars	Documents from Cairo Genizah <sup>5</sup>
995	Egypt	Sale of a Byzantine ( <i>rumiyya</i> ) woman	Estimated at 80 dinars <sup>6</sup>	Goitein, <i>A Mediterranean Society</i> , 1:138, 433 note 45
11 <sup>th</sup> century	Egypt	Sale of a woman	Estimated at 40 dinars	Goitein, <i>A Mediterranean Society</i> , 1:139, 434 note 64

5 Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 1:136-40, in particular 139, 434 n. 64; idem, "Slaves and Slavegirls in the Cairo Geniza Records," *Arabica* 9.1 (1962): 1-20.

6 According to Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 1:137, the estimation given in the marriage contract is double the market price.

c. 1070	Egypt	Sale of a Sudanese woman	Estimated at 30 dinars	Goitein, <i>A Mediterranean Society</i> , 1:137, 433 note 38
1084-1108	Egypt	Nubian woman – average price	15-20 dinars	Goitein, <i>A Mediterranean Society</i> , 1:137, 433 note 39
1094 1105	Egypt	Sale of a Nubian woman, her daughter and grandchild	28 dinars 20 dinars	Goitein, <i>A Mediterranean Society</i> , 1:137, 433 note 40
11 <sup>th</sup> century	Egypt	Christian Byzantine slave (mentioned in comparison)	20 dinars ( <i>zehuvim</i> )	Genizah: T-S. 13 <sup>7</sup>
969	Egypt	A refugee man – price A refugee woman – price A refugee child – price	30 dinars 20 dinars 15 dinars	Aleppo Treaty <sup>8</sup>

7 J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fâtimid Caliphs: A Contribution to their Political and Communal History Based Chiefly on Genizah Material hitherto Unpublished*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1969), 2:88.

8 Ibn al-Adîm, *Zubdat al-Halab fî ta'rikh Halab*, 2 vols. (Damascus, 1997), 1:155.

## The Slave Trade

Starting from the seventh century, the Balkans and eastern Europe, namely the Slavic and Bulgar populations constituted the main source of slaves for Byzantium and for the Caliphate. Africa was also an important source of slaves for the Arab world, but African slaves were not enough to meet the demands of this world, which made a distinction between African and European slaves. The first were named *iba'd* in al-Andalus, while the second were named *saqaliba*, after their origin: eastern Europe.<sup>14</sup> In fact, in ninth-tenth century Iraq, the same term, *saqaliba*, is used to designate generally the Slavs and the Bulgars alike.<sup>15</sup> This difference between African and European slaves, that is slaves from the Sub-Sahara in comparison to slaves from eastern Europe and the Caucasus, was in fact also economic since the second were more expensive. This can be explained by the long commercial itineraries that connected eastern Europe to the Arab markets.

14 P. Guichard and M. Meouak, “*al-Sakâlîba*,” *EF* 8:872-81.

15 Ibn Khordâdhbeh, *Kitâb al-Masâlik wa'l-mamâlik*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1967), 153-54 (129-30); Ibn Fadlan, *Voyage chez les Bulgares de la Volga*, trans. M. Canard (Paris, 1988), *passim*.

The slave trade thus moved from north to south, and as far as the Arab world was concerned also from the south (Africa) to the north. The Slavs and the Bulgars appeared thus to be the main source of slaves for both Byzantium and the Arab world. As McCormick has shown, the circulation of human merchandise was conditioned also by the fact that the peoples of central and eastern Europe did not mint coins before the tenth century. This explains the demand of these regions for Byzantine and Arab coins, which were found in the north, up to the Baltic Sea, and to the east, up to Lake Oka on the Volga.<sup>16</sup>

A major role on this map was played by the worldwide itineraries of the Radhaniyya, the Jewish merchants for whom our unique source is the Persian geographer Ibn Khurradâdhbih. In his *Kitâb al-Masâlik wa'l-mamâlik* —the book of itineraries and kingdoms— from the mid-ninth century he gives a detailed description of al-Radhaniyya.<sup>17</sup> These were Jewish merchants who traded in arms, pearls, fabrics, furs, spices and young slaves of both sexes (Arabic: *djawârî*, *ghilmân*), among them eunuchs (Arabic: *khadam*). The description of Ibn Khurradâdhbih has been the subject of much scholarship.<sup>18</sup> The historians who dealt with it have tried to contextualize the Radhaniyya in the framework of the Jewish trafficking in slaves in the central Middle Ages, while others have questioned their very existence.<sup>19</sup> Though Ibn Khurradâdhbih does not specify who purchased these slaves, we need to note that there was a special Jewish demand for foreign slaves because Jews were limited in their purchase of slaves in both the Caliphate and Byzantium. Jews who lived in the Muslim world could not buy Muslim slaves, nor could Byzantine Jews purchase Christian slaves. Jews could therefore legally acquire only imported slaves. In fact, in Byzantium Jews were prohibited from converting their slaves to Judaism.<sup>20</sup> Jews were therefore more dependent on importation of slaves from other countries. Such limitations were probably a factor in their specialization in the

16 M. Esperonnier, “Les échanges commerciaux entre le monde musulman et les pays slaves d’après les sources musulmanes médiévales,” *CahCM* 23.1 (1980): 17-27. See *Les centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient*, ed. M. Kazanski, A. Nercessian, C. Zuckerman (Paris, 2000), especially the following articles: E. Nosov, “Rjurikovo, Gorodišce et Novgorod,” 148, 152; V. Sedyh, “Timerevo – un centre proto-urbain sur la grande voie de la Volga,” 175-78; T. Puškina, “Les trouvailles monétaires de Gnezdovo: un marqueur des relations commerciales,” 213-24; G. Ivakin, “Kiev aux viii<sup>e</sup>-x<sup>e</sup> siècles,” 231-32; Th. Sch. Noonan, “The Impact of the Islamic Trade Upon Urbanization in the Rus’ Lands: The Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries,” 379-93.

17 Ibn Khordâdhbeh, *Kitâb*, 153 (129) ff.

18 S. Assaf, “Esclaves et traite d’esclaves chez les juifs au Moyen Âge,” *Zion* 4 (1939-1940), 91-125 (in Hebrew); M. Gil, “The Radhanite Merchants and the Land of Radhan,” *JESHO* 17.3 (1974): 299-328; E. Ashtor, “Aperçus sur les Radhanites,” *RSH* 27 (1977): 245-75; idem, “Gli Ebrei nel commercio mediterraneo nell’Alto medioevo (sec. X-XI),” in *Gli ebrei nell’alto medioevo. 30 marzo – 5 aprile 1978, Settimane* 26/1-2 (Spoleto, 1980), 1:401-87; A. Gieysztor, “Les juifs et leurs activités économiques en Europe orientale,” in *Gli ebrei*, 1:489-528; Ch. Verlinden, “Les Radaniya : Intermédiaires commerciaux entre les mondes Germano-Slave et Gréco-Arabe,” *Graeco-Arabica* 6 (1995): 111-24; McCormick, *Origins*, 688-95; J. Holo, *Byzantine Jewry in the Mediterranean Economy* (Cambridge, 2009), 92ff; A. Kulik, “Jews and the Language of Eastern Slavs,” *JQR* 104/1 (2014): 105-143.

19 See Cl. Cahen, “Y a-t-il eu des Radhanites?” *REJ* 14.3 (1964): 499-505; M. Toch, *The Economic History of European Jews. Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages* (Leiden-Boston, 2013), 196-200.

20 *Appendix Eclogae*, ed. D. Simon and Sp. Troianos (Frankfurt A.M., 1979), 8.1-3.



slave trade. Ibn Khurradâdhbih describes four itineraries, across lands, seas and rivers:<sup>21</sup> (1) The first itinerary led the Radhaniyya from Firandja, across the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, and on to Sind, India and China, from where they imported spices. (2) The second itinerary started also from Firandja, and led them to Sind, India and China, but this time through Antioch, the Euphrates, Baghdad and the Persian Gulf. (3) The third itinerary was a land route that passed through North Africa to Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Iraq. (4) The fourth itinerary led them through the land of the Slavs (*al-saqaliba*), and across the Khazar kingdom and the Caspian Sea to Transoxiana.

Ibn Khurradâdhbih's description reveals an international trafficking in slaves of which the source is central and eastern Europe, while the markets are in the southeast (Iraq). Constantinople is mentioned as a destination of the Radhaniyya in one of their itineraries, but only for the importation of spices. All other routes, in contrast, including those of the slave trade, do not pass through the Byzantine Empire, in spite of the fact that a large slave market existed in Constantinople. The itineraries of the Radhaniyya bypassed Byzantium. But, a quick glimpse at the map will show immediately that Byzantium is situated exactly between the source of slaves and their markets in the southeast. The main question is therefore: why did these itineraries not pass through the empire? In what follows I would like to show that the Radhaniyya depended on the position of the international medieval slave markets and on the competition between them.

### The Byzantine Slave-Trade Policy

In contrast to other medieval states, Byzantium had a political continuity from Roman antiquity. This also meant a central economic control based in Constantinople since the fourth century. The imperial control of trade took the form of taxes —*kommerkia*, handled by officials, *kommerkiarioi*, who were responsible for their collection. This system enabled the Byzantine state to control not only the circulation of merchandise in the empire, but thanks to the position of the Byzantine seaports, also the international commercial circulation between the three Byzantine seas: the Black Sea, the Aegean and the Adriatic.<sup>22</sup> Another aspect of the Byzantine control was juridical regulations on maritime transfer of merchandise. Such regulations are found in *The Rhodian Sea Law (Nomos Rhodion Nautikos)*, which mentions human merchandise.<sup>23</sup> Slaves, who were dispatched by ships, were placed under the responsibility of the ship captain. The particularity of human merchandise was its potential escape, in which case the regulations stated that the captain was made responsible to reimburse their value to their owner.

We are particularly informed about the Byzantine control of the slave trade by a description of Theophanes Confessor: in 801 the empress Eirene reduced the taxes on all merchandise imported, to win over public opinion which was hostile to her coup

21 Eng. trans. Ch. Pellat, "al-Râdhâniyya," *EF* 8:363-67.

22 See the article of J.-Cl. Cheynet in this volume; S. Bendall, "Slaves or Soldiers?" *NomKhron* 8 (1989): 41-43.

23 *Leges navales: Lex rhodia*, ed. W. Ashburner, in *Jus Graecoromanum*, ed. Zepos and Zepos, 2:91-103, article 15.

d'état. Eight years later Nikephoros I restored the taxes and introduced a special measure concerning specifically the slave trade: all slaves who did not pass through the customs at Abydos were subject to a new tax of two *nomismata* per slave.<sup>24</sup> This was ten percent of the average price of a slave in Byzantium.<sup>25</sup> Theophanes Confessor added that this measure was aimed for slaves who were normally passed through the Dodecanese islands.

We can draw a connection between this and the description of Ibn Khurradâdhbih, and argue that the Radhaniyya made their huge detour in order to avoid Byzantine customs. The same Ibn Khurradâdhbih mentions the dime which the Russian merchants had to pay to the Byzantine authorities when passing from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean.<sup>26</sup> A dime was a serious sum for a slave ship, and the Radhaniyya preferred therefore to stop at Antioch, which was the nearest seaport in the ninth century to the south of the Byzantine border, rather than to pass via the Aegean Sea, or Constantinople.

If we examine the taxes on international commerce in the Caliphate for comparison, we note that in the eighth century 'Umar II (717-720) prohibited taxes on trade in order to encourage international commercial activities. A century later a text of Abu 'Ubaid al-Qasim ibn Sallam mentions fiscal regulations of 'Umar I ibn al-Khattâb (634-644): it states that Muslim merchants paid a tax of two and a half percent, *dhimmi* paid a tax of five percent, while foreign Byzantines (*Rum*) needed to pay ten percent "since they take the same percentage of foreign merchants who pass through their territories."<sup>27</sup> Although these regulations are attributed to the seventh century, they most probably reflect the reality of the time of the mid-ninth century author.

The Byzantine customs system of the eighth-ninth centuries, therefore, resulted not only in the control of the trading routes between the Aegean, the Adriatic and the Black Sea, but *de facto* also created a certain monopoly on the slave trade in the eastern Mediterranean. From an Arab middle-eastern point of view, the main source of European slaves, eastern Europe, was the hinterland of Byzantium. For the Byzantines there were itineraries in the Balkans and Black Sea to import slaves directly from eastern Europe.<sup>28</sup> But for the Caliphate, there were no direct routes.<sup>29</sup> I would like to suggest that the Byzantine customs system functioned as a commercial barrier and forced the merchants who aimed at the Arab markets to take different itineraries detouring Byzantine lands and seas altogether.<sup>30</sup> We note that the same Byzantine rationale characterized the

24 Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, A.M. 6302, 486-87.

25 Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, 197-200.

26 Ibn Khordâdhbeh, *Kitâb*, 155 (130).

27 H. A. R. Gibb, "Arab-Byzantine Relations under the Umayyad Caliphate," *DOP* 12 (1958): 221-33; idem, "The Fiscal Rescript of 'Umar II," *Arabica* 2.1 (1955): 1-16.

28 J. Shepard, "Constantinople - Gateway to the North: The Russians," in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, ed. Mango and Dagron, 243-60; J. Ferluga, "Der byzantinische Handel auf der Balkanhalbinsel vom VII. bis zum Anfang des XIII. Jahrhunderts," in *Papers Presented at the 5<sup>th</sup> International Congress of South-East European Research Studies held in Belgrade, 11<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> September 1984*, ed. D. Zografski et al. (Skopje, 1988), 31-52.

29 See the following two maps of the medieval slave trade: McCormick, *Origins*, 44; Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, 60-61.

30 I first argued this in Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, 70.

commercial activities in the Black Sea. The Byzantine control of the seaport of Trebizond oriented the trafficking in slaves between the Rus' and the Arabs further to the east: to the Caspian Sea and Transoxiana. This is precisely the fourth itinerary described by Ibn Khurradâdhbih, and is also mentioned by Ibn Fadlan in the account of his tenth-century expedition to the Bulgars of the Volga.<sup>31</sup>

We thus see that on the international commercial map Byzantium represented the main slave market outside of the Arab world. The Byzantines were in fact in competition with the Caliphate over this merchandise. The middle-eastern markets of the Arab world, which were not satisfied with the supply of African slaves, imported European slaves by using itineraries bypassing the Byzantine Empire: to the east, through the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea, and to the west by using trade roads leading from Raffelstätten to Spain via the Carolingian realm.<sup>32</sup>

Although the Byzantine customs restrictions were not explicitly directed against slave traders from the Arab world, their effect was to create a barrier against commercial competition from this quarter. Byzantine policy in Italy further indicates that the government's objective was to protect the domestic slave market against competitors.

As we saw, slave traders as well as other traders coming from the Arab world preferred to avoid Byzantine territory because of the Byzantine restrictions on foreign merchants. In Italy the situation was different, and such restrictions did not exist. The letter of Pope Hadrian I (772-795), addressed to Charlemagne in 776, deals with the competition between the Byzantines and the Arabs in the matter of the slave trade in Italy.<sup>33</sup> In order to keep its control on the commercial routes in Italy, Byzantium used Venice and tried to stop the commercial contacts between the Venetian and the Arab merchants. Official decrees promulgated in the ninth and tenth centuries prohibited the sale of slaves to pirates and to Arab slave traders, and limited their access to Italian ports. In 814-820 Leo V and the doge of Venice tried to prohibit Venetian merchants from engaging in trade with Saracens.<sup>34</sup> In 876 doge Ursus I Participacius banned the purchase of slaves from pirates and the transport of slave merchants.<sup>35</sup> Such measures pushed the slave traders from the Arab world further to the west, to the seaports of the Frankish kingdom. It was exactly at these ports where the Radhaniyya arrived. Moreover, these measures also limited the help given to Arab forces in war time and restricted the commerce in arms. They thus appear as part of the Byzantine political strategy in Italy. This is as far as the slave trade in the Adriatic is concerned. But, the situation was similar also in the Black Sea, where Byzantium enacted the same policy.

The trade between the Rus' and Byzantium is well documented for the middle of the ninth century. Three commercial itineraries led from north to south, along the

31 Ibn Fadlan, *Voyage*, 71ff.

32 McCormick, *Origins*, 553-57.

33 MGH: *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Epistolae*, III. *Codex Carolinus*, no. 59, 584-85. See also McCormick, *Origins*, 749.

34 TT 1:3 (no. 3).

35 *Ibid.*, 5 (no. 7).

Dnieper, Don and Volga rivers. The first two lead to the Black Sea, while the third flows down to Itil, the Khazar capital on the mouth of the Volga on the Caspian Sea.<sup>36</sup> All three itineraries were dominated by Rus'/Viking merchants. Arab and Byzantine coins that were found in Kiev on the Dnieper and at Gnezdovo on the Volga are dated to the reign of Basil I (867-886), Leo VI (886-912) and to the reign of the Samanid king Isma'il bin Akhmad (892-907).<sup>37</sup> All this proves the demand for coins, which the Rus' did not start minting until the middle of the tenth century.

But here, too, a new Byzantine commercial policy started at the beginning of the tenth century with the treaties that Byzantium signed with the Rus'. These treaties gave a solid economic position to the Rus' traders in Byzantium. The two treaties of 907, 911 and that of 944 granted them commercial concessions.<sup>38</sup> They received permission to enter the Byzantine markets, including Constantinople. No tax is mentioned in the treaties. Moreover, the Byzantines undertook the accommodation of the Rus' merchants and the protection of their ships against piracy. In fact, this was the commercial side of a military alliance, since the Rus' also participated in the first half of the tenth century in Byzantine military expeditions, including the Byzantine expedition to get back the island of Crete.<sup>39</sup> This military alliance, which did not last, proved itself more important in the Black Sea.

In regards to the slave trade, these treaties reveal the Rus' merchants as the main suppliers of slaves to the Byzantine markets. In fact, slaves are the only merchandise mentioned. However, these commercial privileges came at the expense of other merchants. In 893, according to the Continuator of Theophanes, the Bulgarian merchants were forced to leave Constantinople and were moved to Thessalonike.<sup>40</sup> The source adds that this measure was taken by Stylianos Zaoutzes, the minister of Leo VI (886-912), in favor of two merchants from Hellas. Although the text does not mention slave traders in particular, this eviction of the Bulgarian merchants from Constantinople could also be connected to the installation of the Rus' slave traders in Constantinople under the same emperor Leo VI in the beginning of the tenth century.<sup>41</sup> The fact is that because of the military expeditions of Simeon I of Bulgaria (893-927) Byzantium was forced to reinstate the Bulgarian merchants in Constantinople.<sup>42</sup>

36 Shepard, "Constantinople," 243ff.

37 *Supra* n. 26.

38 *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text*, trans. S. H. Cross, O. P. Shobowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 65-75; I. Sorlin, "Les traités de Byzance avec la Russie au X<sup>e</sup> siècle," *CMRS* 2.3-4 (1961): 313-60, 447-75.

39 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, in idem, *Opera omnia*, ed. J. J. Reiskii (Bonn, 1838), 2:44.

40 *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), VI, 9 (357), VI, 3 (354).

41 For the presence of Bulgar merchants in Constantinople, see *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, 9.6; *Theophanes Continuatus*, VI, 9 (357), VI, 3 (354).

42 *Theophanes Continuatus*, VI, 9 (p. 357). This reveals the strong competition between the Rus' and the Bulgarians on the access to Byzantine markets. Note that although the first two treaties between Byzantium and the Rus' date to 907 and 911 and thus can fit with the Bulgarian expeditions, the third treaty is dated to 944, after the reinstatement of the Bulgarian merchants in Constantinople.

The Ruso-Byzantine treaties also mention piracy. In this respect, the treaty of 911 is specifically revealing since it sets an important diplomatic innovation. It contains a clause stating that anyone who encounters a man of the allied camp who has been abducted or held captive, should ransom him and shall send him to his native land. The ransomed captive will then reimburse his redeemer. By including this clause in the treaty, the two sides decided to form a joint front against piracy and the abduction of their subjects. In the tenth century piracy was a main threat to the freedom of Byzantine inhabitants.<sup>43</sup> Byzantium responded to it in the Black Sea by using its political-commercial treaties with the Rus', and at the same time by using Venice in the Adriatic.

As we saw, the commercial hegemony that Byzantium built in Italy in the eighth and ninth centuries by prohibiting the trade with Arab merchants went along with restrictions on the trade with the Arab world. The Venetian edicts were directed against the commerce with traders who came from Arab lands. But the repetition of the prohibition on this commerce and on slave trade in general in four distinct documents —of 876, 945, 960 and 992— shows that until the tenth century these attempts had failed.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, starting from the 70s of the ninth century the Arabs were present in Dalmatia, and their conquest of Syracuse in 878 made their presence in Sicily permanent. Nevertheless, the main question should be why was the slave trade between the Arabs and the Venetians prohibited to begin with?

The Arab markets were the destination of the Italian traders, Venetians among others. However, in this they were not only in competition with the Byzantines, sometimes they were trading in Byzantine inhabitants as well. In the ninth century, the disciples of Methodios, for example, were abducted, taken to Venice, and then sold at the Venetian slave market, where they were found by a Byzantine diplomat who ransomed them and brought them back to Constantinople.<sup>45</sup> The *Life of Blasios of Amorion* and the *Life of Fantinos the Younger* describe the danger of Byzantine inhabitants who were abducted and were reduced to slavery in the Balkans and Southern Italy.<sup>46</sup> In this they were not different from other Byzantine inhabitants of Mediterranean regions, who were targets of Arab piracy in the central Middle Ages, especially during the time when Crete was in Muslim hands.<sup>47</sup>

The Byzantino-Venetian edicts, therefore, had a double purpose: to give precedence to the Byzantine slave traders, and at the same time to stop the trade in abducted Byzantines. These were exactly the same problems that Byzantium faced in the same

period on its northeastern front. Both problems were addressed in the framework of the Ruso-Byzantine treaties. The *placitum*, the agreement between Venice and Byzantium from 960, prohibited completely the trade in slaves on Venetian ships between central-eastern Europe and the Adriatic Sea.<sup>48</sup> The same document asserted the duty to redeem captives, in a similar way to the treaties of the beginning of the tenth century between Byzantium and the Rus'. However, this series of edicts did not manage to eliminate the Venetian slave trade, and towards the end of the tenth century Byzantium changed its strategy. Instead of trying to block the Venetian merchants by using edicts and customs, Byzantium started to use Venice in a different way, but by applying the same methods: its edicts and taxes.

The imperial edict of Basil II from 992 reveals this new policy.<sup>49</sup> Basil II granted considerable fiscal concessions to Venetian traders who passed by the customs post at Abydos. They were required to pay 17 *solidi* per vessel instead of 30. This gave them an advantage over all other foreign traders (the text mentions Amalfitans, Jews and Lombards of Bari). In return, the Venetians were expected to be at the emperor's service. At the end of the tenth century, this meant support in military expeditions against the Arabs in Sicily. The same policy continued in the eleventh century. In order to assure the Venetian support against the Normans, Alexios I Komnenos granted the Venetians in 1082 a complete exemption from taxes in the empire's principal seaports: in Syria, Asia Minor, the Islands, Greece, Epiros, Macedonia, Thrace and Constantinople.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, they were given a special quarter in the Byzantine capital for their commercial activities, exactly like the quarter that the Rus' obtained in the tenth century.

## Conclusion

The imperial control of Byzantine markets has been a subject of much scholarly discussion, including the question about the existence of an imperial monopoly, its conditions and consequences.<sup>51</sup> The present article attempted to avoid this question, and to focus instead on the protection policy that the Byzantine political system implemented in order to control the slave trade within the empire. Controlling the slave trade in and into the

48 TT 1:17 (no. 13).

49 *Pacta Veneta* 4, no. 1 (from 992, pp. 21-25); A. Pertusi, "Venezia e Bisanzio nel secolo XI," in *La Venezia del Mille* (Florence, 1965), 155-60.

50 *Pacta Veneta* 4, no. 2 (from 1082, pp. 35-45); R.-J. Lilie, *Handel und Politik zwischen dem byzantinischen Reich und den italienischen Kommunen Venedig, Pisa und Genua in der Epoche der Komnenen und der Angeloi (1081-1204)* (Amsterdam, 1984), chap. 1.

51 This subject is summarized and expanded in N. Oikonomides, "The Role of the Byzantine State in the Economy," in *EHB* 3:973-1058; É. Patlagean, "Byzance et les marchés du grand commerce, vers 830-vers 1030. Entre Pirenne et Polanyi," in *Mercati e mercanti nell'alto medioevo: l'area euroasiatica e l'area mediterranea. 23-29 aprile 1992, Settimane* 40 (Spoleto, 1993), 587-629; A. E. Laiou, "Monopoly and Privileged Free Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (8th-14th Century)," in *Chemins d'outre mer*, ed. Coulon et al., 511-26. Note that the immediate evidence is the study of *kommerkia-kommerkiarioi*, which I did not touch on here (see J.-Cl. Cheynet, in this volume).

43 Y. Rotman, "Esclave ou captif ? La compétition pour le marché d'esclaves en Méditerranéenne médiévale," in *Les Esclavages en Méditerranée et en Europe continentale. Espaces de traite et dynamiques économiques (Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes)*, ed. F. Guillén and S. Trabels (Madrid, 2012), 25-46.

44 TT 1:5 (no. 7), 16 (no. 12), 17 (no. 13); *Pacta Veneta 4: I trattati con Bisanzio 992-1198*, ed. M. Pozza and G. Ravegnani (Venice, 1993), no. 1.

45 "Zhitie Nauma," in *Kirillo-metodievskoj tradicii posle Kirilla i Mefodija*, ed. B. N. Florja, A. A. Tarilov, S. A. Ivanov (St. Petersburg, 2000), 286-88; McCormick, *Origins*, 766.

46 *Acta Sanctorum* Nov. 4, 657-59; *La Vita di San Fantino il Giovane*, ed. E. Follieri (Brussels, 1993), chap. 6.

47 Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery*, 47-56.

empire, however, proved to be an international affair since Byzantium found itself in competition with the Arab markets for the same type of human merchandise. The Arab markets offered much more to the medieval Mediterranean slave traders than the Byzantine markets (slaves were far more profitable if sold on the Arab markets than in Byzantium). This economic threat was also political since one of the consequences of the demand for human merchandise was the abduction of and trafficking in Byzantines inhabitants. Piracy, however, was both a cause and a consequence of the Byzantine attempts to limit the competition by developing an international policy on the three Byzantine seas: the Aegean, the Adriatic and the Black Sea.

It is a truism that state economy, whether monopolized or not, is governed by political interests. In this paper we have seen that it is also the other way around, namely, that economic circumstances dictate and determine political interests. In fact, the Byzantine strategy in handling the medieval slave trade reveals that as far as the international scene is concerned the two cannot be differentiated.

## A Distribution Atlas of Byzantine Ceramics: A New Approach to the Pottery Trade in Byzantium

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From archaeological discoveries, we know that ceramics traveled in the Mediterranean during the Middle Ages —sometimes very far from their areas of manufacture. What we often do not know are the terms of this circulation. Written sources such as *nolissement* acts, toll accounts, taxation records, chronicles and travel accounts or lists of diplomatic gifts provide some information about the trade and the circulation of pottery.<sup>1</sup> However, some areas are better documented than others. As far as the Byzantine Empire is concerned, the contribution of written sources on the issue of tableware trade is very limited and we must therefore look elsewhere for information on trade mechanisms.

Studying the cargoes of shipwrecks is one way to do this. A handful of important cargoes of glazed ceramics have been located in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean seas. They have been discovered either by rescue excavations or through looted material. The Pelagonnisos shipwreck, discovered in the Northern Sporades, contained in its hold more than 768 pieces of Byzantine pottery dating from the late twelfth century to the early thirteenth century; eleven jars, sixty-one amphorae, lamps, a copper cauldron and six grindstones.<sup>2</sup> The tableware transported by this ship is of the same type as that found in four other sunken ships: one at Skopelos, in the Sporades;<sup>3</sup> the second near the island

1 V. François, “Réalités des échanges en Méditerranée orientale du XIIe au XVIIIe siècle: l’apport de la céramique,” *DOP* 58 (2004): 241-49.

2 C. Kritzas, “Τό Βυζαντινόν ναυάγιον Πελαγονήσου-Αλοννήσου,” *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν* 4 (1971): 176-82; E. Ioannidaki-Dostoglou, “Les vases de l’épave byzantine de Pélagonnèse-Halonnèse,” in *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*, ed. V. Déroche and J. -M. Spieser, *BCH Supplément* 18 (Athens-Paris, 1989), 157; V. François, “De la cale à l’atelier. La vaisselle byzantine de la donation Janet Zakos au Musée d’art et d’histoire de Genève,” in *Donation Janet Zakos. De Rome à Byzance*, ed. M. Martiani-Weber, *Collections Byzantines du MAH* (Genève, 2015), 201-272.

3 P. Armstrong, “A Group of Byzantine Bowls from Skopelos,” *OJA* 10.3 (1991): 335-47.

of Kavaliani south of Evia;<sup>4</sup> the third off the island of Kastellorizo, on the south coast of Lycia;<sup>5</sup> and the last one in the bay of Adrasan south of Antalya.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately these finds do not provide any information about the departure port, the place the goods were loaded, the route or the final destination of the ship. Another shipwreck provides more interesting data about maritime trade in glazed ceramics. This is the Novy Svet shipwreck found in the Black Sea near Soldaia, and excavated since 1999 by a team from the Taras Shevchenko University in Kiev.<sup>7</sup> On the basis of historical sources, the team has established it to be a Pisan vessel which was burned and sunk in 1277 after being chased from Constantinople through the Black Sea by a Genoese galley in retaliation for brawls that had opposed Pisan and Genoese sailors in Constantinople. The underwater excavations produced *pithoi*, many type 3 and 4 Günsenin Byzantine amphorae (frequently found in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean) and glass objects probably made in Italy in the second half of the thirteenth century. However the shipwreck mostly contained an exceptional quantity of glazed tableware of different origins. These included: western products such as *Graffita arcaica tirrenica* from Savona workshops and a few bowls of Venetian Roulette Wares; eastern products such as “so-called Al Mina” wares from the region of Antioch and Cilicia; cooking pots and frying pans from Beirut workshops, cups from Paphos workshops and a few Seljuk ceramics from Rum. Byzantine tableware was mainly represented by “Novy Svet” ceramics —the name given to a type of bowls decorated with *sgraffito* in a simple pattern and covered with an orange glaze— by numerous examples of Glazed White Wares IV of Constantinople origin and by fewer Zeuxippus and Aegean Wares. The cargo, composed of pottery coming from Northern Italy, the Levantine coast, Constantinople, Cyprus and other locations in the Byzantine and Seljuk territories, may reflect a coasting trade which used these goods to complete, depending on the resources and deficiencies of each region, the general cycle of trading operations. It is also possible that the ship was loaded in a great port such as Constantinople that centralized all kinds of goods. As confirmed by the underwater excavations of the Novy Svet shipwreck, cooking pots, jugs, dishes and bowls reached consumers via different routes and not necessarily via the most direct ones between the place of production and the place of consumption. In addition, the cargo shows that Byzantine products could be transported by Italian vessels.

4 G. Koutsouflakis, X. Argiris, Ch. Papadopoulou et al., “Underwater Survey in the South Euboean Gulf (2006–2008),” *ΕΝΑΑΙΑ, Journal of the Hellenic Institute of Marine Archaeology* 11 (2012): 69, fig. 24.

5 G. Philotheou and M. Michailidou, “Βυζαντινά πνίκια από το φορτίο ναυάγισμένου πλοίου κοντά στο Καστελλόριζο,” *Αρχ.Δελτ.* 41 (1986): 271–330.

6 See the article by L. Doğer and H. Özdaş in this volume.

7 S. M. Zelenko, “The Results of Underwater Archaeological Research in the Black Sea by the Taras Shevchenko Kiev University 1997–99,” *Vita Antiqua* 2 (1999): 223–34; S. Y. Waksman and I. Teslenko, “‘Novy Svet Ware,’ an Exceptional Cargo of Glazed Wares from a 13th-Century Shipwreck Near Sudak (Crimea, Ukraine) - Morphological Typology and Laboratory Investigations,” *IJNA* (2009): 1–21; S. Y. Waksman, I. Teslenko, S. M. Zelenko, “Glazed Wares as Main Cargoes and Personal Belongings in the Novy Svet Shipwreck (13th c. AD, Crimea): A Diversity of Origins Investigated by Chemical Analysis,” in *Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Cerámica Medieval en el Mediterráneo, Ciudad Real-Almagro del 27 de febrero al 3 de marzo de 2006*, ed. J. Zozaya, M. Retuerce, M. A. Hervás et al., 2 vols. (Ciudad Real, 2009), 2:851–56.

The contribution of texts and excavations is however limited; the use of other methods to try to understand how the pottery was traded in Byzantium is thus needed. Mapping is one of these.

On the basis of a thorough analysis of the bibliography, mapping discoveries allows us to draw a picture of the distribution of the main types of tableware traded between the seventh and the fifteenth centuries in the empire and beyond.<sup>8</sup> This in turn enables us to describe the traffic of Byzantine ceramics. In order to identify patterns of distribution and consumption, archaeological data are set against geographical, political and economic data.<sup>9</sup> The inventory of ceramics found in consumption sites and materialized in the form of cartographic representations reflects the distribution of production over long distances, across the Mediterranean for instance, but also, as we shall see for Pergamon and Nicaea, on regional and macro-regional scales. It allows us to rank the supplies.

These distribution maps however have their limits. They only map the sources from which they have been drawn and therefore only represent the state of research. Differences in the type and number of sources, from one region to another, obviously limit their scope. The presence of Byzantine ceramics is well documented on sites excavated in the Danubian regions, in Thrace and Macedonia, in the Peloponnese, on the coast of Asia Minor and the Levant, in Cyprus, on the Crimean shores and in the Italian peninsula. These densely populated areas have been the subject of intense archaeological exploration. The sample obtained from these excavations is therefore rather satisfactory. Moreover, distribution maps indicate the presence or the absence of a certain type of items on a given site. An isolated bowl is only the testimony of a marginal or random distribution and cannot be representative of a trade, while larger quantities of ceramics are indicative of an organized diffusion. To take into account these differences in the amount of objects found, the maps should include quantitative data, but considering the level of research on Byzantine ceramics, that it is impossible.<sup>10</sup> The lack of quantitative data in most publications does not allow for comparing the amounts of ceramics by category. The frequency of occurrence of a single production in a small geographical area can partially address this deficiency. Small numbers may be offset by the regular presence of a single production in a relatively small area and for a certain period of time. This repetition will be interpreted as an indication of the trade of tableware.

In this context, and within these limits, the mapping of the discoveries of ceramics in 190 sites seems fairly representative of the circulation of Byzantine tableware from the Macedonian to the Palaiologan period (Map 1).

8 In order not to multiply the footnotes, I will not refer systematically to publications reporting the findings. For references, see particularly V. François, *Bibliographie analytique sur la céramique byzantine à glaçure*, *Varia Anatolica* 9 (1997).

9 For the historical data, see J. Haldon, *The Palgrave Atlas of Byzantine History* (Basingstroke, 2005).

10 Counting fragments is not to calculate the exact number of sherds but to achieve relative orders of magnitude of the different types in order to compare data from one site to another.

I would like to show some of these maps.<sup>11</sup> The first one is the distribution map of Glazed White Ware II, a white fabric pottery with impressed decoration made in Constantinople from the tenth to the early twelfth centuries (Map 2).<sup>12</sup> It was well distributed throughout the empire yet remained within its borders. The exceptions are the cities of the Taman peninsula that had fallen under the control of Kiev Rus' but which obviously had kept links with Byzantium and Sigtuna in Sweden.<sup>13</sup> The coastal distribution of GWW II is widespread but this glazed ware was also sometimes sold inland: in the cities of Hierapolis and Amorion along the main roads of Anatolia; in Silistra, Dinogetia and Belgrade going up the Danube; in Adrianople and Pernik along the Maritza river. In the Peloponnese, the use of this Constantinopolitan tableware could be a material expression of a renewed Hellenic influence after the Slav invasions.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, the GWW II found in tenth-century fortified sites in southern Italy —Puglia, Calabria and Basilicata— suggest the strengthening of the Byzantine presence in this region.<sup>15</sup>

The Painted Polychrome Ware, another white fabric production of Constantinopolitan origin,<sup>16</sup> seems to have been marketed during the eleventh century within the same geographical and political area as the GWW II (Map 3). Outside the empire's borders, Polychrome Painted Ware was employed at La Tana and in southern Russia, in Kiev, Novgorod and Sarkel, regions which all still retained some kind of Byzantine influence. In contrast, there is no trace of it in southern Italy, an area lost by the empire at the end of the eleventh century. These two types of tableware are frequently associated in Byzantine provincial sites with the exception of Cyprus and southern Italy. Their frequent association is all the more remarkable that the GWW II appears to have been produced in mass while the Polychrome Painted Ware is often presented as a more luxurious type of ceramics which differed in the techniques used for its manufacture and decoration.

Mapping can reveal the distribution of manufactures in areas of various sizes, which provides information on the size of the workshops and on the commercial networks supplied by these workshops. The *Measles Ware* for example, a glazed painted ware, made during the late eleventh to twelfth centuries in at least two workshops in the Peloponnese —Corinth and Sparta— seems to have been sold only in the western part of the Byzantine Empire (Map 4). On the contrary, Zeuxippus Ware and Aegean Ware,

manufactured from the late twelfth to the third quarter of thirteenth century in workshops that have not yet been located, were sold across the whole Mediterranean (Map 5). These repeated associations on the consumption sites of these types of tableware are a sign of a common distribution network —perhaps a coasting trade supplied by large centers that served as relays in the distribution of the pottery. Furthermore, the representation of this distribution shows that even when the empire was divided the circulation of Byzantine pottery was done independently of the new political boundaries. We can also superimpose the distribution of Italian majolica on the distribution map (Map 6). *Proto-majolica* is the name given to a kind of tin-glazed polychrome painted pottery produced in southern Italy and Sicily from the late twelfth to the early fifteenth centuries; the archaic majolica represents the central and north Italian equivalent to the proto-majolica produced in the south. Absent from sites in the Nicaean and Trebizond Empires or in Bulgaria, Italian manufactures were abundant in the Despotate of Epiros, in the Peloponnese (which was under Latin control), in Venice's territories —Crete and Andros— and in coastal sites in the Levant in the thirteenth century. Proto-majolica was traded extensively in the eastern Mediterranean and is found particularly in Frankish sites.

Mapping also reveals some occurrences of competition. "Serres" ceramics, manufactured in Serres but also probably in Thessalonike were distributed mainly in northern Greece and in southern Serbia. It contrasts with the distribution of the Elaborate Incised Ware made in, at least, three workshops —Constantinople, Varna and in Crimea— in the late thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. The latter appears only in Greece in a few Macedonian sites and is hardly found in Asia Minor. It is however widespread in Constantinople and on the western and northern coasts of the Black Sea as well as around the Azov Sea. Mapping thus reveals distinct diffusion areas but a common consumption region, Macedonia, where these glazed wares were probably in competition (Map 7).

This first map series allows us to examine Byzantine tableware distribution across the empire and the Mediterranean. We can also create distribution maps at a smaller scale comparing the distribution area of products manufactured in Nicaea and Pergamon during the thirteenth century. Archaeological and historical sources allow us to examine the nature of these workshops and to study the socio-economic environment in which the ceramics were made in these sites. Mapping discoveries allows us to establish their distribution at local, regional and interregional levels.

Byzantine pottery activity in Nicaea was established from the discovery of wasters and oven fired pots found in the city's excavations and associated with a significant amount of incised, slip painted and champlevé glazed wares.<sup>17</sup> This workshop functioned

11 For other distribution maps, see V. François, *La vaisselle de terre à Byzance* (Paris, 2016, in print).

12 J. W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul, Volume 2: The Pottery* (Princeton, 1992), 18-28.

13 M. Roslund, "Crumb from the Rich Man's Table. Byzantine Finds in Lund and Sigtuna, C. 980-1250," in *Visions of the Past. Trends and Traditions in Swedish Medieval Archaeology*, ed. H. Anderson, P. Carelli, L. Ersgård (Lund, 1997), 239-95.

14 P. Armstrong, "From Constantinople to Lakedaimon: Impressed White Ware," in *A Mosaic of Byzantine and Cypriot Studies in Honour of A. H. S. Megaw*, ed. J. Herrin, M. E. Mullett, C. Otten-Froux (London, 2001), 57-68.

15 E. d'Amico, "Glazed White Ware in the Italian Peninsula: Proposals for a Study," in *Late Antique and Medieval Pottery and Tiles in Mediterranean Archaeological Contexts*, ed. B. Böhlendorf-Arslan, A. O. Uysal, J. Witte-Orr, Byzas 7 (Istanbul, 2007), 215-38.

16 Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane*, 35-37.

17 V. François, "Les ateliers de céramique byzantine de Nicée/Iznik et leur production (Xe-début XIVe siècle)," *BCH* 121 (1997): 411-42; N. Ö. Findik, "Slip Painted Iznik Ceramics," in *Late Antique and Medieval Pottery and Tiles*, ed. Böhlendorf-Arslan, Uysal, Witte-Orr, 531-544; O. Aslanapa, Ş. Yetkin and A. Altun, *The Iznik Tile Kiln Excavations (The Second Round: 1981-1988)* (Istanbul, 1989); B. Yalman, "Iznik Theatre, 1982," *AnatSt* 33 (1983): 250-52; idem, "Iznik Theatre, 1983," *AnatSt* 34 (1984): 222-23.

during the thirteenth century in Nicaea when the city was the capital of the eponymous empire, the religious heart of the new state, the refuge of the patriarchate in exile, the place of imperial coronations and an important center of learning. With the help of various studies conducted in recent years in Bithynia —surveys, excavations, study of museum collections— the regional distribution of Nicaea manufactures as well as ceramics from other origins can be mapped. This mapping enables us to draw a picture of the tableware market in this prosperous province. Between 1989 and 1994, under the leadership of J. Lefort and B. Geyer, historians, geographers and archaeologists including myself traveled all over Bithynia in order to retrace the history of the province between the fourth and the sixteenth centuries.<sup>18</sup> This region extends from the south shore of the Marmara Sea to Mount Olympos / Uludağ and from Lake Apollonias / Apolyont to the Sangarios / Sakarya, thus creating an 80 km long and 180 km wide area. New surveys, initiated by M.-F. Auzépy in 2004, have been devoted to Byzantine monasteries located between the south coast of the Marmara Sea and the foothills of Mount Olympos.<sup>19</sup> We were led to these sites by historical sources, toponyms, villagers' accounts and very visible remains. More than 250 sites were examined in total. Fragments of Byzantine ceramics were identified in about forty of them.<sup>20</sup> The twenty-five sites mapped here show the notable discoveries (Map 8).

The picture that emerges shows that Nicaea glazed pottery was widely distributed throughout the province. Local tableware was identified on twenty-two sites. It was used in cities —in Nicaea and Bilecik— in some villages on the lake shore as well as in the many fortresses in the region. It was also present in many monasteries. In Bithynia, pottery manufactured in Nicaea was in competition with imported ceramics. The presence of Glazed White Ware IV seems limited to western monasteries located on the shore of Rhyndakos / Kocadere (in Kiliseyeri and Dayırt) and on the sea shore (in Ayzama and Sivzi). Aegean Ware was present in Ayazma monastery and in Çoban Kale fortress, two sites that are near the coast. For its part, the Zeuxippus Ware, imitated in Nicaea workshops, was not distributed outside the city walls.<sup>21</sup> “Novy Svet” wares were present in Nicaea, Tophisar and Çoban Kale fortresses and in Ayazma monastery. Given the fact that these searches were carried out in relatively random conditions, it is difficult to talk about “volume of discovery.” They do not pretend to be exhaustive. However ceramics of regional origin, as well as being frequently attested, also appear in larger quantities in many sites. The inventory shows that, during the Laskarid period, Nicaean workshops

supplied almost exclusively the pottery market in Bithynia. The findings show that, outside cities, the rural elite, the military and the monks who formed an important part of the regional population, probably used this tableware.

Excavations conducted by the German Archaeological Institute revealed the existence of a pottery production in Pergamon during the thirteenth century. Coarse wares, which represent the largest part of the material found has not been studied in detail so far, but the fine tableware has been the subject of a monograph written by J.-M. Spieser.<sup>22</sup> Pergamon was a Byzantine provincial town, a metropolis without any real urban traits. Around the middle of the thirteenth century, the settlement occupied almost the entire southern slope of the hill and it is estimated that around 2,400 people lived there.<sup>23</sup> During the reign of emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, the hillside was more urbanized and peasants came to settle in the lower town. The population rose to more than 3,000 inhabitants towards the end of the thirteenth century. Finds from excavations show that a number of smithies existed there. Glass items were also produced. Remnants of a pottery workshop were found at the margins of living quarters in the lower town, near the battlements. Local crafts were intended to provide inhabitants with the tools and basic supplies they needed in their domestic, agricultural and military occupations. According to historians, trading in the settlement catered to the needs of an agrarian economy. However, the inventory of pottery produced in Pergamon and widely distributed in the sites of Asia Minor shows that the local production supplied tableware markets far beyond the city. The rather modest socio-economic context in which this Byzantine manufacture was produced would not lead us to believe the commercial success that it enjoyed in the coastal regions of Asia Minor.

The distribution of Pergamon ware is established from excavation reports, from studies devoted exclusively to ceramic finds but also from brief and not very informative preliminary reports. The degree of accuracy of these sources is therefore variable. Pergamon tableware appears on a 350 km long coastline. With the exception of the northern sites, which had temporarily fallen under the control of the Latin Empire of Constantinople (until 1225), all the other sites were part of the Nicaean Empire. When the nature of the sites can be defined from archaeology or from texts, it appears that the Pergamon glazed ware was used: in large commercial cities like Smyrna or Magnesia on the Maeander, in castles like Kyme, in villages combining fortresses and scattered settlements like Sardis, Priene and Miletos, in smaller settlements whose exact nature is difficult to understand on the basis of the archaeological publications that relate to them (Troia, Beşiktepe, Gulpınar, Yortanlı, Adramittyon, Metropolis). In most of these places, tableware was not exclusively provided by Pergamon manufactures (Map 9). In

18 *La Bithynie au Moyen Âge*, ed. B. Geyer and J. Lefort (Paris, 2003).

19 M.-F. Auzépy, “Campagne de prospection 2005 de la mission Monastères byzantins de la côte sud de la Marmara,” *Anat.Ant.* 14 (2006): 380-86; M.-F. Auzépy, H. Çetinkaya, O. Delouis et al., “Campagne de prospection 2006 de la mission Marmara,” *Anat.Ant.* 15 (2007): 335-69; idem, “Campagne de prospection 2007 de la mission Marmara,” *Anat.Ant.* 16 (2008): 413-42; idem, “Campagne de prospection 2008 de la mission Marmara,” *Anat.Ant.* 17 (2009): 427-56.

20 V. François, “La céramique byzantine et ottomane,” in *La Bithynie au Moyen Âge*, ed. Geyer and Lefort, 287-310.

21 S. Y. Waksman and V. François, “Vers une redéfinition typologique et analytique des céramiques byzantines du type *Zeuxippus Ware*,” *BCH* 128/129, 2.1 (2004-2005): 629-724.

22 J.-M. Spieser, *Die Byzantinische Keramik aus der Stadtgrabung von Pergamon*, Pergamenische Forschungen 9 (Berlin, 1996).

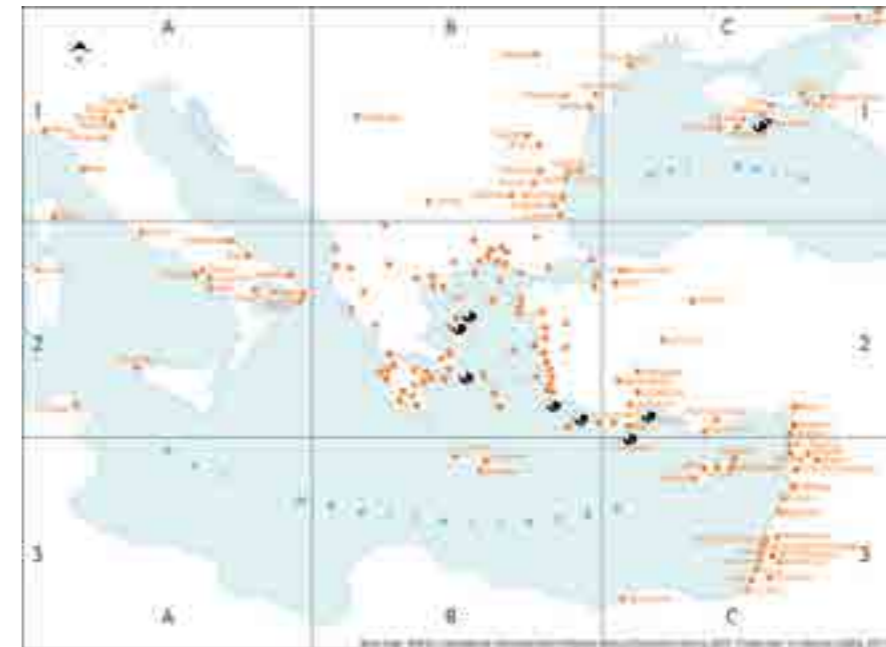
23 K. Rheidt, “In the Shadow of Antiquity: Pergamon and the Byzantine Millennium,” in *Pergamon, Citadel of the Gods: Archaeological Record, Literary Description, and Religious Development*, ed. H. Koester, HTS 46 (Harrisburg, Pa., 1998), 395-424; idem, “The Urban Economy of Pergamon,” in *EBH* 2:623-30.

the thirteenth century these were often coupled with Aegean Ware as well as various imitations of Zeuxippus Ware. They were more rarely coupled with Green and Brown Painted Wares (Pergamon, Sardis, Priene and Magnesia), which were actually often used in other places in Asia Minor (Phokaia, Ephesos and Xanthos). In most places Pergamon tableware was thus in competition with widely traded good quality glazed manufactures.

The materialization on maps of the ceramics' distribution area enables us to understand the mechanisms of diffusion. At the same time it gives us an idea of the customers for whom these products were intended. Tableware produced at Nicaea in the thirteenth century was almost exclusively used in Bithynia, where it often appears in cities, villages, monasteries and fortresses. It was not sold in the rest of the fragmented empire (with the exception of Constantinople and Cherson). We do not find it on coastal sites in Asia Minor where Pergamon manufactures were also widely found. Pergamon glazed wares, present in large commercial cities, castles and fortified villages did not reach Bithynia. The respective distribution areas of these two workshops therefore seem rather separate (Map 10).

It seems that in Nicaea, Pergamon and surrounding areas, customers had both locally produced ceramics and other manufactures including widely traded objects like Aegean Ware and Zeuxippus Ware at their disposal. The market was therefore supplied by local and regional products as well as pottery marketed on a larger scale. These two types of products were not distributed in the same way. The distribution of the first one was geographically limited and barely exceeded the area of influence of the cities in which the workshops were established whilst the second one was probably manufactured on a scale that exceeded local or regional demand, and therefore fueled international long-distance trade.

Mapping, this new approach to the pottery trade in Byzantium, highlights the distribution areas of contemporary production in terms of both complementarity and competition and generates new questions relating to the traffic flow of these products on different scales: macro-regional, regional or at long distance.



Map 1 Circulation of Byzantine tableware from the Macedonian to the Palaiologan period (V. François, 2011).



Map 2 Distribution of Glazed White Wares II within the borders of the empire: 10th - early 12th century (V. François, 2011).





Map 3 Glazed White Wares II and Polychrome Painted Wares often associated on the sites: 11th - early 12th century (V. François, 2011).



Map 4 Distribution of Measles Ware restricted to the western part of the empire: late 11th - 12th century (V. François, 2011).



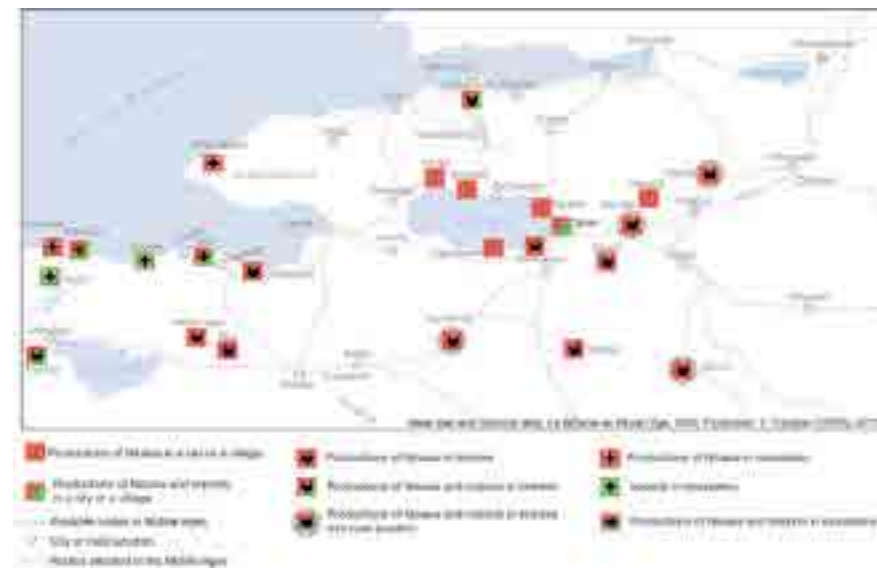
Map 5 Similar distribution network for Zeuxippus Ware and Aegean Ware: middle of the 12th century - third quarter of the 13th century (V. François, 2011).



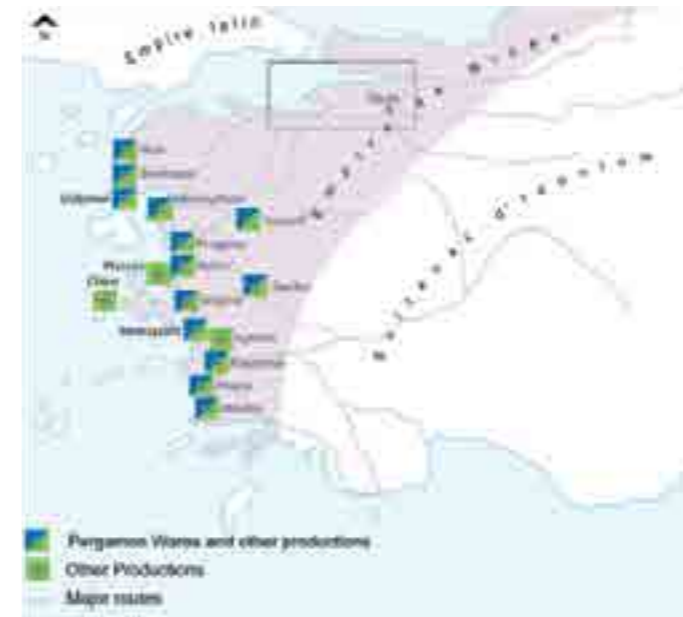
Map 6 Association of Proto-Maiolica, Archaic Maiolica, Zeuxippus Ware and Aegean Ware: 13th century (V. François, 2011).



Map 7 Productions in competition in Macedonia: late 13th century (V. François, 2011).



Map 8 Distribution of pottery in Bithynia: Nicaea Wares and imports.



Map 9 Distribution of Pergamon Wares and imports.



Map 10 Separated distribution area.

# **Byzantine Sea Trade in Ceramics: Some Case Studies in the Eastern Mediterranean (ca. Seventh–Fourteenth Centuries)**

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If maritime archaeology has taught archaeologists one thing, it is that nautical activity is a continuation of economic and social actions of communities on land. Using this perspective, this paper sets out to explore excavated shipwrecks of the Byzantine era in the eastern Mediterranean as indicators of distribution mechanisms of utilitarian wares and glazed tableware, and as evidence of sea trade and maritime contacts in this region from roughly the seventh to the fourteenth century.

Shipwrecks have two advantages for archaeological study; they are often relatively undisturbed time capsules preserved on the sea bottom, and they contain specific cargo which can help to reconstruct possible maritime trade patterns. Documentary evidence for the movement of pottery in the Byzantine period is sparse, but the shipwrecks have a story to tell. At a closer look, the archaeological evidence retrieved from them suggests that in the Byzantine era ceramics were distributed by ship not for random trade, but for specific tastes and for specific markets, along specific routes.

The shipwrecks from the Byzantine era, which have been excavated in the Aegean since the 1970s, show that pottery (especially ceramic transport jars for wine and oil, known as amphorae) traveled widely over the eastern Mediterranean in these times.<sup>1</sup> However, pottery was probably never, at least initially, the main cargo of most ships in the Mediterranean, because it was too cheap to be very profitable. The pottery was usually stowed as extra cargo on top of the principal freight. Some scholars suggest that most ceramics (even tableware) were more likely to have been space-fillers or even ballast for more valuable shipments.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A. J. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean & the Roman Provinces* (Oxford, 1992).

<sup>2</sup> D. W. J. Gill, "Pots and Trade: Spacefillers or Objects d'Art," *JHS* 111 (1991): 29–47; A. J. Parker, "Cargoes,

Nevertheless, earthenware vessels were omnipresent, much used and durable objects in the daily life of Byzantine society, and it is extremely interesting to follow their distribution over the eastern Mediterranean, if only to establish how trade patterns evolved and how they related to political developments in the region. The first part of this paper focuses specifically on shipwrecks in the eastern Mediterranean with cargoes of mainly amphorae, ranging from circa the seventh to the twelfth/thirteenth centuries. In the second part attention is paid to shipwrecks with cargoes of glazed decorative tableware, which can be dated between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.

### Shipwrecks with Amphorae

Several Byzantine shipwrecks with cargoes of seventh-century amphorae were found in the waters of the eastern Mediterranean, such as those off Cape Andreas at the northeastern end of Cyprus, at the port of Dor in Israel, or off the Datça Peninsula in southwestern Turkey (Fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> The Dor wreck showed that its cargo of amphorae was “laid in loops of rope and packed in place with straw-like plant material.”<sup>4</sup> In the western Mediterranean, we may further notice the seventh-century hulls of Punta Secca and of Pantano Longarini in southeastern Sicily (capable of carrying up to 300 tons of cargo), as well as the Secche di Ugento cargo (east of Taranto) and the Grael B and the Saint-Gervais 2 wrecks in southern France.<sup>5</sup> The last one contained a large cargo of corn (rivet wheat), plus lead-glazed pottery with eastern Mediterranean parallels, two grey ware pitchers bearing Greek graffiti and a LR 4 amphora from Gaza.<sup>6</sup>

The best published seventh-century shipwreck was the one recovered off the island Yassı Ada, near Bodrum, with circa 850–900 wine amphorae on board (Fig. 1; Table 1).<sup>7</sup> Most of these were of the LR 1 and LR 2/13 types from Cilicia and Cyprus, both forms being pitched inside and sometimes incised with Greek graffiti of owner’s names.<sup>8</sup>

Containers and Stowage: The Ancient Mediterranean,” *IJNA* 21.2 a (1992): 89–100; E. J. Stern, *Akko I. The 1991–1998 Excavations. The Crusader-Period Pottery, Part 1: Text* (Jerusalem, 2012), 153–54.

3 Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, no. 203 (Cape Andreas B), dated on Byzantine amphorae (LR 13) and glass vessels; no. 367 (Dor), dated on bag-shaped amphorae; no. 352 (Datça B), dated ca. 650–725 on the cargo of globular “and baluster-shaped” amphorae.

4 Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, 164; see also Parker, “Cargoes, Containers and Stowage,” 90 for the use of twigs or brushwood as packing material for cargo on ancient ships.

5 Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, nos. 967–68 (Punta Secca A&B), dated ca. 650–700 on a Byzantine coin find; no. 787 (Pantano Longarini), dated ca. 600–650 on C14 dates of wood samples (sample 1: 500 ± 120; sample 2: 622 ± 48); no. 1068 (Secche di Ugento C), dated on a globular amphora with Greek graffiti; no. 483 (Grael B), dated ca. 631 on a hoard of 101 coins minted at Constantinople (the most recent one dated 630–631); no. 1001 (Saint-Gervais B), dated ca. 600–625 on a coin of the emperor Heraclius (611–612).

6 M. P. Jézégou, “Le mobilier de l’épave St-Gervais 2 (VIIe s.) à Fos-sur-mer (B-d-Rh),” *Études Massaliètes* 5 (1998): 343–51.

7 Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, no. 1239 (Yassı Ada A); Yassı Ada I: A *Seventh-Century Byzantine Shipwreck*, ed. G. F. Bass and F. H. van Doorninck, Jr. (College Station, 1982); F. H. van Doorninck, Jr., “Byzantine Amphorae Made for War?,” *The INA Quarterly* 41.1 (2014): 21–27.

8 G. F. Bass, “The Pottery,” in Yassı Ada I, ed. Bass and van Doorninck, Jr., 155–65 and fig. 8–1 to 8–8.

Sometimes the amphorae had signs of earlier use.<sup>9</sup> According to the excavators, the ship was sailing from an eastern Aegean port “southward between Asia Minor and Kos.”<sup>10</sup>

In addition, the excavations yielded pantry wares found in the galley, which was equipped to prepare and serve food and drink on board. These included glazed and red-slipped wares (such as four Glazed White Ware I bowls and jars, two ARS 105 plates and four PRS 10 dishes), cooking pots, pitchers (with sometimes resin-coated interiors), various jars, a *pithos*, metalware, lamps, a wine thief and a dozen grape seeds from the amphorae.<sup>11</sup> The wreck was initially dated to the first half of the seventh century (around 625/626) on the basis of coins of the emperor Heraclius (610–641),<sup>12</sup> but it now becomes clear that it carried late seventh- to eighth-century amphorae and coarse wares (including a globular “*Castrum Perti*-type” amphora and Constantinopolitan cooking pots) as well.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the date of the Yassı Ada shipwreck on the coin finds alone appears to be problematic.

Recent studies seem to extend even the time span of certain amphora types of Late Roman times, which were previously dated to the seventh century into the eighth and ninth centuries. Especially the LR 2 or LR 13-variants (such as the ones on the Yassı Ada wreck) and the so-called “globular amphorae” appear to represent the tail end of the Late Antique industries. This last heterogeneous group of amphorae of a globular shape were produced in various parts of the Mediterranean, and often in much smaller dimensions than the previous Late Roman amphorae (Fig. 2). In Italy the break in imports of Oriental and African amphorae did not happen in the seventh century, as is often supposed, but they continued to be imported until the end of the eighth century (as is shown by the presence of globular amphorae in Rome, Naples, southern Italy and in San Antonino di Pertini in Liguria). Excavations in the Adriatic at Comacchio, Venice, Classe, Otranto and Butrint yielded imports of seventh- to ninth-century globular amphorae from the Aegean, which are sometimes incised with Greek graffiti.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, the recycling of Late

9 F. H. van Doorninck, Jr., “The Cargo Amphorae on the 7th Century Yassı Ada and the 11th Century Serçe Limanı Shipwrecks: Two Examples of a Reuse of Byzantine Amphorae as Transport Jars,” in *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*, ed. V. Déroche and J.-M. Spieser (Paris, 1989), 247–53 and fig. 1–2.

10 F. van Doorninck, Jr., “Byzantine Shipwrecks,” in *EHB* 3:900.

11 Bass, “The Pottery,” 155–88; see also for these wares, J. Vroom, *Byzantine to Modern Pottery in the Aegean. An Introduction and Field Guide* (Utrecht, 2005; 2nd revised ed. Turnhout, 2014), 32–37 and 62–63.

12 G. F. Bass, “Underwater Excavations at Yassı Ada,” *AA* 77 (1962): 555 and fig. 8.

13 See, for example, Bass, “The Pottery,” fig. 8–3, nos. CA 4–5 (late 7th-century LR 1 amphorae from Cyprus), fig. 8–4, 8–5, 8–6, nos. CA 13–20 (late 7th- to 8th-century LR 2/13 amphorae from Cyprus), fig. 8–15, P 43–45 (late 7th- to 8th-century cooking pots from Constantinople), P 53 (mid to late 7th-century cooking pot from Cyprus), fig. 8–20, no. P 78 (late 7th- to 8th-century globular “*Castrum Perti*-type” amphora from northern Africa or southern Italy). It is possible that the other wares (among which the ARS 105 plates) were perhaps longer in use; see for this phenomenon, J. Vroom, “The Other Dark Ages: Early Medieval Pottery Finds in the Aegean as an Archaeological Challenge,” in *When Did Antiquity End? Archaeological Case Studies in Three Continents*, ed. R. Attoui (Oxford, 2011), 137–58.

14 See, for instance, for the Bozburun shipwreck, F. M. Hocker, “A Ninth-Century Shipwreck near Bozburun, Turkey,” *The INA Quarterly* 22.1 (1995): 12–14; for the Otranto shipwreck, R. Auriemma and E. Quiri, “La circolazione delle anfore in Adriatico tra V e VII sec. D.C.,” in *La circolazione delle ceramiche nell’Adriatico*

Roman amphorae, like the ones found in the Yassı Ada shipwreck, means longer use of such vessels.<sup>15</sup> This reuse probably happened in a period when little could be discarded.

In Fig. 2 we see some main types of these seventh- to ninth-century globular amphorae in the Aegean and their production zones. Because of their shape, these globular amphorae were perfect liquid containers for long-distance transport and they were probably used for the distribution and consumption of wine. Judging from the archaeological material, an intra-regional, long-distance or cabotage movement of small globular amphorae certainly existed in the eastern Mediterranean during the seventh and eighth centuries. These smaller amphorae had less carrying capacity, but facilitated easy handling during short-, medium- and long-distance transport on various means of transfer, and during loading and unloading in minor and less sophisticated coastal harbors, perhaps due to smaller-sized ships used at that time. The amphorae included variants of Late Roman amphora 2 or 13, produced on Crete and Cyprus, as well as their imitations made in southern Italy (Apulia, Calabria, and Campania), in the Crimea and in the eastern Aegean.

The ninth-century Bozburun shipwreck Turkey is another example of a Byzantine ship involved in inter-regional trade (Fig. 1; Table 1). It sank off the southwest coast of Turkey, near Marmaris, at a depth of 30–35 m.<sup>16</sup> It was excavated in the 1990s, containing a cargo of circa 1500–2000 wine amphorae of small-sized globular types (with a mixture of LR 1- and LR 2-features).<sup>17</sup> The Bozburun containers were mainly carrying wine, although a few also contained olives and grapes.<sup>18</sup> Many had Greek graffiti on their shoulder; others had their stoppers, made of clay or of pine bar, still in place.<sup>19</sup> The stoppers were sometimes covered with a layer of pitch to seal them. The amphorae were classified by the excavators in four major categories.<sup>20</sup> The majority of these (especially the ones known as “Bozburun class 1”) were probably manufactured in the eastern Aegean and not products of the Crimea, as is often assumed (see below).<sup>21</sup>

*tra tarda antichità e altomedioevo*, ed. S. Gelichi and C. Negrelli (Mantua, 2007), 42–43, fig. 4, nos. 3–4. In addition, the port of Classe (near Ravenna) also yielded 8th-century globular amphorae from southern Italy and the eastern Mediterranean; see E. Cirelli, “Anfore globulari a Classe nell’alto medioevo,” in *V Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, ed. G. Volpe and P. Favia (Florence, 2009), 563–68, esp. fig. 4; A. Augenti and E. Cirelli, “From Suburb to Port: The Rise (and Fall) of Classe as a Centre of Trade and Re-distribution,” in *Port Networks in the Roman Mediterranean*, ed. S. Keay (Rome, forthcoming).

15 Van Doorninck, Jr., “The Cargo Amphoras,” 247–57.

16 Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, no. 111 (Bozburun), but dated here too early in the 5th to mid-7th centuries.

17 Hocker, “A Ninth-Century Shipwreck,” 12–14 and fig. 3–4; F. M. Hocker and M. Scafuri, “The Bozburun Byzantine Shipwreck Excavation: 1996 Campaign,” *The INA Quarterly* 23.4 (1996): 5 and fig. 3–5.

18 F. M. Hocker, “The Byzantine Shipwreck at Bozburun, Turkey: The 1997 Field Season,” *The INA Quarterly* 25.2 (1998): 12–14; idem, “Bozburun Byzantine Shipwreck Excavation: The Final Campaign 1998,” *The INA Quarterly* 25.4 (1998): 6 and fig. 5.

19 Hocker, “The Byzantine Shipwreck,” 14.

20 Hocker, “Bozburun Byzantine Shipwreck Excavation,” 4–6, esp. fig. 3.

21 Cf. J. Vroom, “Early Medieval Pottery Finds from Recent Excavations at Butrint, Albania,” in *Atti del IX congresso internazionale sulla ceramica medievale nel Mediterraneo, Venezia, Scuola Grande dei Carmini, Auditorium Santa Margherita, 23–27 novembre 2009*, ed. S. Gelichi (Florence, 2012), 292–93.

Furthermore, the Bozburun shipwreck yielded glass vessels, copperware, small pitchers with bark stoppers, as well as eight cooking pots with a round bottom together with two collar stands for keeping them upright during firing.<sup>22</sup> These round-bottomed cooking pots of a globular, baggy shape in a micaceous fabric were previously recorded by John Hayes as “Saraçhane CW4” from the St. Polyuktos finds in Istanbul (see for the shape, Fig. 3).<sup>23</sup> These pots have a sloping thick rim and two wide strap handles that are slightly concave in cross-section. They were found in contexts ranging from the mid-seventh to the ninth centuries, so they were undoubtedly in use for a longer period of time (perhaps with variations in shape).<sup>24</sup> Among the later examples are the Bozburun shipwreck ones, which can be dated to 875 ad.<sup>25</sup> Similar pots were found on sites in Rumania, Greece, Cyprus, the Near East, North Africa, and southern France, although there seems to be a concentration in the eastern part of the Mediterranean (Fig. 3).<sup>26</sup> It has been suggested that they were manufactured on the eastern Aegean coast, and recent archaeometric analysis suggests that they were produced in the Çandarlı/Phokaia area in western Turkey.<sup>27</sup>

An increase in tenth/eleventh-century maritime contacts can be noted in the numerous wrecks found in various parts of the eastern Mediterranean (for example, in the Adriatic and in the Black Sea).<sup>28</sup> The most well-known was the one that sank at Serçe Limanı, southwest of Marmaris and north of Rhodes (Fig. 1; Table 1).<sup>29</sup> This eleventh-century modest-sized wreck (of 15.6 m long) was dated by copper coins of the emperor Basil II (976–1025) and by golden coins and glass weights of the Fatimid period (the latest of the weights being of either 1024/25 or 1021/22).<sup>30</sup> It has been suggested that the ship

22 Hocker, “The Byzantine Shipwreck,” 14–16 and fig. 6–8.

23 J. W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, vol. 2: *The Pottery* (Princeton, 1992), 55–57, deposit 31, fig. 51, no. 33, deposit 34, fig. 55, nos. 51–54, deposit 35, fig. 56, no. 14.

24 See for these cooking pot shapes in Ephesos, S. Ladstätter, “Funde,” in *Das Vediusgymnasium in Ephesos. Archölogie und Baubefund*, ed. M. Steskal and M. La Torre (Vienna, 2008), fig. 31, nos. 14–21, fig. 32, no. 39, pl. 299, nos. K254–56, pl. 305, no. K 371, pl. 306, nos. K379–81, pl. 316, no. K485, pl. 317, nos. K486–88; eadem, “Ephesos in byzantinischer Zeit. Das letzte Kapitel der Geschichte einer antiken Grossstadt,” in *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter. Teil 2: Schauplätze*, ed. F. Daim and J. Drauschke (Mainz, 2010), fig. 15.

25 Hocker, “A Ninth-Century Shipwreck,” 12–14. idem, “The Byzantine Shipwreck,” 14–15 and fig. 6.

26 E.g. J. W. Hayes, “Problèmes de la céramique des VIIème–IXème siècles à Salamine et à Chypre,” in *Salamine de Chypre, histoire et archéologie*, ed. C. Diederichs (Paris, 1980), fig. 10–11, 13; idem, “Pottery,” in *Kourion. Excavations in the Episcopal Precinct*, ed. A. H. S. Megaw (Washington, D.C., 2007), fig. 14.7, nos. G5–G6; P. Aupert, “Objects de la vie quotidienne à Argos en 585 ap. J.-C.,” in *Études argiennes* (Athens, 1980), 433, fig. 43, no. 186; K. W. Slane and G. D. R. Sanders, “Corinth: Late Roman Horizons,” *Hesperia* 74 (2005): fig. 12, no. 4–27 (assemblage 4). According to E. Tzavella (pers. comm.), similar cooking pots were also found in Corinth and at Priniatikos Pyrgos (Crete) in 9th- to 10th-century contexts. Recently, another example has been recognized by me at excavations in Chalkis, carried out by the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities.

27 See Ladstätter, “Funde,” 184–86 and 189 (Petrografischer Scherbentyp L), fig. 31, no. 14 (K380) and no. 18 (K485), pl. 343, 7–8.

28 E.g., Z. Brusić, “Byzantine Amphorae (9th to 12th Century) from Eastern Adriatic Underwater Sites,” *ArchIug* 17 (1980): 37–49; S. Zelenko, “Shipwrecks of the 9th–11th Centuries in the Black Sea near Soldaya,” in *Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Cerámica Medieval en el Mediterráneo*, ed. J. Zozaya Stabel-Hansen, M. Retuerce Velasco, M. A. Hervás Herrera and A. De Juan García, 2 vols. (Ciudad, 2009), 1:235–44.

29 Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, no. 1070 (Serçe Limanı).

30 F. H. van Doorninck, Jr., “The Medieval Shipwreck at Serçe Limanı: An Early 11th-Century Fatimid-Byzantine

was sailing westwards from the Syrian coast to the northern Aegean, perhaps to the Sea of Marmara or even to Constantinople.<sup>31</sup>

It was carrying Syrian/Palestine ceramics (glazed tableware as well as cooking pots and jugs), eighty intact glass vessels and three tons of Syrian glass cullet, comprising two tons of raw glass and one ton of broken glassware.<sup>32</sup> Apparently, there were significant amounts of other important Syrian exports, such as sumac and raisins, overlying the glass cullet.<sup>33</sup> The cargo further included around 103 piriform-shaped Byzantine amphorae of the Günsenin 1/Saraçhane 54 type from Ganos on the north coast of the Sea of Marmara.<sup>34</sup> This popular wine container of the Byzantine Empire was, in fact, widely distributed over the Mediterranean and Europe.<sup>35</sup> The amphorae were incised with around 120 Greek graffiti, and had been reused previously. In fact, most of them had broken handles and damaged or missing rims, which were carved down and rounded off in order to avoid more damage, before the ship's sinking.<sup>36</sup> So, the recycling of Byzantine amphorae was a common practice in those times.

At Constantinople's southern harbor in Yenikapı (Istanbul), at least thirty-seven buried shipwrecks from Late Antique to middle Byzantine times (ranging approximately from the late sixth/early seventh to the tenth/eleventh centuries) were recently discovered and fully excavated.<sup>37</sup> The well-preserved wrecks included numerous Byzantine ship types, among which four galleys (or rowed warships) of ca. 30 m length and several smaller merchantmen (or roundships) of ca. 10–15 m length.<sup>38</sup> These last ones were usually built of oak, creating thus strong vessels with flat floors and improved cargo capacity.<sup>39</sup>

Some shipwrecks such as “YK1” and “YK12” even contained their cargo, often full with wine amphorae from Ganos, displaying thus regional trade between the capital and

the Sea of Marmara (Fig. 1; Table 1).<sup>40</sup> The role of Constantinople as a large consumer city and as a regional and inter-regional distribution centre of Ganos wine is further shown by the thousands of Günsenin 1/Saraçhane 54 amphorae found at Yenikapı.<sup>41</sup> Those from the “YK1” wreck are of the classical Günsenin 1/Saraçhane 54 amphora shape (covered with an exterior beige slip) of the tenth-eleventh century (Fig. 1 right picture),<sup>42</sup> whereas the others from the “YK12” wreck appear to be ninth-century “prototypes” with a slightly different body shape, a more pronounced rim and a reddish self-slip cover (Fig. 1 central picture).<sup>43</sup>

These last ones actually have some features in common with another amphora type found on shipwreck “YK12” (Fig. 1 left picture). This amphora type stands out due to its short neck and a heavy everted rim.<sup>44</sup> Not only was it found on “YK12,” but this container also looks analogous to amphorae excavated at Chersonesos in the southeastern Crimea (known as “Chersonesos 36”) and on the site of Sarkel on the left bank of the River Don.<sup>45</sup> Similar examples were also recovered from the ninth-century Bozburun shipwreck in Turkey, where they are grouped as “Bozburun class 1,” as well as at an early Byzantine shipwreck near Otranto transporting seventh- to ninth-century amphorae.<sup>46</sup>

Apparently, this amphora type was also distributed in the Adriatic, as the same shapes were found at excavations in Butrint, Comacchio and in Venice.<sup>47</sup> They seem to have been imitated by an amphora type manufactured at the Mitello kiln site at Otranto, the so-called *Tipo Mitello I*.<sup>48</sup> The exact provenance of this “Mitello 1/Chersonesos 36/

Commercial Voyage,” *Graeco-Arabica* 4 (1991): 45 and n. 2.

31 F. van Doorninck, Jr., “The Byzantine Ship at Serçe Limanı: An Example of Small-Scale Maritime Commerce with Fatimid Syria in the Early Eleventh Century,” in *Travel in the Byzantine World*, ed. R. Macrides (Aldershot, 2002), 137.

32 E.g., G. F. Bass, “The Shipwreck at Serçe Limanı, Turkey,” *Archaeology* 32.1 (1979): 36–43; G. F. Bass and F. van Doorninck, Jr., “An Eleventh-Century Shipwreck at Serçe Limanı, Turkey,” *IJNA* 7 (1978): 119–32; van Doorninck, Jr., “The Byzantine Ship at Serçe Limanı,” 137–48; see for the glazed tableware from the shipwreck, M. Jenkins, “Early Medieval Islamic Pottery: The Eleventh Century Reconsidered,” *Muqarnas* 9 (1992): 56–66 and esp. fig. 1–10.

33 Van Doorninck, Jr., “The Byzantine Ship at Serçe Limanı,” 141 and n. 20.

34 N. Günsenin, “Recherches sur les amphores byzantines dans les musées turcs,” in *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*, ed. Déroche and Spieser, 268–71; fig. 2–3; Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane*, 73–75, fig. 24, nos. 1–11, 14.

35 Vroom, *Byzantine to Modern Pottery*, 94–95. Known finds of Günsenin 1/Saraçhane 54 amphorae were found until now in the sea south of Chalkidiki and Thrace, as well as near the islands of Lemnos, Chios, Rhodes, Crete and in the Saronic Gulf (G. Koutsouflakis, personal communication).

36 Van Doorninck, Jr., “The Cargo Amphoras,” 253–56 and fig. 4.3–6.

37 See U. Kocabaş et al. in this volume.

38 E.g., C. Pulak, R. Ingram, M. Jones and S. Matthews, “The Shipwrecks of Yenikapı and their Contribution to the Study of Ship Construction,” in *Stories From the Hidden Harbor: Shipwrecks of Yenikapı*, ed. Z. Kızıltan and G. Baran Çelik (Istanbul, 2013), 27, table 1 and fig. 7; U. Kocabaş and I. Özsait-Kocabaş, “A New Milestone in Ship Archaeology: The Yenikapı Shipwrecks Project,” *ibid.*, 40–45 and fig. 3.

39 Pulak et al., “The Shipwrecks of Yenikapı,” 33.

40 See, for example, I. Özsait-Kocabaş, “The Centuries Long Voyage of Ship Yenikapı 12,” in *Stories From the Hidden Harbor*, ed. Kızıltan and Baran Çelik, fig. 1–2. Shipwreck “YK 12” was dated between 672 and 870 based on C14 analyses; see Kocabaş and Özsait-Kocabaş, “A New Milestone in Ship Archaeology,” 43.

41 R. Asal, “Commerce in Istanbul and the Port of Theodosius,” in *Istanbul: 8000 Years Brought to Daylight. Marmaray, Metro, Sultanahmet Excavations*, ed. A. Karamani-Pekin and S. Kangal (Istanbul, 2007), 185–87; U. Kocabaş and I. Özsait-Kocabaş, “Istanbul University Construction Techniques and Features of the Shipwrecks in the Yenikapı Byzantine Shipwrecks Project,” *ibid.*, 200; C. Pulak, “Yenikapı Byzantine Shipwrecks,” *ibid.*, 203–15.

42 A. Denker, F. Demirkök, M. Kiraz and T. Akbaytogan, “YK 1,” in *Stories From the Hidden Harbor*, ed. Kızıltan and Baran Çelik, 211–15, nos. 256–74.

43 A. Denker, F. Demirkök, G. Kongaz, M. Kiraz, Ö. Korkmaz Kömürcü and T. Akbaytogan, “YK 12,” in *Stories From the Hidden Harbor*, ed. Kızıltan and Baran Çelik, 205–209, nos. 239–44, 246–54.

44 Denker et al., “YK 12,” 204, no. 237. The other amphorae on “YK12” (nos. 239–44, 246–54) appear to be 9th-century mixtures of this amphora type and the classic Günsenin 1/Saraçhane 54 amphora. For a similar amphora as no. 237 found in Sinop, see D. Kassab Tezgör, S. Lemaitre and D. Pieri, “La collection d’amphores d’Ismail Karakan à Sinop,” *Anat.Ant.* 11 (2003): 180, no. 23, pls. IV and XI.

45 A. I. Romancuk, A.V. Sazanov and L.V. Sedikova, *Amfori iz kompleksov vizantiyskogo Chersona* (St. Petersburg, 1995), pl. 23, nos. 128–29, who describe them as “Chersonesos class 36.”

46 See for the Bozburun shipwreck, Hocker, “A Ninth-Century Shipwreck,” 12–14; cf. for the Otranto shipwreck, Auriemma and Quiri, “La circolazione delle anfore in Adriatico,” 42–43, fig. 4, nos. 3–4.

47 J. Vroom, “From One Coast to Another: Early Medieval Ceramics in the Southern Adriatic Region,” in *From One Sea to Another. Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages, Proceedings of the International Conference Comacchio, 27th–29th March 2009*, ed. S. Gelichi and R. Hodges (Turnhout, 2012), fig. 15; eadem, “Early Medieval Pottery Finds,” fig. 8 left; A. Toniolo, “Anfore dall’area lagunare,” in *La circolazione delle ceramiche nell’Adriatico*, ed. Gelichi and Negrelli, 102, pl. 5d (ex-cinema S. Marco); D. Calaon, S. Gelichi and C. Negrelli, “Tra VII e VIII secolo: i materiali ceramici da un emporio altomedievale / The Ceramic from an Early Medieval Emporium: 7th to 8th Century,” in *L’Isola del vescovo. Gli scavi archeologici intorno alla cattedrale di Comacchio / The Archaeological Excavations nearby the Comacchio Cathedral*, ed. S. Gelichi (Florence, 2009), 38, no. 1.

48 M. L. Imperiale, “Otranto, cantiere Mitello: Un centro produttivo nel Mediterraneo bizantino,” in *La ceramica altomedievale in Italia*, ed. S. Patitucci Uggeri (Florence, 2004), fig. 3, no. 1.

Bozburun 1/YK 12” amphora is not yet known, although new evidence points towards potential workshops of this amphora type in the eastern Aegean (especially on the islands of Samos, Lipsi, Kos and Paros).<sup>49</sup> It seems clear that from late antiquity onwards, medium- and long-distance cabotage or tramping voyages on smaller, low-status ships (such as the ones found at the Yenikapı excavations) were quite prevalent in the Mediterranean and in particular along the eastern Aegean coast.

Another significant middle Byzantine amphora type that is frequently found as cargo on twelfth/thirteenth-century shipwrecks has an elongated body shape and handles rising high above the rim (Fig. 4; Table 2).<sup>50</sup> About 5000 vessels of this so-called Günsenin 3/Saraçhane 61 amphora were, for example, recovered from a wreck off the Syrian coast near Tartus/Tortosa.<sup>51</sup> More examples came from wrecks found near Sudak in the Crimea, in the Sea of Marmara but especially in the western Aegean, such as off Dhia island (near Crete), at Tainaron on the Peloponnese, in the northern Sporades, south of Euboea island, as well as on eight wrecks recovered at the entrance of the Pagasitikos Gulf (Fig. 4, Table 2).<sup>52</sup> The Günsenin 4 amphora sometimes also appears in these contents.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>49</sup> This amphora shape also looks similar to 8th-/9th-century globular amphorae made in the Aegean, such as the ones found on the island of Pseira but perhaps produced on Samos; see N. Poulou-Papadimitriou and E. Nodarou, “La céramique protobyzantine de Pseira: La production locale et les importations, étude typologique et pétrographique,” in LCRW 2. *Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean. Archaeology and Archaeometry*, ed. M. Bonifay and J.-C. Trégliat (Oxford, 2007), 758, fig. 6, no. 13 (however, made of a *pâte fine à mica*). See for 7th- to 9th-century amphora workshops recently discovered in the eastern Aegean and in Crete, E. Papavassiliou, K. Sarantis and E. Papanikolaou, “A Ceramic Workshop of the Early Byzantine Period on the Island of Lipsi in the Dodecanese (Greece): A Preliminary Approach,” in LRCW 4. *Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean. Archaeology and Archaeometry*, ed. N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, E. Nodarou and V. Kilikoglou (Oxford, 2014), 159–68; Ch. Diamanti, K. Kouzeli and P. Petridis, “Archaeology and Archaeometry in Late Roman Greece: The Case of Mainland and Insular Settlements, Workshops and Imports,” *ibid.*, 181–92; V. Klontza-Jaklova, “Transport and Storage Pottery from Priniatikos Pyrgos–Crete: A Preliminary Study,” *ibid.*, 799–810; N. Poulou-Papadimitriou and E. Nodarou, “Transport Vessels and Maritime Trade in the Aegean from the 5th to the 9th C. AD. Preliminary Results of the EU Funded ‘Pythagoras II’ Project: The Cretan Case Study,” *ibid.*, 873–81.

<sup>50</sup> N. Günsenin, “Recherches sur les amphores byzantines,” 271–74, fig. 8–11; Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane*, 76, fig. 26.10; J. Vroom, *After Antiquity. Ceramics and Society in the Aegean from the 7th to the 20th Century. A Case Study from Boeotia, Central Greece* (Leiden, 2003), 153–54; eadem, *Byzantine to Modern Pottery*, 77–79.

<sup>51</sup> Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, no. 1136 (Tartus).

<sup>52</sup> Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, no. 361 (Dhia B=C), nos. 1110–1111 (Sporades B and C), no. 1128 (Tainaron); N. Günsenin, “L’épave de Çamaltı Burnu I (île de Marmara, Proconnese): Resultats des campagnes 1998–2000,” *Anat.Ant.* 9 (2001): 118, fig. 9; S. Y. Waksman and I. Teslenko, “Novy Svet Ware, an Exceptional Cargo of Glazed Wares from a 13th-Century Shipwreck near Sudak (Crimea, Ukraine) – Morphological Typology and Laboratory Investigations,” *IJNA* (2009): 1–21; S. Demesticha and E. Spondylis, “Late Roman and Byzantine Trade in the Aegean. Evidence from the HIMA Survey Project at Pagasitikos Gulf, Greece,” *Skyllis* 11 (2011): 37–38, nos. 1, 3–6, 8, 10–11; H. Özdağ, N. Kızıldağ and E. Okan, “Akdeniz Kıyıları Arkeolojik Sualtı Araştırmaları 2011/Underwater Archaeological Surveys along the Mediterranean Coastline 2011,” *ANMED Anadolu Akdenizi Arkeoloji Haberleri / News of Archaeology from Anatolia’s Mediterranean Areas* 10 (2012): 119–24; G. Koutsouflakis, X. Argiris, Chr. Papadopoulou and J. Sapoundis, “Underwater Survey in the South Euboean Gulf (2006–2008) (in modern Greek, with English summary),” *Enalia* 11 (2012): 53–54, no. 5, fig. 20. Apparently, Günsenin 3/Saraçhane 61 amphorae were also found in the sea near Glafki (together with Fine Sgraffito Ware; A. Tsanana and K. Amprazogoula, personal communication), as well as near the islands of Lemnos, Chios, Rhodes and Ithaca/Kephalonia (G. Koutsouflakis, personal communication).

<sup>53</sup> Until now, most Günsenin 4 amphorae were recovered in shipwrecks in the Black Sea region and in the

These amphora finds definitely mark the main sea-lanes of trade from the western Aegean to Constantinople and the Black Sea region as well as to the Levant during the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. Günsenin 3/Saraçhane 61 amphorae were recovered all over the Mediterranean and even up to Russia and Sweden, showing its widespread distribution.<sup>54</sup> Its place of manufacture was probably in an important harbor in the western Aegean, such as the Boeotian city of Chalkis/Negroponte (connecting the island of Euboea with the mainland), where at recent excavations outside the town walls evidence of production has been detected.<sup>55</sup> This also explains the impressive regional spreading of this amphora type on various rural sites in the Boeotian hinterland of Chalkis/Negroponte, which was rich in the production of wine, oil and honey.<sup>56</sup>

### Shipwrecks with Tableware

From the twelfth century onwards ships started to carry glazed tableware as principal cargoes, or as composite cargoes in combination with other goods (Fig. 4; Table 3). The discovery of several shipwrecks with cargoes of middle Byzantine glazed tableware were of importance, especially the ones recovered near Alonnesos in the northern Sporades and between Kastellorizo and Rhodes in the Dodecanese.<sup>57</sup> Both wrecks yielded very diverse finds of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.<sup>58</sup>

In the summer of 1970, a Byzantine shipwreck was excavated by the Greek archaeological service and by P. Throckmorton off the island of Pelagonnisos (or Pelagos) near Alonnesos in the Northern Sporades (Fig. 5; Table 3).<sup>59</sup> The ship was carrying a cargo of six large mill-stones and ca. 1490 complete pieces of pottery, the majority of which were glazed plates and bowls with a fine engraved decoration on the inside. This Sgraffito Ware was decorated with animal figures, geometric motifs, medallions, bands with “Pseudo-Kufic” letters, interlace designs and floral patterns. On the basis of the decoration technique of the glazed finds the shipwreck was dated to the mid-twelfth century. The unglazed finds and amphorae were, however, not published.

Further east, another shipwreck was discovered in 1970 off Cape Zapheirion

northern Aegean. See for instance, S. Y. Waksman, I. Teslenko and S. Zelenko, “Glazed Wares as Main Cargoes and Personal Belongings in the Novy Svet Shipwreck (13th C. AD, Crimea): A Diversity of Origins Investigated by Chemical Analysis,” in *Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Cerámica Medieval en el Mediterráneo*, ed. Zozaya Stabel-Hansen, Retuerce Velasco, Hervás Herrera and De Juan García, 2:851.

<sup>54</sup> Vroom, *Byzantine to Modern Pottery*, 99.

<sup>55</sup> J. Vroom, personal observation.

<sup>56</sup> Vroom, *After Antiquity*, 153–55, fig. 6.7 and 6.41: W12.1–5.

<sup>57</sup> C. Kritzas, “The Byzantine Shipwreck of Pelagos near Alonnesos (in modern Greek),” *AAA* 4 (1971): 176–85; Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, no. 538 (Kastellorizo), no. 796 (Pelagos).

<sup>58</sup> *Byzantine Glazed Ceramics. The Art of Sgraffito*, ed. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi (Athens, 1999), 118–57.

<sup>59</sup> Kritzas, “The Byzantine Shipwreck of Pelagos;” I. Ioannidaki-Dostoglou, “Les vases de l’épave byzantine de Pélagonnèse-Halonnèse,” in *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*, ed. Déroche and Spieser, 157–71; P. Armstrong, “A Group of Byzantine Bowls from Skopelos,” *OJA* 10.3 (1991): 335–47.

(Pountenti) on the southwestern coast of Kastellorizo island (Fig. 5; Table 3).<sup>60</sup> The wreck was already known from material in the local museum and in foreign collections. The cargo of the ship consisted of a minimum of 130 vessels (an unknown amount has disappeared without a record). They all had the same shape and size: a thick, deep bowl or plate with a ring foot and hemispherical body. One group had incised motifs (e.g. stylised birds, fish, octopus, star), the other group was painted (e.g. slip-painted, green splashes, green and brown painted). The value of the Kastellorizo cargo, which was dated to the late twelfth-early thirteenth centuries, lies in the fact that it constituted a closed find, probably loaded onto the ship from one (yet unknown) pottery workshop. Glazed tableware was stacked in groups of five bowls with smaller examples packed inside larger ones. Apparently, they were packed afterwards in baskets for sea transport.<sup>61</sup>

The Pelagonisos-Alonnesos shipwreck transported 1490 ceramics and other objects, among them 768 complete vessels and 628 fragments of such wares (mainly Fine Sgraffito Ware) compared to seventy-nine pieces of domestic wares and amphorae.<sup>62</sup> The Skopelos and Kastellorizo shipwrecks were carrying cargoes of Incised Sgraffito Ware, Champlevé Ware and Slip-painted Ware.<sup>63</sup> The shapes, decoration-styles and motifs of the glazed tableware from the Pelaganisos-Alonnesos shipwreck show many similarities to excavated ceramics from Corinth, whereas those from the wrecks at Kastellorizo and Skopelos have more in common with finds from central Greece, especially from Chalkis/Negroponte.<sup>64</sup>

Other known shipwrecks found in the coastal waters near Skopelos, Skyros, Kavalliani, Thorikos, Izmir, Kumluca and Antalya contained similar late twelfth/early thirteenth-century glazed tableware, although there is still limited information about these wrecks and their cargoes.<sup>65</sup> The shipwreck of Çamaltı Burnu, near Marmara Island, is a bit later in date, and yielded some mid-thirteenth- to early fourteenth-century

60 G. Philothéou and M. Michailidou, "Plats byzantins provenant d'une épave près de Castellorizo," in *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*, ed. Déroche and Spieser, 173–76; I. Loucas, "Les plats byzantins à glaçure inédits d'une collection privée de Bruxelles," *ibid.*, 177–83.

61 Stern, *Akko I*, 149, mentioning several examples.

62 Kritzas, "The Byzantine Shipwreck of Pelagos," *Byzantine Glazed Ceramics*, ed. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, 122–42.

63 Philothéou and Michailidou, "Plats byzantins provenant d'une épave;" Loucas, "Les plats byzantins;" Ioannidaki-Dostoglou, "Les vases de l'épave byzantine;" Armstrong, "A Group of Byzantine Bowls," 347, n. 19.

64 J. Vroom, personal observation. See also for glazed tableware from Chalkis/Negroponte, S. Y. Waksman, S. S. Skartsis, N. D. Kontogiannis and G. Vaxevanis, "The Main 'Middle Byzantine Production' and Pottery Manufacture in Thebes and Chalkida," BSA, forthcoming.

65 Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, no. 1099 (Skopelos); Armstrong, "A Group of Byzantine Bowls"; *Byzantine Glazed Ceramics*, ed. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, 81, n. 119 and 84, no. 160; L. Doğer, "Halkın İmge Dünyasında Seramik Sanatı / The Art of Ceramics in the Imagination of the Folk," in "*Kalanlar*," 12. ve 13. Yüzyıllarda Türkiye'de Bizans/The Remnants," *12th and 13th Centuries Byzantine Objects in Turkey* (Istanbul, 2007), 52; I. Dimopoulos, "Trade of Byzantine Red Wares, End of the 11th-13th Centuries," in *Byzantine Trade, 4th-12th Centuries*, ed. M. Mundell Mango (Aldershot, 2009), 179–81; Stern, *Akko I*, table 8.1; Koutsouflakis et al., "Underwater Survey," 58, no. 11, fig. 24. See also the recent publication of 26 'Coloured Sgraffito' vessels of probably Lemnian origin that were retrieved from a shipwreck in the gulf of Achili and delivered to the Archaeological Museum of Skyros; cf. M. Karambinis, *The Island of Skyros from Late Roman to Early Modern Times. An Archeological Survey* (Leiden, 2015), 257–58, fig. 12.13a-b.

glazed painted and incised (sgraffito) vessels in addition to the main cargo of Günseinin 4 amphorae.<sup>66</sup>

Furthermore, the underwater excavations of the Novy Svet shipwreck near Sudak (Crimea) revealed a substantial quantity and a combination of late thirteenth-century glazed decorative tableware from northern Italy, the Levantine coast, Constantinople/Istanbul, Cyprus and from other (yet unknown) regions, as was confirmed by chemical analyses of the pottery (Fig. 5; Table 3).<sup>67</sup> Apart from tableware, the Novy Svet shipwreck also yielded amphorae (mostly the Günseinin 3 and 4 types), *pithoi*, glass and other items. Thus, it appears to have been carrying a composite cargo of products from various ports in the Mediterranean through short-distance tramping. This involved sailing along the coastline from one harbor to another.<sup>68</sup>

In ethnographic studies we can sometimes distinguish the same transport pattern of ceramics by small sailing ships, which primarily operated during the warm months of the year: from about April to October.<sup>69</sup> The vessels were in these boats either directly shipped on the shore below pottery villages or workshops, or at the quay of a harbor.<sup>70</sup>

## Sea Trade and Commerce

The distribution patterns of glazed tableware imported by long-distance trade appear to have been focused principally on strategically situated (coastal) trade centers, while dispersal of the pottery overland to more inland regions seems an additional aspect. Cabotage or tramping trade with the help of the Italian maritime cities facilitated the circulation of pottery along the coasts of the eastern Mediterranean, promoted the spread of innovations and favored probably mutual cultural influences. This process is illustrated by the discovery of various shipwrecks in the eastern Mediterranean waters with substantial quantities of glazed tableware, often as profitable saleable ballast or even as main cargo.

This commercialization and internationalization of pottery distribution coincides with the emergence of a larger scale production of glazed tableware in the middle Byzantine period, perhaps capable of supplying more extensive markets. In addition, the rise of population numbers and relative wealth in towns and countryside, as well as the more organized circulation of persons and goods between East and West during the

66 Günseinin, "Recherches sur les amphores byzantines," 274–76, fig. 12–14; eadem, "L'épave de Çamaltı Burnu I (île de Marmara, Proconnesse): Resultats des campagnes 2001–2002," *Anat.Ant.* 11 (2003): fig. 10a-b to 14a-b for the glazed tableware.

67 Waksman and Teslenko, "Novy Svet Ware," Waksman et al., "Glazed Wares as Main Cargoes," 851–56; Stern, *Akko I*, table 8.1.

68 D. Jacoby, "Changing Economic Patterns in Latin Romania: The Impact of the West," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottadeh (Washington, D.C., 2001), 226–28.

69 Vroom, *After Antiquity*, 274.

70 Vroom, *After Antiquity*, 274 and fig. 9.12.



twelfth and thirteenth centuries may have created new markets for these glazed wares. Written documents show that import and export duties were charged in some Crusader ports for certain local products, among them ceramics.<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, we learn that Genoese merchants imported Italian oil to Constantinople and the Black Sea region in medium-sized earthenware containers (*laenes*).<sup>72</sup>

From the thirteenth century onward, one can observe a more intensive (maritime) circulation of pottery between the western and eastern parts of the Mediterranean.<sup>73</sup> The Italian ships, for example, transported silk and oil from Greece to Egypt via Crete and Cyprus on the one hand, and Byzantine and Islamic imports to Venice, Pisa and Genoa via Byzantium on the other. This is connected to an increase of ship movements by the Italian maritime cities in the thirteenth century, due to their progress in boat construction with larger, improved and faster ships, as well as to their practice of using a more sophisticated nautical system (including compasses, better nautical maps and the use of *portolans*).<sup>74</sup>

A decisive factor for this active period of sea trade could have been the Crusades as well as grants of extensive commercial privileges from the Byzantine emperor to the Venetians, Genoese and Pisans.<sup>75</sup> The latter were often stationed in vital ports in the western Aegean such as Chalkis/Negroponte in Euboea and in Almyros at the Pagasitikos Gulf in Thessaly (an important grain supplier for Constantinople) on the trunk sea route connecting the southern (Crete, Peloponnese) and the northern parts of the Byzantine Empire (Thessalonike, Sea of Marmara, Black Sea region). In these harbors goods (such as wine from Euboea or silk textiles, raw silk and dyestuffs from Boeotia) could have been either exchanged for grain from Thessaly, or perhaps redistributed in smaller quantities for secondary ports. One major problem the ships had to face was the fierce wind from the North (*Boreas*), when they were embarking from Euboea and from the Pagasitikos Gulf on their journey to the Sea of Marmara. Nevertheless, their ships were surely linking Constantinople with big trading centers in Syria and Egypt in the East and with the Italian cities Pisa, Venice and Genoa in the West.

Due to the rivalry between Venice and Genoa in long-distance shipping and trade, each of the two maritime states consolidated its control over specific sea lanes in the later Byzantine Empire.<sup>76</sup> Two main waterways can now be distinguished in the Aegean along these geo-political lines. The first one came from the North along the western Aegean, connecting the Black Sea, Constantinople, Thessalonike with Chalkis/Negroponte, and further south along the Peloponnese, with Candia on Crete. The second waterway

went from Constantinople along the eastern Aegean coast to Phokaia, Chios, Rhodes and eventually to Cyprus. Venice probably operated more on the western and Genoa on the eastern coasts of the Aegean, developing on both sides their own major transit stations (such as Chalkis/Negroponte, Modon, Candia, the port of Chios) for the trans-Mediterranean transport of ships, goods, merchants and passengers to both East and West.

### Concluding Remarks

This survey of excavated Byzantine shipwrecks makes it clear that from the seventh century onwards, regional and inter-regional voyages on small merchant ships (measuring between ca. 7 and 20 m long) were more prevalent in the eastern Mediterranean than was previously known. Coastal regions in particular were receiving ceramic products from other parts of the eastern Mediterranean that were sometimes quite distant. The size of the ships (such as the ones found at the Yenikapı excavations in Istanbul) suggests that they were operating close to the coastline or along a chain of islands through short-distance cabotage or tramping. Shipwrecks and cargoes indicate that there existed a number of overlapping regional and inter-regional networks of production and distribution. These networks were essentially Aegean-centered, but could also stretch beyond this region further to the East and West.

A closer look at the ceramics found in the famous Yassı Ada shipwreck suggests that it is probably dated (on its coin finds only) fifty years too early, and that a more appropriate date of the boat's sinking is the second half of the seventh century. In general, the dating of shipwrecks should be undertaken on the basis of the entire assemblage of the wreck's finds (cargo as well as galley wares) in order to arrive at a well-founded chronology. Furthermore, a closer look at the pottery finds from the Bozburun shipwreck, both cargo (eastern Aegean amphorae) and galley wares (Phokaian cooking pots), makes it clear that the ship was most probably not operating in the Black Sea region (as has been assumed), but rather between Constantinople and Crete, using a route along the eastern Aegean coast.

In all ships the amount of pottery cargo was modest. They probably could contain between circa 850 and 2000 amphorae, or circa thirty tons, as is for instance the case with the Serçe Limanı wreck of a boat that was sailing between Constantinople, the eastern Aegean and Syria. Over time the amphorae became smaller in shape and size, and therefore had less carrying capacity, but were easier to handle during loading and unloading in minor and less sophisticated coastal harbors and during transport on various means of transfer. Most of the amphorae were undoubtedly used for the transport of wine, as is shown by the recovery of grape pips on some wrecks, and they were often incised with Greek graffiti of owner's names on the shoulder. The last Byzantine amphora types which were transported on boats in substantial quantities (such as the Günsenin 3/Saraçhane 61 amphora) evidently

71 D. Pringle, "Pottery as Evidence of Trade in the Crusader States," in *I Comuni Italiani nel Regno Crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. G. Airdi and B. Z. Kedar (Genoa, 1986), 468–69.

72 Ch. Bakirtzis, *Byzantina Tsoukalolagina* (in modern Greek, with an English summary) (Athens, 1989), 133.

73 V. François, "Céramiques importées à Byzance: Une quasi-absence," *BSI* 58 (1997): 387–403.

74 Stern, *Akko I*, 153–56.

75 A. E. Laiou and C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* (Cambridge, 2007), 142–44.

76 Jacoby, "Changing Economic Patterns," 226–28.

had a widespread distribution in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although by that time ceramic containers started to be gradually replaced by wooden barrels.

The finds from the shipwrecks suggest that also specific utilitarian wares of a certain quality (such as seventh- to ninth-century cooking pots) were distributed by boat in the eastern Mediterranean, perhaps due to their enhanced use-related properties for efficient cooking. They may even have been transported from the eastern Aegean to other parts in the Mediterranean, as scattered finds of these wares on various coastal sites and shipwrecks in the western Mediterranean suggest. The question remains, however, whether these finds are evidence of trade and shipping routes that directly connected the Aegean with the western Mediterranean. Did these coarse wares travel because they filled a lacuna in local production? Or did they travel rather as personal possessions with individual persons, such as merchants, sailors or perhaps even pilgrims, who brought their own cooking utensils with them? Certainly, the small amounts of these coarse wares contrast sharply with the much larger quantities of amphorae on board.

Pottery was often not the main product circulating on these maritime trade routes, and the distribution of certain pottery types can indeed be linked to trade routes of other goods, such as textiles, wine and grain. Probably more often than not, ceramics were used on ships as “saleable ballast,” thus as heavy containers providing the ship with more stability while at the same time being capable of being sold for profit.

Finally, the evidence from the shipwrecks suggests that the sailing routes to Constantinople can be divided into two main sea lanes, one following the western coast of the Aegean, the other the eastern coast along western Turkey. Both routes passed through major ports and transshipment stations active in maritime commerce. An important transit station in the western Aegean was, for instance, Chalkis/Negroponte, functioning as the harbor of Thebes, as well as being an important pottery production center. Particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Chalkis/Negroponte produced amphorae for the transport of wine from its hinterland, as well as decorated glazed luxury tableware which were probably packed together with lighter goods such as silk textiles, silk raw material and dyestuffs. Most of these products originated from the “industrial triangle” of Chalkis/Negroponte – Athens – Corinth, as can be concluded from the wrecks recovered at Skopelos, Kavalliani and Kastellorizo.

Obviously, it is precarious if not hazardous to reconstruct the sailing route, the port of embarkation and the final destination of a ship only on the basis of the ceramic finds in its wreck. We can, however, establish which pottery types were transported or used on a specific ship in a certain period of time, and formulate arguments on the basis of these archaeological finds. What we need in order to get more information on trade patterns in the eastern Mediterranean are well-excavated pottery contexts of the Byzantine period on land.



Fig. 1 Distribution map of known early and middle Byzantine shipwrecks in the eastern Mediterranean: 1. “YK 12”, Istanbul; 2. “YK 1”, Istanbul; 3. Yassi Ada, southwest coast Turkey; 4. Bozburun, southwest coast Turkey; 5. Serçe Limanı, southwest coast Turkey; 6. Datça B, southwest coast Turkey; 7. Cape Andreas B, northeastern coast Cyprus; 8. Dor, Israel (map: J. Vroom; pictures after *Stories From the Hidden Harbor*, 204, no. 237, 208, no. 252, 215, no. 273).

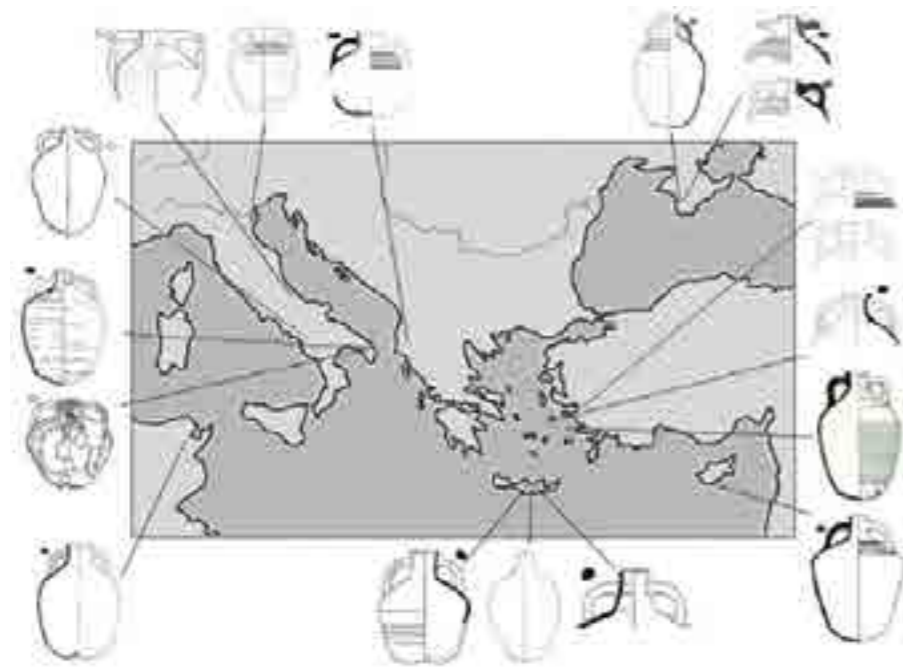


Fig. 2 Distribution map of production zones of globular amphorae in the Mediterranean (map: J. Vroom).

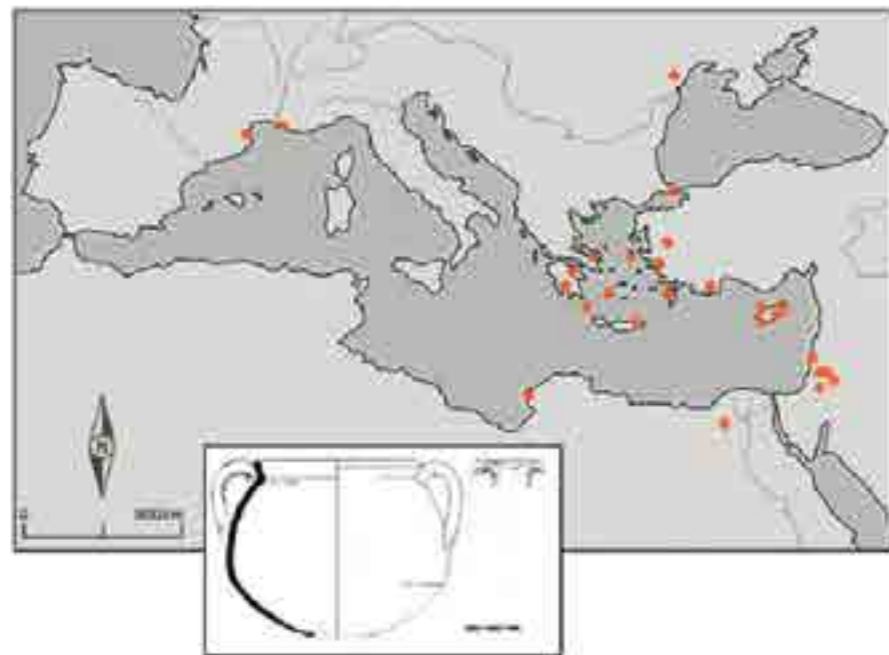


Fig. 3 Distribution map of "Phokaian cooking pot" in the Mediterranean (map: J. Vroom; drawing after Hayes, "Problèmes de la céramique", fig. 10).

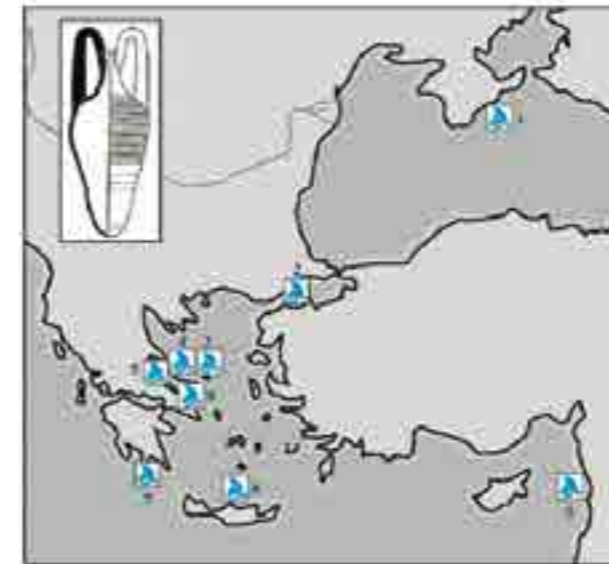


Fig. 4 Distribution map of known shipwrecks transporting Günsenin 3/Saraçhane 61 amphorae in the eastern Mediterranean (map: J. Vroom; drawing after Günsenin, "Recherches sur les amphores byzantines", fig. 8).

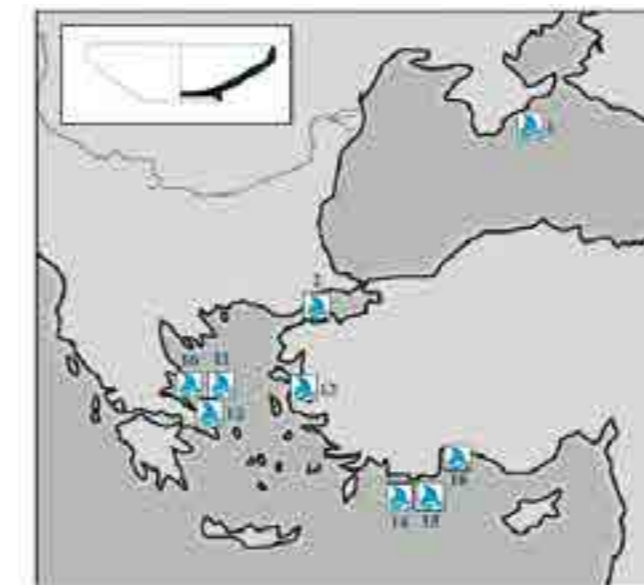


Fig. 5 Distribution map of known shipwrecks transporting 12th- to 14th-century glazed tablewares in the eastern Mediterranean (map: J. Vroom; drawing after Papanikola-Bakirtzi, *Byzantine Glazed Ceramics*, 147, no. 168).

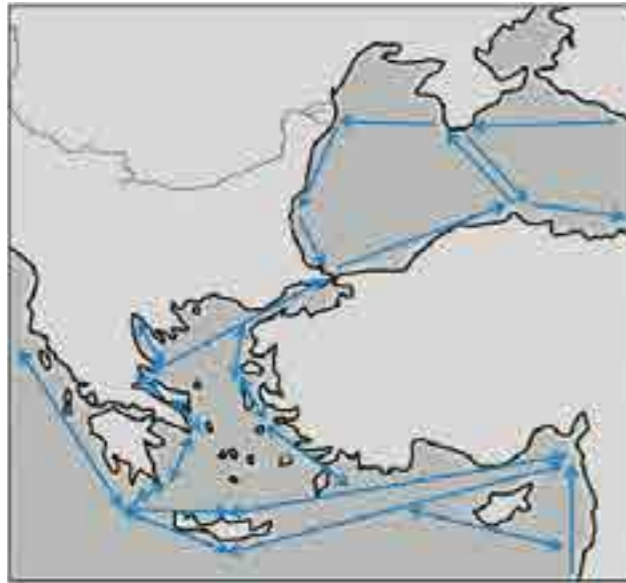


Fig. 6 Distribution map of important sea lanes in the eastern Mediterranean (map: J. Vroom).

EARLY AND MIDDLE BYZANTINE SHIPWRECKS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN						
Shipwreck	Location	Navigation area	Date	Ship size	Cargo (probl. quantity)	Cargo type
No. 1 'YK 12'	Istanbul (Yenikapı)	Constantinople, Eastern Aegean	Ca. 9 <sup>th</sup> c.	Ca. 7 m. (2.30 m. width)	? Ca. 17 published amphorae	Wine amphorae with <i>graffiti</i>
No. 2 'YK 1'	Istanbul (Yenikapı)	Constantinople, Eastern Aegean	Ca. 10 <sup>th</sup> -11 <sup>th</sup> c.	Ca. 10 m.	? Ca. 19 published amphorae	Wine amphorae with <i>graffiti</i>
No. 3 Yassi Ada	Southwest coast Turkey	Eastern Aegean, Cyprus	Ca. 2 <sup>nd</sup> half 7 <sup>th</sup> c.	Ca. 20 m.	Ca. 850-900 amphorae	Wine amphorae (pitched interior) with <i>graffiti</i>
No. 4 Bozburun	Southwest coast Turkey	Eastern Aegean	Ca. 9 <sup>th</sup> c.	Ca. 20 m.?	Ca. 1200-1500 amphorae	Wine amphorae with <i>graffiti</i>
No. 5 Serçe Limanı	Southwest coast Turkey	From Syria to Northern Aegean	Ca. 11 <sup>th</sup> c.	Ca. 15.6 m.	Ca. 30 tons	Wine amphorae with <i>graffiti</i> , glass cullet, spices and raisins

Table 1. A selection of five early and middle Byzantine shipwrecks recovered in the eastern Mediterranean and mentioned in this article, according to their location, navigation area, date, ship size, probable quantity of cargo and cargo type (J. Vroom).

FINDS OF AMPHORAE ON SHIPWRECKS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN			
Shipwreck	Location	Date	Finds
No. 1 Novy Svet, Sudak	Crimea, Black Sea	Ca. late 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Günsenin 3/ Saraçhane 61 amphorae, Günsenin 4 amphorae (most), Beirut cooking pots and frying pans, pithoi, unidentified amphora (1)
No. 2 Çamaltı Burnu I, Marmara Island	Western Turkey	Ca. 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Günsenin 3/ Saraçhane 61 amphorae (3), Günsenin 4 amphorae (236 complete)
No. 3 Sporades B, N. Sporades	Greece	Ca. 12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Günsenin 3/ Saraçhane 61 amphorae
No. 4 Sporades C, N. Sporades	Greece	Ca. 12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Günsenin 3/ Saraçhane 61 amphorae
No. 5 Pagasitikos Gulf (8 wrecks)	Greece	Ca. 12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Günsenin 3/ Saraçhane 61 amphorae
No. 6 Portolafia, Euboia	Greece	Ca. 12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Günsenin 3/ Saraçhane 61 amphora (1x)
No. 7 Tainaron, Peloponnese	Greece	Ca. 12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Günsenin 3/ Saraçhane 61 amphorae
No. 8 Dhia B=C, Crete	Greece	Ca. 12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Günsenin 3/ Saraçhane 61 amphorae
No. 9 Tartus	Syria	Ca. 12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Günsenin 3/ Saraçhane 61 amphorae (5000), amphora from Acre? (1)

Table 2. List of known shipwrecks containing Byzantine amphorae of ca. 12th to 13th c. mentioned in this article (J. Vroom).

FINDS OF TABLEWARES ON SHIPWRECKS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN			
Shipwreck	Location	Date	Finds
No. 1 Novy Svet, Sudak	Crimea, Black Sea	Ca. late 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Zeuxippus Ware, Zeuxippus Ware Derivatives, Late Slip-Painted Ware, GWW IV, Incised Sgraffito Ware, Cypriot Sgraffito and Slip-painted Wares, Roulette Ware, <i>Graffita arcaica tirrenica</i> , Port Saint Symeon Ware, Seljuk Painted Ware
No. 2 Çamaltı Burnu I Marmara Island	Western Turkey	Ca. mid 13 <sup>th</sup> -early 14 <sup>th</sup> c.	GWW IV, Incised Sgraffito Ware, Polychrome Sgraffito Wares
No. 10 Skopelos, N. Sporades	Greece	Ca. late 12 <sup>th</sup> -mid 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Incised Sgraffito Ware, Champlévé Ware
No. 11 Pelagonissos, N. Sporades	Greece	Ca. mid-late 12 <sup>th</sup> c.	Fine Sgraffito Ware, Painted Fine Sgraffito Ware
No. 12 Kavalliani, Euboia	Greece	Ca. late 12 <sup>th</sup> -early 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Slip-painted Ware, Fine Sgraffito Ware, Incised Sgraffito Ware
No. 13 Near Izmir	Western Turkey	Ca. late 12 <sup>th</sup> -mid 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Incised Sgraffito Ware, Champlévé Ware
No. 14 Kastellorizo, Dodecanese	Greece	Ca. late 12 <sup>th</sup> -mid 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Slip-painted Ware, Incised Sgraffito Ware, Champlévé Ware, Green Painted Ware
No. 15 Kumluca, Cape Gelidonya	Southwestern Turkey	Ca. 13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> c.	Late Byzantine Sgraffito Wares
No. 16 Göçük Burnu, Adrasan Bay	Southwestern Turkey	Ca. mid-late 12 <sup>th</sup> c.	Fine Sgraffito Ware, Painted Fine Sgraffito Ware
No. 17 Near Antalya	Southwestern Turkey	Ca. 2 <sup>nd</sup> half 12 <sup>th</sup> c.	Painted Fine Sgraffito Ware
No. 18 Tavşan adası, Bodrum	Southwestern Turkey	Ca. late 12 <sup>th</sup> -early 13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Fine Sgraffito Ware, Incised Sgraffito Ware, Slip-painted Ware, Brown Painted Ware
No. 19 North of Tyre	Lebanon	?	Glazed tablewares

Table 3. List of known shipwrecks containing Byzantine glazed tablewares of ca. 12th to 14th c. mentioned in this article (J. Vroom).

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**MERCHANTS  
AND  
THE MARKET  
IN  
CONSTANTINOPLE**

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# The Merchant of Constantinople

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The merchant of Constantinople was called Theodore. His story, a hagiographical miracle tale celebrating the icon of Christ Antiphonetes, is set in the reign of Heraclius (610–641) and the patriarchate of Sergios (609–638).<sup>1</sup> Theodore is characterized as a shipowner (*naukleros*) who engaged in long-distance trade. He had one remarkable thing in common with Antonio, the merchant of Venice in the eponymous play by William Shakespeare. Both merchants were driven to borrow large sums of money from wealthy Jews with whom they had previously refused to do business; both had difficulty repaying their loans, but both their stories had happy endings. Here, however, the similarity ends. Apart from the fact that they borrowed the money for different purposes —Theodore to finance a business venture, Antonio to pay for a friend’s marriage proposal— the Jews with whom they were dealing were very different characters. Unlike Shylock in Venice, Abraham in Constantinople did not demand a pound of his Christian debtor’s flesh if Theodore defaulted on his loan. He did not even charge interest. He only asked that Theodore should produce a guarantor (*antiphonetes*) to stand surety, and he hardly protested when Theodore took him before a public icon of Christ. Even after Theodore lost all his merchandise on the return voyage, Abraham readily agreed to a second loan, again in the presence of the icon of Christ the Guarantor. This time his trust and Theodore’s efforts were amply rewarded by a business trip to the British Isles in which, with the help of Christ the Guarantor, Theodore managed not only to repay his loan in advance of his

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<sup>1</sup> There is still no critical edition or collation of the Greek manuscript versions, most of which remain unpublished: BHG III, 112–13. I have used the edition of BHG 797 by F. Combefis, *Historia haeresis Monothelitarum sanctaeque in eam seytae synodi ctorum vindiciae, diversorum item antiqua ac medii aevi, tum historiae sacrae, tum docmata, Graeca opuscula* (Paris, 1648), 612–48. Cf. my earlier discussion in P. Magdalino, “Constantinopolitana,” in *AETOS: Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango presented to him on April 14 1998*, ed. I. Ševčenko and I. Hutter (Stuttgart, 1998), 220–32, at 220–27 [repr. in P. Magdalino, *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot, 2007), no. VIII].

return, but to return with a cargo of tin and lead that was miraculously transformed into silver during the voyage. This being hagiography, the emperor and patriarch celebrated the miracle, Theodore and his wife entered the monastic life, the silver was converted into revetment for Hagia Sophia, the building with the icon was converted into a church, and Abraham, having converted to Christianity, became the officiating priest.

Both the merchant of Venice and the merchant of Constantinople are literary creations. Of the two, Theodore of Constantinople is the more likely to have been a real historical person. Yet Antonio is the more realistic, not only because his story does not involve the hagiographical suspension of reality, but also because he is more typical of the society in which his story is set. Medieval and Renaissance Venice was sustained by and existed in order to sustain the careers of men like Antonio. Theodore, on the other hand, is a lonely figure in the written record of Byzantine Constantinople. He is the only merchant to feature as the protagonist in a Byzantine literary narrative, and he is the only merchant of Constantinople mentioned by name in any source before the late twelfth century. Indeed, mentions of Constantinople-based merchants in general are rare compared with references to traders coming to Constantinople from elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> The same is true of *naukleroi*, a term that could refer to traders, like Theodore, who operated their own ships, to shipowners who did not travel with their vessels (like Antonio), or to the captains of vessels belonging to others.<sup>3</sup> *Naukleroi* of all three types are not infrequently mentioned in legal and literary sources of the fourth to seventh centuries, mostly in connection with the provisioning of Constantinople.<sup>4</sup> Yet, apart from Theodore, only one of those whose provenance is recorded comes from Constantinople, and he makes only a fleeting, anonymous appearance in another hagiographical source of indeterminate date:<sup>5</sup> the others come from Alexandria,<sup>6</sup>

Antioch, Cilicia,<sup>7</sup> Rhodes,<sup>8</sup> Chios,<sup>9</sup> North Africa,<sup>10</sup> Ravenna<sup>11</sup> and Calabria.<sup>12</sup> The first and only mention of the *naukleroi* of Constantinople as a group comes at the beginning of the ninth century, in Theophanes' account of the financial vexations (*κακονοΐαι*) of the emperor Nikephoros I, to which we shall return.<sup>13</sup>

What then does the lonely literary figure of the merchant of Constantinople tell us about the commercial economy, and commercial society, of the Byzantine capital in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages? What does it mean that he was chosen to be the protagonist of a miracle story set in the early seventh century? Why has hagiography made him visible, and why is he hardly visible outside hagiography? Is he an anomaly, or a typical example of a normal social and economic phenomenon that has disappeared from the record with the loss of evidence? Why does he appear when he does — does his story reflect changing patterns, or a new importance, or a new interest, in Byzantine long-distance maritime trade in the early seventh century? Or does it reflect the concerns of a later age, the period when the story of Christ Antiphonetes acquired its final literary form?

The first point to be made is that we completely lack the contextual documentation that would enable us to estimate the reality and the normality of Theodore the *naukleros* as a social type in late antique Constantinople. It is perfectly possible that the two hagiographical examples are all that remain on record from a numerous and wealthy trading and shipping community that had flourished in Constantinople since its foundation. It is equally possible that they were the only ones of their kind, or even that Theodore was a hagiographical construct, invented for the story of a financial miracle. All that we know for certain about the long-distance trade of the new Roman capital in the first three centuries of its existence is that its main component, the state-imposed *annona* system that fed Constantinople with Egyptian grain, was operated as a fiscal obligation by shipowners based in Alexandria.<sup>14</sup> We know too that the transporters of some other

2 N. Oikonomides, "Le marchand byzantin des provinces (IXe-XIe s.)," *Mercati e mercanti nell'alto medioevo: l'area euroasiatica e l'area mediterranea*, *Settimane* 40 (Spoleto, 1993), 633–65; idem, "The Economic Region of Constantinople: From Directed Economy to Free Economy, and the Role of the Italians," in *Europa medievale e mondo bizantino*, ed. G. Arnaldi and G. Cavallo (Rome, 1997), 221–38.

3 H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966), 407.

4 J. Durliat, *De la ville antique à la ville byzantine. Le problème des subsistances* (Rome, 1990); M. McCormick, "Bateaux de vie, bateaux de mort. Maladie, commerce, transports annonaires et le passage économique du Bas-Empire au Moyen Âge," *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichità e Alto Medioevo*, *Settimane* 45 (Spoleto, 1998), 35–122, at 80–122; McCormick, *Origins*, 92–106.

5 F. Bovon and B. Bouvier, "La translation des reliques de saint Étienne le premier martyr," *AB* 131 (2013): 5–50, at 3: an episode set in the 5th century and involving the daughter of a *naukleros* living at Zeugma (Unkapanı) beside the Golden Horn.

6 McCormick, *Origins*, 104–10. For the sensation caused in the 4th century by the arrival of the Egyptian grain fleet, which caused the "the sea to be forested" (*δενδρουμένην τὴν θάλασσαν*) like an "ocean city" (*πόλιν πελάγιον*), see Gregory of Nazianzos, *Oration* 34, 7 and *passim*, ed. and trans. C. Moreschini and P. Gallay, *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 32–37*, SC 318 (Paris, 1985), 198–207, at 208–9. For the 6th century, see John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, trans. E. W. Brooks, *Iohannis Ephesini Historiae Ecclesiasticae Pars Tertia* (Leuven, 1936), I.33, pp. 30–31; idem, *Joannis Episcopi Ephesini Syri Monophysitae, Commentarii de Beatis Orientalibus et Historiae Ecclesiasticae Fragmenta*, trans. W. J. van Douwen and J. P. N. Land (Amsterdam, 1889), fragment H, 249.

7 A late 5th-century inscription from Abydos specifies that the *naukleroi* from Cilicia are to pay lower fees than other wine-importers to Constantinople: J. Durliat and A. Guillou, "Le tarif d'Abydos (vers 492)," *BCH* 108 (1984): 581–98; G. Dagron, "Un tarif des sportules à payer aux *curiosi* du port de Séleucie de Piérie (VIe siècle)," *TM* 9 (1985): 435–55, at 451–55; M. McCormick, "Movements and Markets in the First Millennium," in *Trade and Markets*, ed. Morrisson, 51–98, at 64. See also the donor's inscription on the mosaic floor of a church in Cilicia, recording the contribution by Paul the *naukleros*: L. Budde, *St Pantaleon von Aphrodisias in Kilikien* (Recklinghausen, 1988).

8 *Miracles of St Artemios*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia Graeca Sacra* (St Petersburg, 1909), no. 5, pp. 5–6; reprinted with English translation by V. S. Crisafulli and J. W. Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St Artemios* (Leiden, 1997), 84–87.

9 *Ibid.*, no. 35: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 55–57; Crisafulli and Nesbitt, 184–89.

10 *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1883–85), 1:296; 2:182; trans. C. Mango and R. Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor* (Oxford, 1997), 424; McCormick, "Bateaux," 97.

11 J. O. Tjader, *Die nichtliterarischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, 2 vols. (Stockholm, 1982), 1:147, 150; McCormick, "Bateaux," 96.

12 *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, vol. 1 (Paris, 1886), 344; V. Prigent, "Le rôle des provinces d'Occident dans l'approvisionnement de Constantinople (618–717)," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Âge*, 118 (2006): 269–99, at 295–98.

13 *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 1:486–87; trans. Mango and Scott, 667–68.

14 Above, notes 4 and 6; see also B. Sirks, *Food for Rome. The Legal Structure of the Transportation and Processing of Supplies for the Imperial Distribution in Rome and Constantinople* (Amsterdam, 1991).



basic commodities, like the wine of Cilicia, were based in the area of production.<sup>15</sup> It thus seems likely that Constantinople was supplied with its basic consumer needs by provincial *naukleroi*, who were then in a position to carry exports from Constantinople, or intermediate ports, on their return voyages —indeed they would have needed to stabilize their large, empty hulls with replacement cargoes. In this scenario, the role of the merchants of Constantinople, the *emporoi* who according to Procopius bought from the *naukleroi*, would have been limited to retail resale and regional redistribution.<sup>16</sup> The logic of the evidence thus suggests that a locally based, long-distance trader and shipper like Theodore the *naukleros* did not need to exist. However, absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, and we must beware of using it to construct a primitivist paradigm of Constantinople as the state-run consumer city that lacked a real market economy and a developed commercial sector.

It is nevertheless significant that Theodore the *naukleros* does not appear before the seventh century, at the very end of antiquity, when the long-distance trading economy of the Roman Mediterranean was undergoing significant shifts, mainly under the impact of the Persian and Arab invasions.<sup>17</sup> The *annona* supply was disrupted, and shifted from Egypt to North Africa and Sicily before ceasing entirely. The major port cities of the eastern and southern Mediterranean came under the control of hostile powers. At the same time, Constantinople developed a new export commodity, glazed white ceramic wares.<sup>18</sup> How exactly these developments affected the commercial economy of Constantinople is far from clear, but it is an interesting coincidence that in the seventh century, long-distance commercial shipping to and from Constantinople becomes visible as never before in Byzantine literature. In addition to the miracle of Christ Antiphonetes, we have the evidence of two other religious texts: the *Miracles of St Artemios*,<sup>19</sup> and the *Teaching of Jacob the newly baptized*, an anti-Jewish treatise set in Carthage.<sup>20</sup> It is particularly interesting that two of the ships mentioned —one of the three in the *Miracles of St Artemios*,<sup>21</sup> and the one that brought the eponymous protagonist in the *Teaching of Jacob* to North Africa<sup>22</sup> —originated in Constantinople and traded in the western Mediterranean. Jacob's story, like that of Theodore the *naukleros*, took place under Heraclius, and involved the conversion of a Jew; it also informs us about another Constantinopolitan export,

namely clothes —perhaps an indication that the silk garment industry was already well established in Constantinople by this time. Seen in the context of these other real, or at least realistic stories, the hagiographical construction of Theodore the *naukleros* does not seem completely isolated or improbable, and may well reflect the growing importance of Constantinople-based long-distance maritime trade in the seventh century. A further indirect indication of such growth may be seen in the large number of merchant vessels commandeered by Justinian II in 711 for his expedition against Cherson —an indication that the city's maritime community was substantial at a time when its overall population had undoubtedly declined.<sup>23</sup>

While the story of Theodore the *naukleros* may well reflect the reality of the seventh-century milieu in which it is set, it undoubtedly mirrors the concerns of the time and the milieu in which it was committed to writing. The published text, which is probably the oldest version, shows a palpable sense of distance from the age of Heraclius. The author does not appeal to the memory of readers who may have known the people and events of the story, nor does he anticipate the objections of skeptical contemporaries. In other words, the early seventh century was a safe, remote time in which to place an improbable miracle story. The silver revetment made from the miraculously transformed tin and lead is said to be still visible in Hagia Sophia, which suggests a substantial lapse of time. So too does the fact that Heraclius and the patriarch Sergios do not attract comment for their orthodoxy or lack of it, which would surely have been the case if the text had been written between 634 and c. 720, when Monothelism, the Christological doctrine they promoted, was a hot topic. The *terminus ante quem* is the reign of the empress Zoe (1028–1050), who was devoted to the icon of Christ Antiphonetes, and lavishly enlarged and endowed the chapel at the Chalkoprateia in which it was housed.<sup>24</sup> Most decisively, the fact that the hero of the hagiography is an icon points us towards the post-iconoclast era, and specifically to the immediate reaction against iconoclasm, when stories about miraculous icons were produced in order to prove the efficacy, the sanctity and the antiquity of icon veneration. Particularly significant is the fact that the icon stood in for the person of Christ, as the guarantor of a loan, and the author's remark that here Christ worked an even greater miracle through his icon than he had performed during his life on earth.<sup>25</sup> We are reminded of the practice, attested in two texts of the early ninth century, of using icons as godfathers, to stand surety in the baptism of infants.<sup>26</sup> This common motif of sponsorship allows us to associate the Antiphonetes legend with these texts, and to date the genesis of its written hagiography to the period between first and second iconoclasm (787–815).

15 Above, n. 7. For the other basic commodities, see J. Koder, "Maritime Trade and the Food Supply for Constantinople in the Middle Ages," in *Travel in the Byzantine World*, ed. R. Macrides (Aldershot, 2002), 109–24; for the practicalities of transport and marketing, mainly of wine, see McCormick, "Movements and Markets," passim.

16 Procopius, *Anecdota*, 25.8.

17 McCormick, "Bateaux," 115–16; McCormick, *Origins*, 109–19.

18 C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages. Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800* (Oxford, 2005), 782–83, 787, 789–90; L. Brubaker and J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680–850* (Cambridge, 2010), 496–97, 501.

19 See above, n. 8, and below, n. 20.

20 *Doctrina Jacobi*, trans. G. Dagron and V. Déroche, "Juifs et chrétiens dans l'Orient du VIIe siècle," *TM* 11 (1991): 17–273; repr. in G. Dagron and V. Déroche, *Juifs et chrétiens en Orient byzantin* (Paris, 2010).

21 Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., no. 27, pp. 39–40; repr. and trans. Crisafulli and Nesbitt, 152–55.

22 Dagron and Déroche, "Juifs et chrétiens," 70–73, 214–19.

23 *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 1:377; trans. Mango and Scott, 527.

24 Magdalino, "Constantinopolitana," 225.

25 Combefis, ed. (as n. 1), 612–13.

26 Theodore Stoudites, *Letters*, no. 17, ed. G. Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae epistulae*, 2 vols., CFHB 31 (Berlin-New York, 1992), 1:48–49; *Letter of Michael II and Theophilus to Louis the Pious*, in *MGH, Concilia*, III, 2, 2 (Hannover, 1908), 475–80, at 479.

The primary concern of the anonymous author was clearly to demonstrate the sanctity of a particular icon, as well as of icons in general. But was that all? Were he and his audience not also interested in the social types who placed their faith in the icon, and the type of transaction they were negotiating? Was it completely random that the principal beneficiary of the miracle was a *naukleros*, and that the benefit he received was a paid-off investment loan? Here we should note that the miracle story of Christ Antiphonetes is not only our unique source for a named Constantinopolitan shipowner, but also the only text, outside the Justinianic legislation and its derivatives, that refers to the type of credit facility known as an ἀντιφώνησις. It is clear from the Justinianic laws concerning bankers that an *antiphonesis* could be either a form of loan, or an insurance on a loan, which is evidently what Abraham required from Theodore and Theodore requested from the icon of Christ.<sup>27</sup>

There was one moment in Byzantine history when credit for maritime shipping made the headlines in Constantinople. This was in the reign of the emperor Nikephoros I (802–811), who among other controversial financial vexations (κακονοίαι), as chronicled by his contemporary Theophanes Confessor, forced the “illustrious” *nauklero*i of Constantinople to take out massive loans from the state at exorbitant rates of interest (more than 16 percent).<sup>28</sup> We have already seen that it was precisely at this time that the newly (and temporarily) victorious partisans of icon veneration were encouraging and defending sponsorship by icons. We might therefore be inclined to see the miracle story of Christ Antiphonetes as the church’s edifying response to the extortionate usury of the emperor Nikephoros: the example of a pious Christian *naukleros* saved from ruin by an interest-free loan insured by Christ and provided by a Jew, of all people. The very unrealism of the story then makes sense as a deliberate contrast to the reality of the relationship between the *nauklero*i of Constantinople and their principal creditor. At the same time, the story suggests an explanation for the very high rate of interest (more than 16 percent) charged by Nikephoros: this was meant to cover not only the loan itself, but also the insurance on the loan, which the government would then write off if the merchandise were lost or destroyed.

Whatever the connection, and despite the contrasts, between these two isolated glimpses of the Constantinopolitan *nauklero*i, each confirms the other’s evidence on one important point: they both portray the early medieval merchant of Constantinople as a figure with a high credit rating, who was capable of attracting large sums of capital

27 Justinian, Novels 4, 136 and Edict 9; cf. *Procheiron*, 16.10; *Eisagoge* 28.11. The Latin equivalent of ἀντιφώνησις in the Novels is *sponsor*. Neither the terminology, nor the question of insurance, or security provided by a third party, occur in the contemporary manual of sea law Νόμος Ῥοδίων ναυτικός, ed. W. Ashburner (Oxford, 1909). On banking in late antiquity, see most recently S. Cosentino, “Banking in Early Byzantine Ravenna,” *CRMH* 28 (2014): 243–54.

28 See above, n. 13. On the emperor’s economic policy, see Aik. Christophoropoulou, “Ἡ οἰκονομική καὶ δημοσιονομική πολιτική τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Νικηφόρου Αἰ,” in Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Κωνσταντίνου Ἀμάντου (Athens, 1960), 413–31; W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival 780–842* (Stanford, 1988), 149–52, 163–66, 190–92; N. Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance (IXe–XIe siècle)* (Athens, 1996), 27, 137–38.

investment. The evidence is brief but reliable and unambiguous. It has significant implications for our working paradigm of the Byzantine economy in the “Dark Age” crisis, and thus for our understanding of the material evidence that is emerging from under the ground at Yenikapı. It suggests that the status of merchants in society; the role of trade in the monetary and fiscal economy; the level of monetary exchange; the availability of capital; and the place of Constantinople in all this may have been more considerable than we have become conditioned to think.

Thus it may be useful to return to the hypothesis advanced earlier: that the political and territorial fragmentation of the Mediterranean world in the seventh century actually boosted the importance of Constantinople as an active center of distribution and exchange. It is against such a background, I believe, that we should view the contemporary investment in commerce, and that we should contextualize the high-interest loans imposed on the *nauklero*i of Constantinople by Nikephoros I. In the concluding part of my paper, I would like to examine the context and the significance of this measure. Like the other elements of Nikephoros’ financial policy, it has been much discussed in twentieth-century Byzantine scholarship, but it can benefit from further refinement of interpretation.

We owe our unusually detailed knowledge of Nikephoros’ financial policy to his contemporary Theophanes Confessor, who thoroughly detested him, largely on account of it. There can be little doubt that Theophanes reflected the widespread resentment at what was clearly a systematic effort to maximize state revenues and defense capability at the expense of all sectors of society. The emperor increased and extended taxation and other fiscal obligations, and intensified the government’s claims on and exploitation of other sources of revenue, such as treasure trove and property leases. Theophanes particularly highlights the measures that bore on the owners and farmers of agricultural land, but he also mentions others that targeted the urban rich, and he tells the story of a rich candle-maker, worth 100lb in gold, whom the emperor invited for lunch and relieved of 90 percent of his fortune.<sup>29</sup> This is probably not the whole story, and one wonders whether it was not an early instance of “rente d’État,” whereby socially insecure *nouveaux riches* could invest in social status, receiving a court title and a small annual allowance in return for a massive down payment.<sup>30</sup>

Theophanes lists ten “vexations” (*kakonoiai*) that were particularly oppressive. The first seven affected the agrarian economy, but the last three were to do with trade, and Theophanes cannot hide the fact that they involved benefits and incentives, as well as obligations, to the traders. Vexation no. 8 included the stipulation that all people buying domestic slaves “beyond Abydos, and especially in the Dodecanese” had to pay duty of 2 *nomismata* per slave; this obviously hurt the importers of slaves to Constantinople who avoided the customs post at the entrance to the Dardanelles, but at the same time

29 *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 1:487–88; trans. Mango and Scott, 668–69.

30 P. Lemerle, “‘Roga’ et rente d’État aux Xe–XIe siècles,” *REB* 25 (1967): 77–100.

it protected the interests of the merchants, and the shippers, who supplied the slave-market in the capital in the normal way.<sup>31</sup> In vexation no. 9, Nikephoros compelled “the coastal-dwelling *naukleroi*, especially those of Asia Minor, to buy the properties that he had seized at the price set by him;” the reference is to vexation no. 5, by which the emperor had confiscated “the best properties” from the imperial monasteries and the philanthropic foundations of Constantinople. Theophanes implies that Nikephoros’ concern was merely to make quick money on these properties by dumping them on seafarers who had no use for farming. However, it is unthinkable that the emperor was not also concerned for the future profitability of the landholdings in question. The obvious fact about these properties is that they must have been prime agricultural land, and, since they were sold for exploitation by seafarers, they must have been situated near the coast. Thus they would have produced foodstuffs for export to consumer markets, the most important of which was, of course, Constantinople. In other words, Nikephoros was obliging the shipowners of Asia Minor to own the production of the produce that they —who else?— transported to Constantinople. Ownership of the means of production not only gave them the economic incentive to maximize production; it also consolidated their social status. They were clearly more than mere sailors since they had the cash resources to purchase top-class arable land formerly belonging to elite domains. Theophanes does not describe them as members of village communities. Nikephoros was in effect creating, or consolidating, a class of shipowning landowners reminiscent of the *navicularii-possessores* of Late Antique Alexandria.<sup>32</sup> It is possible, then, that the emperor was contributing to a revival and relocation of the former state *annona* system.<sup>33</sup> This possibility is strengthened by the evidence of the well-known letter of Ignatios the Deacon, concerning some *naukleroi* who were involved in the state transport of grain, although these men were clearly no more than the sailors who operated the vessels — captains rather than shipowners.<sup>34</sup>

If the activity of the provincial *naukleroi* affected by Nikephoros’ ninth vexation was fiscally rather than commercially driven, this does not appear to have been the case with the Constantinopolitan *naukleroi* of vexation no. 10, to which we now come. The passage in Theophanes reads as follows: “His tenth measure was to convene the foremost shipowners of Constantinople and give each a loan of 12lb of gold at a rate of interest of 4 *keratia* to the *nomisma* on top of the usual customs dues to which they were liable.”<sup>35</sup>

Loans of this kind can only have been for commercial transactions in high-value goods that could be expected to return a final profit of at least 20 percent. We can only guess at the nature of the commodities involved: silk and ceramics for export, perhaps, and slaves for import, as suggested by vexation no. 8, but why not also luxury goods bought on the markets of Syria and Egypt? It seems reasonable to infer that, as with the *naukleroi* of Asia Minor, Nikephoros was pushing those of Constantinople not only to produce cash for the treasury, but also to increase their fortunes, in this case by long-distance trade, and to consolidate their social status. The question that now arises is: what exactly was their status, and when did it originate?

Theophanes describes the *naukleroi* convened by Nikephoros as ἐπισήμους, literally “distinguished.”<sup>36</sup> Previous scholarship has not commented on this wording, which, it is assumed, refers to the importance of these *naukleroi* relative to others in Constantinople; thus the translation “foremost” by Mango and Scott. While this reading is perfectly acceptable, we should consider whether *episemos* does not have a more specific meaning. It was undoubtedly meant to distinguish shipowners from ships’ captains (both *naukleroi* in Greek). Could it even refer to shipowners who were distinguished by their social rank, as holders of court titles? The idea does not seem absurd in the light of what was happening to the provincial shipowners, and it is not contradicted by the story of the later emperor Theophilos (829–842) and his angry reaction on learning that a big merchant ship that he had seen entering the Bosphoros belonged to his wife Theodora.<sup>37</sup> What this story shows is that the empress did not share the emperor’s view that to be a *naukleros* was to belong to an ignoble profession. As we shall see, Theodora may well have been following a precedent set by her predecessor Eirene, whom she was also to follow in restoring the veneration of icons.<sup>38</sup> And it is worth noting that Theodora was apparently not the only female shipowner in Constantinople during Theophilos’ reign. One of the stories that circulated about the emperor’s famous passion for justice told how he had executed the head of his household staff, the chamberlain Nikephoros, for having seized a “very large ship” belonging to a certain widow, with all its cargo.<sup>39</sup> This anecdote suggests that Theophilos’ anger at his own wife’s shipowning venture may have been motivated by a general concern that the members of his entourage should not take unfair advantage of their power and privilege to appropriate the sources of wealth that rightly belonged to the merchant elite.

31 *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 1:487; trans. Mango and Scott, 668; cf. Y. Rotman, *Les esclaves et l’esclavage. De la Méditerranée antique à la Méditerranée médiévale, VIe-XIe siècles* (Paris, 2004), 108. See Youval Rotman in this volume.

32 Durliat, *De la ville antique*, 80–89.

33 W. Brandes, *Finanzverwaltung in Krisenzeiten. Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Administration im 6.-9. Jahrhundert*, *Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte* 25 (Frankfurt, 2002), 493–98.

34 See *The Correspondence of Ignatios the Deacon*, trans. C. Mango with S. Efthymiadis, CFHB 39 (Washington, D.C., 1997), no. 21, pp. 68–71.

35 *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 1:487: “τοὺς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐπισήμους ναυκλήρους συναγαγὼν δέδωκεν ἐπὶ τόκῳ τετρακεράτῳ τὸ νόμισμα ἀνὰ χρυσίων λιτρῶν δώδεκα τελούντας καὶ τὰ συνήθη κομμέτρια.”

36 *Insignis* in the Latin translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius: *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 2:326.

37 The emperor complained that the empress had “made him a *naukleros*”: *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 88–89, 628 (Pseudo-Symeon); Joseph Genesios, *Iosephi Genesii regum libri quattuor*, ed. A. Lesmueller-Werner and H. Thurn, CFHB 14 (Berlin-New York, 1978), 53; John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. H. Thurn, CFHB 5 (Berlin-New York, 1973), 51; John Zonaras, *Epitomae historiarum*, vol. 3, ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst (Bonn, 1897), 357–58 (who adds the detail that the ship brought a cargo from Syria).

38 On Theodora, see J. Herrin, *Women in Purple. Rulers of Medieval Byzantium* (London, 2001), 185–239.

39 *Patria of Constantinople*, 3.28: ed. Th. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1907), 223–24; repr. and trans. A. Berger, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople. The Patria* (Cambridge, MA and London, 2013), 150–52.

Whatever it was that distinguished the shipowning elite of Constantinople in the early ninth century, whether wealth or social rank or both, it clearly predated the investments they received from Nikephoros I. They were already “notable” in the preceding reign of the empress Eirene (780–802).<sup>40</sup> Several circumstantial facts about Eirene suggest that she may have had trading interests. She possessed a very large personal fortune in cash at the time of her deposition.<sup>41</sup> She built and lived in a palace at *ta Eleutheriou*, on the eastern side of the harbor of Theodosios,<sup>42</sup> where the Yenikapi excavations have uncovered, in the eastern part of the port, a large stone pier datable, from the dendrochronology of one of its preserved wooden components, to the years after 797.<sup>43</sup> The palace was part of a large complex that included workshops.<sup>44</sup> Finally, she came from a leading family in Athens, one of the main coastal cities in one of the empire’s most important maritime provinces, the theme of Hellas.<sup>45</sup>

The empress Eirene thus emerges as a major lead in the investigation, and the lead takes us back to the emperor Constantine V (741–775), who had arranged her marriage to his son, the future emperor Leo IV, in 769.<sup>46</sup> So Constantine V had forged the imperial government’s close connection with Athens. This initiative is unlikely to have been unconnected with an earlier policy measure of the same emperor linking Constantinople with the maritime world of the Aegean. In 747, Constantinople was badly hit by the last major outbreak of the “Justinianic” plague, and at some point between then and 754, Constantine V replenished the city’s population with families brought from the Aegean islands, central Greece, and the Peloponnese.<sup>47</sup> These families, particularly those from the islands, must have lived by seafaring and related activities. It is likely that Constantine offered them material and social incentives to make the transfer attractive. What seems clear is that the communities from which they came were relatively prosperous and populous, and that by bringing them to Constantinople, Constantine V was consciously building up the business sector of the city. Without prosopographical data, it is impossible

to draw firm conclusions, but it is a reasonable conjecture that the shipowning elite of Nikephoros I’s tenth vexation resulted from the demographic policy of Constantine V.

More generally, the brief stage appearance of the merchant of Constantinople at the beginning of the ninth century was the result of many factors, but high on the list were the efforts of reforming emperors like Constantine V and Nikephoros I to revitalize and to re-monetarize the fiscal economy. Why the *naukleroi* of Constantinople then disappear from the sources in the more prosperous centuries that followed is another story, and an even more intriguing puzzle.

<sup>40</sup> On whom, see Herrin, *Women in Purple*, 51–129.

<sup>41</sup> *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 1:466–67, 477–78; trans. Mango and Scott, 641, 656–57.

<sup>42</sup> *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 1:467, 472, 478; trans. Mango and Scott, 641, 648, 656. This was possibly a rebuilding of the Palace of the *nobilissima* Arcadia; part of the residential complex later became the Myrelaion, the house and later monastic foundation of Romanos Lekapenos, whose church survives as the Bodrum Camii; Magdalino, *Studies* (as n. 1), I, 23–25; III, 216–17; P. Niewöhner, “Der frühbyzantinische Rundbau beim Myrelaion in Konstantinopel. Kapitelle, Mosaiken und Ziegelstempel,” *IstMitt* 60 (2010): 411–59; *The Life of St Basil the Younger*, trans. D. F. Sullivan, A.-M. Talbot, S. McGrath (Washington, D.C., 2014), 332–33 and n. 105.

<sup>43</sup> See P. I. Kuniholm, C. I. Pearson, T. I. Ważnzy, C. B. Briggs, “Of Harbors and Trees: The Marmaray Contribution to a 2367-Year Oak-Tree-Ring Chronology from 97 Sites for the Aegean, East Mediterranean, and Black Seas,” in *Istanbul and Water*, ed. P. Magdalino and N. Ergin, *Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Supplement* 47 (Leuven 2015), 47–90, at 63–64.

<sup>44</sup> *Patria of Constantinople*, 3:173; ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, 2:269; repr. and trans. Berger, *Accounts*, 210; Magdalino, *Studies*, I, 23–25; Herrin, *Women in Purple*, 102–3.

<sup>45</sup> Herrin, *Women in Purple*, 51–58.

<sup>46</sup> *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 1:444; trans. Mango and Scott, 613.

<sup>47</sup> *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 1:429; trans. Mango and Scott, 593.

# Constantinople as Commercial Transit Center, Tenth to Mid-Fifteenth Century

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The common emphasis in the study of Constantinople's economy in the Byzantine period is on the city as consumption center. Its function as transit station is recognized, yet has not attracted the attention it deserves and has not been investigated so far. Constantinople's geographic location at the juncture of the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the Balkans and Asia Minor ensured the continuous transit of merchants, goods and ships. However, it is the conjunction of political, demographic and economic developments that determined the nature, origin, and destination of goods, as well as the evolving patterns, rhythm, and volume of transit. As a result, the contribution of transit to the city's economy varied widely from the tenth to the mid-fifteenth century.

It is fitting to begin this brief discussion of transit with some macro-economic considerations. Polybius, the Greek historian of the second century BCE, provides an important insight into the function of the city of Byzantium around 220 BCE. The city sought to control the movement of goods between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean and to maximize its revenues from its functions as entrepôt and transit station. Honey, wax, salt fish, grain, cattle and slaves were shipped from the Black Sea, which in turn imported from the Mediterranean olive oil, wine, as well as grain in case of shortage.<sup>1</sup> Polybius dealt with the Black Sea from a Mediterranean perspective and did not take into account the exchange of goods between the borderlands of that region, the economies of which were to some extent complementary, nor east-west trade across the Bosphoros.

The economic parameters of trade and transit recorded by Polybius remained more or less unchanged until the fourth century CE. The foundation of Constantinople as capital of the Roman Empire and the rapid increase in its population that followed generated important developments. Despite a demographic slump beginning with the plague of 542

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<sup>1</sup> V. Gabrielsen, "Trade and Tribute: Byzantium and the Black Sea Straits," in *The Black Sea in Antiquity: Regional and Interregional Economic Exchanges*, ed. V. Gabrielsen and J. Lund (Aarhus, 2007), 287-324.

and extending until the ninth century, the city remained a major consumption center. Until 1204 the economy of the empire's provinces was largely geared to its supply in foodstuffs, wine, raw materials, semi-finished and finished goods, as well as in private and state revenue. Basic supplies came from neighboring regions, yet the city's provisioning also required medium and long-distance transportation by land and by sea from more remote Byzantine provinces, as well as from foreign lands.<sup>2</sup> Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Constantinople in the early 1160s, was told that "each year all the tribute from the whole country of Greece [= the empire] is brought" to Constantinople "and towers are filled with it, with silk and purple garments and gold."<sup>3</sup> Between 1183 and 1185 the metropolitan of Athens, Michael Choniates, reminded the citizens of Constantinople that the provinces were feeding them and that "Theban and Corinthian fingers" wove their garments.<sup>4</sup> We may safely assume that most goods reaching Constantinople were absorbed by the urban market, and only a relatively small portion of them pursued their journey beyond the city.

To a large extent the Black Sea and the Mediterranean were separate commercial spaces, distinguished by their particular commodities, trade system, and shipping networks. This feature was strengthened by imperial control stations at Hieron, located at the mouth of the Black Sea, and at Abydos in the Dardanelles.<sup>5</sup> At their juncture Constantinople served as destination or point of departure for trade and shipping ventures in one or the other region. This is well illustrated by the simultaneous trading of merchants from the Black Sea and the Mediterranean in Constantinople, both Byzantines and foreigners. Rus bypassing intermediaries in the Crimea and Bulgars increasingly traded in Constantinople in the course of the tenth century.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, Constantinople

was the final destination of Venetian and Amalfitan merchants at that time. In the eleventh century, though, some Rus and Georgian merchants traveled beyond the city to Ephesos, and a small number of Italian merchants were operating in the Black Sea.<sup>7</sup> In the early 1160s Benjamin of Tudela noted the merchants "from the land of Babylon, (...) the land of Egypt, (...) and the empire of Russia, from Hungaria, Patzinakia, Khazaria, and the land of Lombardy and Sepharad (...), and merchants come to it [= Constantinople] with goods from every country by sea or by land."<sup>8</sup> As a result, the goods they brought changed hands before pursuing their journey beyond the city. The contribution of Byzantine merchants and ships to transit trade in Constantinople in the tenth to twelfth centuries is hardly documented, yet was undoubtedly far more decisive than the involvement of foreigners. Among the merchants from Trebizond traveling in the early eleventh century to Constantinople some pursued their voyage to Syria and even resided there for extended periods.<sup>9</sup>

From the late tenth century a sizeable quantity of amphoras originally containing wine or oil traveled from the Black Sea northward as far as Novgorod and neighboring rural communities.<sup>10</sup> A vessel dated by Byzantine coins to around 1080, found in the Bay of Sudak in southeastern Crimea, carried two types of Günsemin amphoras originally containing Ganos wine from the Sea of Marmara.<sup>11</sup> Ships transporting amphoras filled with wine from the region of the Sea of Marmara or the Mediterranean provinces of the empire or olive oil from the latter may have transited through Constantinople on their way to the Black Sea, yet at times must have sailed directly through the Bosphoros, especially when loaded exclusively with these commodities. The transshipment and re-stacking of ceramic vessels on board ships required a larger labor input and was more expensive than for other containers.

Beginning in the second half of the ninth century additional commodities joined those traditionally transiting through Constantinople. Trebizond, at the crossroads of Byzantine, Armenian and Muslim states and commercial routes, acted from that time

2 Among the numerous studies dealing with the city's supply, see J. Koder, *Gemüse in Byzanz. Die Versorgung Konstantinopels mit Frischgemüse im Lichte der Geoponika* (Vienna, 1993), esp. 67-73; idem, "Maritime Trade and the Food Supply for Constantinople in the Middle Ages," in *Travel in the Byzantine World*, ed. R. Macrides (Aldershot, 2002), 109-24; A. E. Laiou, "Regional Networks in the Balkans in the Middle and Late Byzantine Period," in *Trade and Markets*, ed. Morrisson, 127-35, on Thrace; M. Gerolymatou, "Le commerce, VIIe-XVe siècle," in *La Bithynie au Moyen Âge*, ed. B. Geyer and J. Lefort (Paris, 2003), 485-89; D. Jacoby, "Mediterranean Food and Wine for Constantinople: The Long-Distance Trade, Eleventh to Mid-Fifteenth Century," in *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert)*, ed. E. Kislinger, J. Koder, and A. Külzer (Vienna, 2010), 127-47.

3 *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. M. N. Adler (London, 1907), Hebrew, 15; here my own translation. For the dating of Benjamin's sojourn in Byzantium, see D. Jacoby, "Benjamin of Tudela and his 'Book of Travels,'" in *Venezia incrocio di culture. Percezioni di viaggiatori europei e non europei a confronto. Atti del convegno Venezia, 26-27 gennaio 2006*, ed. K. Herbers and F. Schmieder (Rome, 2008), 145-47 [repr. in D. Jacoby, *Travellers, Merchants and Settlers across the Mediterranean, Eleventh-Fourteenth Centuries* (Farnham, 2014), no. II].

4 *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. F. Kolovou (Berlin-New York, 2001), 68-70, epist. 50.

5 N. Oikonomides, "The Economic Region of Constantinople: From Directed Economy to Free Economy, and the Role of the Italians," in *Europa medievale e mondo bizantino. Contatti effettivi e possibilità di studi comparati*, ed. G. Arnaldi and G. Cavallo (Rome, 1997), 227-28.

6 On the Rus: J. Shepard, "Constantinople - Gateway to the North: the Russians," in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, ed. Mango and Dagron, 243-60; idem, "From the Bosphoros to the British Isles: The Way from the Greeks to the Varangians," in *Drevneishie Gosudarstva Vostochnoi Evropy 2009 god*, ed. T. N. Jackson (Moscow, 2010), 15-22. On the Bulgars' trade, see also McCormick, *Origins*, 605. On the Amalfitans: D. Jacoby,

"Amalfitani in Bizanzio, nel Levante e in Egitto (secc. X-XIII)," in *Interscambi socio-culturali ed economici fra le città marinare d'Italia et l'Occidente dagli osservatori mediterranei*, ed. B. Figliuoli and P. Simbula (Amalfi, 2014), 90-95.

7 On Rus and Georgian merchants in Ephesos: S. Vryonis Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971), 10; on Italian trading in the Black sea before 1204, see below.

8 *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. Adler, Hebrew, 14, English trans., 12.

9 N. Oikonomides, "Le marchand byzantin des provinces (IXe-XIe s.)," in *Mercati e mercanti nell'alto medioevo: l'area euroasiatica e l'area mediterranea* (Spoleto, 1993), 653.

10 See above, n. 6, the two studies by Shepard.

11 Some of them were found sealed with their original pine cork stoppers: S. Zelenko, "Shipwrecks of the 9th-11th Centuries in the Black Sea near Soldaya," in *Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Cerámica Medieval en el Mediterráneo, Ciudad Real - Almagro 2006*, ed. J. Zozaya, M. Retuerce, M. A. Hervás and A. de Juan (Ciudad Real, 2009), 237-39. On Günsemin amphoras dated to the 11th-13th centuries at Cherson, see A. Rabinowitz, L. Sedikowa, and R. Henneberg, "Daily Life in a Provincial Late Byzantine City: Recent Multidisciplinary Research in the South Region of Tauric Chersonesos (Cherson)," in *Byzanz, das Römerreich im Mittelalter, Teil 2,1, Schauplätze*, ed. F. Daim and J. Drauschke (Mainz, 2010), 450-51.

as maritime outlet of oriental spices, a medieval generic term for food condiments, aromatics and dyestuffs mostly originating in southern and eastern Asia.<sup>12</sup> However, Trebizond lost its function as main supplier of spices to the empire in the first half of the eleventh century, as a result of a major shift in the westward flow of these costly goods. Spices were increasingly diverted from the Persian Gulf, plagued by political instability, to the Red Sea, and Alexandria, with the support of its Fatimid rulers, became the main Mediterranean outlet and market for these oriental commodities.<sup>13</sup>

The re-orientation of the spice trade had a profound impact upon the Black Sea and the Mediterranean trade systems. It limited the range, volume and value of goods exported from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean via Constantinople. The empire became increasingly dependent upon Egypt for the supply of spices. Byzantine purchases, some massive, are documented from 1035 onward.<sup>14</sup> Rich Byzantine merchants from Constantinople visited Cairo in 1102 in a way that implies continuous trading.<sup>15</sup> Egyptian merchants operating in the Byzantine capital were presumably also involved in the supply of spices to the city. They must have resided in the *mitaton* or caravanserai situated along the Golden Horn in which 'Syrian' traders were housed in the early tenth century or somewhat earlier, and which was destroyed by fire in 1203.<sup>16</sup> Byzantine merchants handled commodities imported from the Black Sea or manufactured from raw materials imported from that region to Constantinople to finance their purchases in Egypt. Baltic amber looms large among the jewelry of Jewish women in Egypt, especially from the late eleventh century, and was apparently much in demand in that country.<sup>17</sup> Byzantine merchants also exported to Egypt silk textiles woven in Constantinople of fibers presumably originating in Asia Minor and possibly also in Georgia in the Caucasus.<sup>18</sup>

The skewed Eurocentric interpretation of the sparse documentation regarding Italian merchants and maritime carriers, primarily notary charters, and the absence of similar Byzantine sources has produced an inflated assessment of the Italian role in Byzantine trade before 1204. There has been much debate about whether the Italians were free to trade in the Black Sea in the twelfth century, or whether Byzantium imposed a partial or complete ban on their operations in that region until the Fourth Crusade, in order to ensure the supply of specific commodities to Constantinople. A closure would have implied that the Latin conquest of the city in 1204 opened the Black Sea to the Italians.

There is no direct or indirect evidence of a closure. A few years ago I argued that in 1169 emperor Manuel I did not ban Genoese merchants from trading in the Black Sea. Rather, he apparently prohibited Genoese ships from loading grain in the region along the western and northern shore of the Black Sea as far as the Sea of Azov. These Genoese ships appear to have sailed directly to their home port without anchoring in Constantinople. The purpose of the imperial ban, then, was to enable control over grain exports and prevent the Genoese from evading transshipment in the city and taxation on exports. The Byzantine ban could be implemented since the empire exercised some control over navigation along the stretch of coast mentioned in 1169. Bulgaria, a major source of grain, was under Byzantine rule following its conquest by emperor Basil II in 1018. No similar ban was imposed on the Venetians, presumably because they did not export grain from the Black Sea.<sup>19</sup> It would seem that the volume and variety of Black Sea goods the Italians wished to acquire did not warrant continuous trading and navigation in that region. At best they operated there on a limited scale before 1204. In sum, western merchants purchased most goods traded in that region from middlemen in Constantinople.<sup>20</sup> We may safely assume that until the late twelfth century maritime trade and shipping supplying Constantinople were largely in the hands of Byzantine subjects, although the Italians acquired a growing share in their Mediterranean networks.<sup>21</sup>

Important macro-economic developments affecting Constantinople's economy and role in transit trade took place in the first half of the thirteenth century. A major shift occurred in the urban economy following the Latin conquest of the city in 1204. It was generated by several inter-related factors: the contraction of its population, economic activity, local consumption and market demand, the absence of capital inflow in cash and goods from the provinces, and the lack of investments in luxury manufacture, which

12 Vryonis Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*, 15–16; Oikonomides, "Le marchand byzantin des provinces," 653–54; B. Martin-Hisard, "Trébizonde et le culte de Saint Eugène (6e-11e s.)," *REArm* 14 (1980): 336–39; McCormick, *Origins*, 589.

13 D. Jacoby, "Byzantine Trade with Egypt from the Mid-Tenth Century to the Fourth Crusade," *Thesaurismata* 30 (2000): 30–31 [repr. in D. Jacoby, *Commercial Exchange across the Mediterranean: Byzantium, the Crusader Levant, Egypt and Italy* (Aldershot, 2005), no. I]; also in J. Shepard, *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe: Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia* (Aldershot, 2007), 107–59].

14 Jacoby, "Byzantine Trade with Egypt," 42–45.

15 Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, trans. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1969–1980), 5:351–52.

16 S. W. Reinert, "The Muslim Presence in Constantinople, 9th–15th Centuries: Some Preliminary Observations," in *Studies in the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. H. Ahrweiler and A. E. Laiou (Washington, D.C., 1998), 112–13. See P. Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," in P. Magdalino, *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot, 2007), no. I, 98, for the dating of its establishment.

17 S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1967–1993), 4:207–8, 217–21. Baltic amber has been found in an occupation layer of the first half of the 9th century at Amorium, in Phrygia: A. M. Shedrinsky and C. S. Lightfoot, "A Byzantine Amber Bead," in *Amorium Reports 3: The Lower City Enclosure. Finds Reports and Technical Studies*, ed. C. S. Lightfoot and E. A. Ivison (Istanbul, 2012), 451–53. My thanks to C. S. Lightfoot for supplying that information. The amber must have transited through Constantinople.

18 There is no record regarding the origin of the silk imported to Constantinople before 1204, yet we may assume that it mainly came from western Asia Minor, a region in which extensive sericulture is attested for the 13th century: D. Jacoby, "The Silk Trade of Late Byzantine Constantinople," in *550th Anniversary of*

*the Istanbul University. International Byzantine and Ottoman Symposium (XVth century) (30-31 May 2003)*, ed. S. Atasoy (Istanbul, 2004), 135. For Georgia, by see below, 200.

19 In 1171 the Genoese government instructed its envoy to the imperial court to obtain the right to sail to the Sea of Azov, a right enjoyed by the Venetians: *Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*, ed. C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo (Rome, 1936–1942), 2:115, n. 1, col. 2.

20 For the last two paragraphs, see D. Jacoby, "Byzantium, the Italian Maritime Powers, and the Black Sea before 1204," *BZ* 100 (2007): 677–99.

21 D. Jacoby, "Venetian Commercial Expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean, 8th–11th centuries," in *Byzantine Trade, 4th–12th Centuries. The Archaeology of Local, Regional and International Exchange*, ed. M. Munell Mango (Farnham, 2009), 376–80, 386–89; Jacoby, "Byzantine Trade with Egypt," 47–61.

prevented its revival after 1204. As a result, the exchange, transit and transshipment of goods in the framework of medium and long-distance trade and transportation between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean acquired growing importance and became the basic factor sustaining the operation of the city's economy. The demographic contraction caused by the Black Death in 1347-1348 and recurrent bouts of plague that followed further diminished local consumption and boosted the city's role in transit.<sup>22</sup>

The partial reconversion of the urban economy began soon after the Fourth Crusade. It was stimulated by economic growth initiated shortly after and accelerated from the 1240s, despite the worsening political, territorial and financial condition of the Latin Empire in the last two decades of its existence. The consolidation of Mongol rule over vast territories reaching the Black Sea, achieved by 1240, made an important contribution to that process.<sup>23</sup> A convergence of interests linked Italian merchants to Mongol rulers eager to increase their commercial profits and fiscal revenue and to purchase specific luxury commodities. Secure conditions stimulated the flow of goods and the trading of western merchants in their territories across Asia and Eastern Europe.<sup>24</sup> The full integration of the commercial networks of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea achieved in the second half of the thirteenth century, the early Palaiologan period, was to last for about two centuries. It had a strong impact upon the transit function of Constantinople.

Mongol rule was a major factor in the development of a "globalized" trading system, whose main features were an increase in the assortment of commodities traded over long distances, the intensification of exchanges, and a greater connectivity and economic interdependence between remote regions. Yet the security offered by Mongol states alone would not have enabled the development of the 'globalized' trading without additional factors, namely a growing purchasing power and market demand, an increase in the volume and value of goods available for exchange, both in the West and in the East, and the presence of western merchants and commercial agents settled in Constantinople and around the Black Sea or operating there over several years.

Genoa and Venice concluded treaties with Byzantine emperors and Mongol rulers to further the trading of their nationals in a broad range of commodities and consolidate their outposts and colonies along the seashore of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.<sup>25</sup>

22 M.-H. Congourdeau, "La Peste Noire à Constantinople de 1348 à 1466," *Medicina nei Secoli, Arte e scienza. Journal of History of Medicine* 11.2 (1999): 377-89.

23 D. Jacoby, "The Economy of Latin Constantinople, 1204-1261," in *Urbs capta. The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences. La IV<sup>e</sup> Croisade et ses conséquences*, ed. A. E. Laiou (Paris, 2005), 195-214 [repr. in Jacoby, *Travellers*, no. VII].

24 T. T. Allsen, "Mongolian Princes and their Merchant Partners," *Asia Major*, 3rd. series 2 (1989): 83-126; idem, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge, 2001), 41-50.

25 N. Di Cosmo, "Mongols and Merchants on the Black Sea Frontier in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Convergences and Conflicts," in *Mongols, Turks, and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World*, ed. R. Amitai (Leiden-Boston, 2005), 391-424. Di Cosmo unduly focuses on grain supplies as the main motivation of Genoa's and Venice's state intervention (ibid., 101), overlooking thereby the large range of commodities traded by their nationals. Individual Venetians already traded in Black Sea grain before the famine of 1268 (see below), which prompted state intervention, and Venetian state galleys sailing to the Black Sea from

Yet as maritime powers they refrained from engaging in political action beyond maritime regions, in accordance with their general policy overseas. The increasing number of western settlers, the establishment of commercial outposts in Soldaia and Caffa in the Crimea, Tana at the mouth of the Don river, Trebizond in northeastern Anatolia and some other Black Sea ports, and the growing reliance on stationary agents, including in Constantinople, enabled a better monitoring of markets, the movement of goods, transportation means, monies and people, and of fluctuations in demand and supply. In sum, the conjunction of individual initiative and state intervention boosted the function of Constantinople as pivotal transit station and as information center. Already by 1260 Marco Polo's father Niccolò and uncle Matteo could rely on the advice of experienced Venetian merchants operating in Constantinople and the Black Sea. The Polo brothers sold in Constantinople the goods they had brought from Venice and purchased precious stones. They then sailed to Soldaia, where they stayed for some time and apparently obtained further advice from local Latin merchants before proceeding into Mongol territory.<sup>26</sup>

Undue importance has been ascribed to the penetration of Western merchants into Asia, in a skewed Eurocentric perspective. Merchants proceeding from the Black Sea to China, as described around 1340 by the Florentine Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, were clearly a minority.<sup>27</sup> Trans-Asian trade was overwhelmingly conducted by Asian merchants and intermediaries who operated in a series of closely interlocked and partly overlapping regional networks, both before and after the political turmoil of the 1340s put an end to the so-called *Pax Mongolica*.<sup>28</sup> The operation of the 'globalized' economic network was maintained after the 1340s, and in its framework Western merchants continued to trade in Mongol territories, though in a more limited geographic range and volume than earlier. Constantinople's function as transit station was even boosted after western merchants left the Persian city of Tabriz in 1336 and Mamluk Egypt conquered Ayas in Cilician Armenia in the following year, developments that enhanced the flow of goods from Persia via Trebizond to Constantinople and the West.<sup>29</sup> Admittedly, after the 1340s the number of Venetian state galleys sailing to the Black Sea declined, yet remained more or less stable from the 1380s until 1452.<sup>30</sup>

the early 14th century (see below), an important instrument of state policy in that region, carried various commodities, yet no grain.

26 Marco Polo, *Il Milione*, ed. L. F. Benedetto (Florence, 1928), 4, pars. II-III; D. Jacoby, "Marco Polo, His Close Relatives, and His Travel Account: Some New Insights," *MHR* 21 (2006): 194-96.

27 F. B. Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 21-23.

28 Di Cosmo (see above, n. 26) considers that the regional pattern of trade was a new development after the 1340s, yet it must have been a constant feature. Though later by a century, it is well illustrated by the trading account of a Persian merchant from Shiraz who, after traveling to Urgench and Saray, returned home after two years: W. Hinz, "Ein orientalisches Handelsunternehmen im 15. Jahrhundert," *Die Welt des Orients* 4 (1949): 313-40, see above n. 25.

29 L. Petech, "Les marchands italiens dans l'empire mongol," *JA* 250 (1962): 569-70, on Tabriz and Trebizond.

30 D. Stöckly, *Le système de l'incanto des galées du marché à Venise (fin XIIIe-milieu XVe siècle)* (Leiden-New York-Köln, 1995), 101-19.



As noted above, the growth in purchasing power and demand both in the West and in the East was reflected by a broader variety and an increase in the volume of commodities transiting through Constantinople from the first half of the thirteenth century onward. The geographic range of imports was also more extensive. Some of the commodities transiting via Constantinople originated in Asia, others in the West. Among the former we find alum, a mineral used on a large scale in the expanding textile industries of the West, which heavily depended on its supply for the fixing of dyestuffs on textile fibers. Alum was also used in the processing of animal skins, and marginally in medicine. Much attention has been paid to the mining of alum in Phokaia, on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor, by the Genoese Zaccaria family from around 1264. However, alum was already extracted by the 1240s at Koloneia, in northeastern Asia Minor. The Seljuks built a large fortress nearby, and the remnants of at least five caravanserais have been found between Koloneia and Kerasous, a port of the Black Sea some seventy-five km west of Trebizond included in the Greek state of that name, from where alum was shipped. The alum of Koloneia, sometimes called ‘alum of Trebizond,’ was the best brand of the mineral mined in Asia Minor. Pegolotti mentioned it around 1340 among the types of alum available in Constantinople, from where it sailed to the West.<sup>31</sup>

Silk fiber was another industrial commodity shipped from the Black Sea to the West from the first half of the thirteenth century onward, yet contrary to alum it partly originated in regions remote from the Black Sea. The silk from Georgia in the Caucasus recorded in the Italian city of Lucca in 1256 had presumably traveled via Constantinople.<sup>32</sup> From the late thirteenth century onward an increasing amount of silk originating in the Crimea, the Caucasus, the Caspian Sea region and China sailed to Genoa from Black Sea ports. Marco Polo reports in his travel account that shortly before his return to the West in 1296 the Genoese transferred ships to the Caspian Sea, presumably from the Black Sea upstream on the river Don, then by land and, finally, downstream on the Volga. Polo himself considered that this arduous enterprise was aimed at reaching Ghilan, a silk producing region along the Caspian Sea, in order to bypass intermediaries in the silk trade. By the late fourteenth century between 40 to 50 percent of Venetian silk imports consisted of Caspian and Chinese silk.<sup>33</sup> There is good reason to believe that the expanding Italian demand stimulated the production of silk fibers around the Black and Caspian Seas. As late as the fifteenth century there was a strong economic interdependence between silk producers, especially in Asia, and Italian workshops manufacturing high-grade silk textiles.

A new phase in the trade of silk textiles illustrates an additional aspect of the integration of the Black Sea and Constantinople within the ‘globalized’ trading network

and the city’s increasing role in transit. Beginning in the 1260s the flow of Oriental silks to the West gained additional impetus and underwent a change marked by the appearance of new distinctive types of fabrics woven in the Mongol-ruled territories of Central Asia and the Middle East. These silks were partly shipped from Black Sea ports. An anonymous commercial manual composed in Florence around 1320 mentions silks textiles and cloths of gold arriving from Tana, Saray on the Volga river, capital of the Golden Horde and a major market and consumption center, as well as from Urgench in Uzbekistan to Constantinople and Pera, the city’s Genoese suburb, and sailing in large consignments to the West. Other fabrics coming from Tabriz traveled via Trebizond. Pegolotti duly recorded the various types of oriental silks available in Constantinople around 1340.<sup>34</sup>

A large variety of goods from the Mediterranean transited to the Black Sea. Oil and wine produced in regions extending from the Peloponnese and Crete to the Iberian peninsula, figs from Provence, nuts from southern Italy, and Cypriot sugar reached Black Sea ports.<sup>35</sup> From the fourteenth century onward Italian silks and woolens from England, Flanders, Catalonia, and Italy, especially from Venice and Florence, were traded in Constantinople and largely financed the purchase of oriental commodities. They were partly redistributed by ship from Constantinople around the Black Sea and by land reached Bursa and Edirne, Ottoman capitals respectively from 1326 to 1402 and from that year to 1453.<sup>36</sup> In 1437 the Venetian Giacomo Badoer, who resided in Constantinople from 1436 to 1440, sent several boxes of Venetian silk veils to Bursa, Gallipoli/Gelibolu, and Edirne, and the following year two pieces of damask to that city. In the same year the Spanish traveler Pero Tafur observed that men in Edirne were wearing long cloaks made of fine Italian woolens, silks, and brocades, obviously imported via Constantinople.<sup>37</sup>

There was also a transit of precious metal. Merchants intending to proceed to Mongol or Seljuk territories carried silver to bridge the negative balance of payment they faced. In 1281 an Armenian merchant who apparently came from Cilicia promised a large sum to two individuals who undertook to retrieve his silver from the sea bottom in the harbor of Constantinople.<sup>38</sup> He was presumably planning to trade in the Black

34 Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, 35–36.

35 Jacoby, “Mediterranean Food and Wine for Constantinople,” 130, 132, 135–39, 141.

36 M. Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XIIe - début du XVe siècle)* (Rome, 1978), 2:834–39; H. Hoshino, *L’arte della lana in Firenze nel basso medioevo. Il commercio della lana e il mercato dei panni fiorentini nei secoli XIII–XV* (Florence, 1980), 273–74; K. Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State. The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey* (Cambridge, 1999), 95–96, 103; J.-C. Hocquet, “Giacomo Badoer, marchand-drapier à Constantinople et les draps du Nord de l’Europe,” *Atti dell’Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti* 160 (2001–2002): 71–88.

37 On silks in the last two paragraphs, see Jacoby, “The Silk Trade of Late Byzantine Constantinople,” 129–44; also D. Jacoby, “Oriental Silks go West: a Declining Trade in the Later Middle Ages,” in *Islamic Artefacts in the Mediterranean World: Trade, Gift Exchange and Artistic Transfer*, ed. C. Schmidt Arcangeli and G. Wolf (Venice, 2010), 76–77; D. Jacoby, “Late Byzantium between the Mediterranean and Asia: Trade and Material Culture,” in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557). Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia*, ed. S. T. Brooks (New York–New Haven–London, 2006), 30–31; also J. Lefort, “Badoer et la Bithynie,” in *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron, TM 14* (2002): 373–84.

38 Génois de Péra et de Caffa, 90–91, no. 29; L. Balletto, “Un carico d’argento in fondo al mare (Costantinopoli – 1281),” in *Atti della Accademia Ligure di Scienze e Lettere, XXXIII, annata 1976* (Genoa, 1977): 197–202.

31 Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, 43; D. Jacoby, “Production et commerce de l’alun oriental en Méditerranée, XIe–XVe siècles,” in *L’alun de Méditerranée*, ed. P. Borgard, J.-P. Brun and M. Picon (Naples–Aix-en-Provence, 2005), 231.

32 D. Jacoby, “Silk crosses the Mediterranean,” in *Le vie del Mediterraneo. Idee, uomini, oggetti (secoli XI–XVI)*, ed. G. Airdi (Genoa, 1997), 79 [repr. in D. Jacoby, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2001), no. X].

33 Jacoby, “The Silk Trade of Late Byzantine Constantinople,” 132, 137–138.

Sea region. Thirteenth-century silver coins from Cilician Armenia have been excavated at Mavrocastro, situated at the mouth of the Dniester river.<sup>39</sup> In 1284 a merchant passing through Pera carried silver ingots from Genoa on his way to Sivas.<sup>40</sup> Pegolotti reported around 1340 that silver ingots are traded in Constantinople and Pera, transformed into imitation *sommi* for trade in the Crimea and from there to China.<sup>41</sup>

We may now turn to the nature of transit. The movement of goods, ships or beasts of burden and merchants did not necessarily coincide. Merchants and carriers were distinct categories of operators, and the movement of goods was partly ensured by stationary agents. Some ships sailing through the Bosphoros bypassed Constantinople, yet for most of them it was a port of call at which they obtained supplies or loaded and unloaded goods. This was even the case of the Venetian state galleys sailing to the Black Sea, which anchored in numerous ports along the way to their prescribed destination.<sup>42</sup> Four patterns of transit may be distinguished with regard to goods: first, those sent to specific markets beyond Constantinople, yet remaining on board the same vessel; secondly, goods passing through the city, yet without changing ownership; thirdly, goods traded and changing hands in Constantinople before traveling to other destinations; finally, raw materials processed in Constantinople before pursuing their journey. The four transit patterns illustrate the city's multiple functions as major collection and distribution center, as well as transshipment and relay station with respect to a vast region extending from Caffa and Tana to Alexandria, London and Bruges, as well as to the Balkans and Asia Minor.

The nature of commodities, commercial or other considerations, as well as destinations determined the transit pattern. Trade in Black Sea grain intended for Italian markets followed two different patterns. Fully loaded ships must have generally sailed directly to the Mediterranean without stopping at Constantinople to avoid loss of time, expenses, and the payment of taxes. This was apparently the Genoese practice to which emperor Manuel I objected and to which he put an end in 1169, in order to control and, if necessary, to limit grain export to ensure sufficient supplies for Constantinople.<sup>43</sup>

Venice's naval expedition of 1257 to Mesembria, an important outlet of Bulgarian grain, suggests that by that time the Venetians were exporting that commodity to Venice.<sup>44</sup> Grain was an important issue in the negotiations of emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos with Venice. The Byzantine-Venetian treaty of 1265, which was not ratified by Venice, prohibited the export of grain from the empire if its price in Constantinople exceeded 50 *hyperpyra per centenarium*. The treaty of 1268 introduced two changes. It reproduced the provision while extending it to all the territories of the empire, yet stipulated that

39 G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la mer Noire au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1929), 246.

40 *Génois de Péra et de Caffa*, 169–70, no. 150.

41 Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, 40–41. On the coinage circulating in the Crimea: Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, 2 :658–59. On silver ingots excavated in the Crimea: M. G. Kramarovsky, "The Golden Horde and Levant in the Epoch of Fr. Petrarca: Trade, Culture, Handcrafts," *Rivista di Bizantinistica* 3 (1993): 267–68.

42 See above, n. 30.

43 See above, n. 20.

44 D. Jacoby, "The Economy of Latin Constantinople," 210–11, 213–14.

export would nevertheless be allowed, provided an imperial license was obtained.<sup>45</sup> The imperial authorities could control or limit exports via the Bosphoros in two ways: by preventing the re-export of grain already in Constantinople, or by inspecting ships returning from the Black Sea. In that case too the grain mostly transited through the city.

In 1276 the Venetian Piero Grisoni brought grain from Bulgarian Varna to Constantinople to take advantage of a shortage. At first he was ordered to sell it at an imposed price, and later suffered losses when he sold it on the open market. This case appears to have induced Venice to obtain two concessions in the treaty it concluded with Byzantium in the following year. The sum above which Byzantine grain was to be sold in the empire was raised to 100 *hyperpyra per centenarium*. The second concession, overlooked so far, appears in an addition to the original clause: it allowed the Venetians to ship foreign grain from the Black Sea region without any restriction. The same addition was included in the treaty of 1285.<sup>46</sup> Some Genoese ships carrying foreign grain stopped at Constantinople to take additional cargo on board on the way to Genoa, or were compelled to stop by the imperial authorities, which imposed arbitrary taxes upon them.<sup>47</sup> In 1304 Genoa obtained that its ships carrying foreign grain, pitch, alum and other commodities from the Black Sea would be allowed to sail tax free without hindrance, that no ships would be retained in Byzantine ports except for valid legal reasons.<sup>48</sup> The agreements of Venice and Genoa with the empire, respectively in 1277 and 1304, imply that vessels fully laden with foreign grain from the Black Sea bypassed Constantinople.

The transfer of slaves from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean also followed two different patterns. Western merchants generally bought a single slave or a small number of them in addition to other commodities, in order to diversify the cargo they shipped and maximize their chances of profit.<sup>49</sup> Some merchants intended to sell the slaves in their home town, yet most of them appear to have done so along the way. Mongol, Bulgar, Cuman, Turkish, Rus and Alan slaves were sold in the Cretan port of Candia in 1301–1302, obviously after passing through Constantinople.<sup>50</sup> Numerous merchants buying slaves in the Black Sea region in the first half of the fifteenth century fail to mention any port

45 *I trattati con Bisanzio, 1265–1285*, ed. M. Pozza and G. Ravegnani (Venice, 1995), 39 and 42, no. 2, par. 11; 62, no. 4, par. 11. See also J. Chrysostomides, "Venetian Commercial Privileges under the Palaeologi," *StVen* 12 (1970): 312–16 [repr. in J. Chrysostomides, *Byzantium and Venice, 1204–1453* (Farnham, 2011), no. III].

46 *I trattati con Bisanzio, 1265–1285*, ed. Pozza and Ravegnani, 96–99, no. 7, par. 15, and 160–61, no. 11, par. 14. The empire is not mentioned in the addition to the clause which, therefore, refers to foreign lands.

47 M. Balard, "Le commerce du blé en mer Noire (XIIIe -XVe siècles)," in *Aspetti della vita economica medievale. Atti del convegno di Studi nel X Anniversario della morte di Federigo Melis* (Florence, 1985), 22–23, reference to a document of 1290 [repr. in M. Balard, *La mer Noire et la Romanie génoise (XIIIe - XVe siècles)* (London, 1989), no. VI].

48 *I Libri iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, I.8, ed. E. Pallavicino (Genoa, 2002), 69–74, esp. 73, no. 1266.

49 Some thirty cases in M. Balard, *Gènes et l'Outremer, I. Les actes de Caffa du notaire Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1289–1290* (Paris-La Haye, 1973).

50 C. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale, II, Italie-Colonies italiennes du Levant-Levant latin-Empire byzantin* (Gent, 1977), 807, 809–11, 819–22, 837–71, 879–81.

beyond Constantinople or Pera,<sup>51</sup> where resale would have most likely taken place with profit.<sup>52</sup> Giacomo Badoer bought single slaves from several merchants and sold them to several other traders.<sup>53</sup> Slaves also arrived in Constantinople by land from Hungary, Serbia, Wallachia and former Byzantine territories conquered by the Ottomans.<sup>54</sup> Transit through the city mostly involved change of ownership and transshipment. This was also the case of large transports assembled in Constantinople by several merchants. In 1438 Zuan Mocenigo, Alesandro Zen, and Giacomo Badoer were among the partners in a joint enterprise, sending respectively 150, 19, and 13 slaves on a ship sailing to Majorca. The following year Badoer was also partner in another joint enterprise to that island, the ship carrying 164 slaves and other cargo.<sup>55</sup> In the late fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century large transports of more than 30 slaves from Caffa were rare.<sup>56</sup> On the other hand, in 1427 the convoy of ships returning from Tana to Venice carried more than 400 slaves, an exceptionally large number, presumably belonging to several merchants.<sup>57</sup> The ships may have anchored at Constantinople to collect merchants and goods, yet the slaves must have been kept on board. A different transit pattern prevailed with respect to ships carrying slaves from Crimea to strengthen the military contingents of Mamluks in Egypt. The ships, the identity of which is not stated, were taxed when sailing through the Bosphoros on their return journey.<sup>58</sup> The massive purchase of these slaves was not made for commercial purposes and it is likely, therefore, that they bypassed Constantinople.

Most goods transiting through Constantinople must have changed hands before pursuing their journey beyond the city. The sections of Pegolotti's trading manual dealing with the relation of weights, measures and monies in Constantinople and its suburb Pera with those of other ports illustrate the large geographic range in which commodities in

transit circulated around 1340.<sup>59</sup> The account book of Giacomo Badoer, which registers the origins and destinations of a broad variety of goods, offers further evidence in that respect around a century later. Incidentally, some Venetian merchants unloaded in Constantinople goods from vessels sailing to Tana, claiming that since the goods are about to leave for that port they would pay the taxes they owed at destination. However, instead of sending the goods to Tana, they sold them in Constantinople and thereby evaded the payment of the sales tax. In 1412 Venice decided to put an end to that abuse.<sup>60</sup>

Furs imported from the Black Sea were reaching Constantinople, and some of them were dressed in the city, as implied by the presence of furriers' shops destroyed by fire in 931.<sup>61</sup> Furs also sailed beyond Constantinople. In 1253 William of Rubruck met in Soldaia Latin merchants, among them from Constantinople, who were familiar with the carts used for the overland transport of furs in Mongol territory.<sup>62</sup> The dressing of furs in Constantinople continued in the fourteenth century, as implied by the *ruga pelipariorum* attested in 1313 in the Venetian quarter and by other sources.<sup>63</sup> The Arab chronicler Ibn al-Athir asserted that beaver and grey squirrel furs ceased to be imported into the Muslim Near East, obviously via Constantinople, after the Mongol incursion of 1223 into Eastern Europe.<sup>64</sup> The Venetian-Egyptian treaties of 1238 and 1254 contradict that statement, since they imply a marked increase in the import of beaver, grey squirrel, otter and other furs to Egypt from the first half of the thirteenth century onward.<sup>65</sup> Upper garments lined with furs were very popular and much in demand among the upper ranks of society in Mamluk Egypt.<sup>66</sup> Toward the end of the fourteenth century Sultan Barquq introduced fur as an integral component of Mamluk costume, and its use spread among the affluent elite.<sup>67</sup> Like the Venetian-Egyptian treaties just mentioned, the Genoese-Egyptian treaty of 1290 exempted the import of furs from taxes.<sup>68</sup>

51 A. Stello, *Grenzerfahrung. Interaktion und Kooperation im spätmittelalterlichen Schwarzmeerraum* (Webpublished, 2012), 205.

52 On average price differences in that period, see B. Doumerc, "Les Vénitiens à La Tana (Azov) au XVe siècle," *CMRS* 28 (1987): 11.

53 *Il libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer (Costantinopoli, 1436-1440)*, ed. U. Dorini and T. Bertelè (Rome, 1956) [hereafter: *Badoer*], 27.46, 272.20, 288.27-28, 346.12-14, and many other cases.

54 K.-P. Matschke, "Tore, Torwächter und Torzöllner von Konstantinopel in spätbyzantinischer Zeit," in K.-P. Matschke, *Das byzantinische Konstantinopel. Alte und neue Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte zwischen 1261 und 1453* (Hamburg, 2008), 206-7.

55 *Badoer*, 442, 524.

56 Stello, *Grenzerfahrung*, 184.

57 Venice, Archivio di Stato, Senato, Misti, 120 v., 20 August 1427 (unpublished). The Senate's decision mentions the number of slaves, yet does not authorize each convoy from Tana to bring up to 400 slaves, as stated by S. P. Karpov, "Main Changes in the Black Sea Trade and Navigation, 12th-16th Centuries," in *Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Sofia, 22-27 August 2011* (Sofia, 2011), 1:426.

58 P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260-1290). Treaties of Baybars and Qalawun with Christian Rulers* (Leiden-New York-Köln, 1995), 122-28; Georges Pachymères, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler (Paris, 1984-2000), 1:237-39; Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, ed. L. Schopen (Bonn, 1829-1855), 1:101-2. See also R. Amitai, "Diplomacy and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean: a Re-examination of the Mamluk-Byzantine-Genoese triangle in the Late Thirteenth Century in Light of the Existing Early Correspondence," *Oriente Moderno* 88 (2008): 349-68, esp. 364-66.

59 Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, 48-54.

60 C. Maltezou, *Ο θεσμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βενετού Βαΐλου (1268-1453)* [= The institution of the Venetian bailo in Constantinople (1268-1453)] (Athens, 1970), 158, par. 20, dating January 1412 (1411 Venetian style).

61 J. D. Howard-Johnston, "Trading in Fur from Classical Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages," in *Leather and Fur. Aspects of Early Medieval Trade*, ed. E. A. Cameron (London, 1998), 66-71; J. Shepard, "'Mists and Portals': the Black Sea North Coast," in *Byzantine Trade, 4th-12th Centuries*, ed. M. Mundell Mango, 432-36; McCormick, *Origins*, 730.

62 F. Guillelmus de Rubruc, "Itinerarium," in *Sinica franciscana, I, Itinera et relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV*, ed. A. van den Wyngaert (Quaracchi-Florence, 1929), 164-65, 168-69, chap. I, pars. 1, 6 and 7.

63 D. Jacoby, "Les quartiers juifs de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine," *Byzantion* 37 (1967): 200 [repr. in D. Jacoby, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine* (London, 1975), no. II]; N. Oikonomidès, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIIIe-XVe siècles)* (Montreal-Paris, 1979), 101.

64 Mentioned by E. Ashtor, "Quelques observations d'un orientaliste sur la thèse de Pirenne," *JESHO* 13 (1970), 192, repr. in idem, *Studies on the Levantine Trade in the Middle Ages* (London, 1978), no. I.

65 TT 2:339, 487.

66 L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume: a Survey* (Geneva, 1952), 25: the most important amirs used sable, lynx, hermine, marten, grey squirrel and castor furs.

67 D. Behrens-Abouseif, *Practicing Diplomacy in the Mamluk Sultanate: Gifts and Material Culture in the Medieval Islamic World* (London, 2014), chap. 8, no. 20-23.

68 *I Libri iurium della Repubblica di Genova* I.7, ed. E. Pallavicino (Genoa, 2001), 78-83, esp. 79.

Goods in transit combining sea and land transport via Constantinople mostly changed hands in the city. In the tenth century commodities from the Black Sea were partly conveyed to Thessalonike by the Via Egnatia.<sup>69</sup> The listing of provinces in Asia Minor in the imperial chrysobull of 1198 in favor of Venice also involved combined land and sea trade for goods exported via Constantinople.<sup>70</sup> Venetian exports along that itinerary must have continued after 1204, as implied by the treaties Venice concluded with the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum, the first one presumably in 1209, the second with Kay-Ka'us I (1211-1220), and the third treaty, the only preserved one, with Kay-Qubad I in 1220. Precious stones and pearls, mentioned in that treaty, were apparently in high demand in Constantinople. Western merchants conducting trade in Mongol territories took them along as commodity or means of payment, as noted with respect to the Polo brothers.<sup>71</sup>

The range of trade and the nature of commodities changed following the Ottoman conquests in Asia Minor from the early fourteenth century onward. Combined land and sea transit through Constantinople was stimulated by the development of Bursa and Edirne, the successive Ottoman capitals. Both cities became major trading and consumption centers by the second half of the fourteenth century. The sale of western textiles in both cities in the first half of the fifteenth century has already been mentioned.<sup>72</sup> A change in the itinerary of silk from the Caspian Sea region to Constantinople took place following the establishment of a new secure route crossing Asia Minor, apparently under Bayezid I (r. 1389-1402). Instead of traveling from Tabriz to Trebizond, the silk proceeded via Erzincan and Ankara to Bursa.<sup>73</sup> Johann Schiltberger, who arrived in Bursa in 1397, reports the export of silk from that city to Venice. It must have been shipped from Constantinople, the nearest major port regularly visited by Venetian merchants and vessels. The Genoese and Florentine merchants trading in Bursa by 1432 obviously passed through Constantinople.<sup>74</sup> Combined land and sea trade in yet another direction is illustrated by Badoer's trading accounts. In 1436 he obtained some three metric tons of raisins from a Turk of Nikomedia and sent them on board a ship sailing to the Black Sea ports of Simisso (Samsun) and Trebizond.<sup>75</sup> As noted above, skins as well as slaves imported by land from the Balkans were re-exported by sea to the West.

The fourth transit pattern mentioned earlier, namely the processing of raw materials imported to Constantinople and re-exported as semi-finished or finished products, applies to several commodities. Silk textiles woven in the city before 1204

have already been mentioned.<sup>76</sup> Skins from the Black Sea, the Balkans and Asia Minor arrived in Constantinople. In 1155 the Venetian Enrico Zusto owned there two hundred sheep skins, the origin of which is not stated.<sup>77</sup> Judging by later evidence, these would presumably have been tanned in the city before being exported to Venice, where tanned skins were much in demand. Jewish tanners were practicing their craft in the suburb of Pera around that time, according to Benjamin of Tudela.<sup>78</sup>

Around 1320 Venetian entrepreneurs, exempt from Byzantine taxes, imported skins, as well as valonia, the acorn-cups used in the tanning process, as attested by the contemporary Venetian tax regulations of 1327 for Constantinople.<sup>79</sup> The Venetians employed local Jewish craftsmen settled in the Vlanga quarter to carry out the tanning and shipped the processed skins to Venice with added value. In order to increase their profit margin, they resorted to various devices. At their request, Venice granted Venetian status to a number of Byzantine Jewish tanners, who as Venetian nationals also enjoyed full exemption from imperial taxes. Moreover, the Venetian entrepreneurs devised cooperation between Venetian and Byzantine Jewish tanners. As a result, it was impossible to distinguish who had handled the skins, thus enabling the export, also free of tax, of those processed by Byzantine Jewish tanners. Emperor Andronikos II strongly opposed that cooperation and prohibited tanning by Venetian Jews, restricting their operations to the removal of animal hair from skins. Since they nevertheless pursued tanning, the emperor compelled them in 1324 or shortly afterwards to resettle in the Venetian quarter situated along the Golden Horn.<sup>80</sup> In 1437-1438 Giacomo Badoer imported skins which, once the hair had been removed, were bleached, dyed or processed before being sent to Venice.<sup>81</sup> In 1450 Venice objected to newly imposed taxes, among them on the import or export of skins to Constantinople, which illustrates the importance it attached to their transit.<sup>82</sup>

In the early fifteenth century some processing of imported raw materials related to the wine trade also took place in Constantinople. Wine producers in Crete faced then a shortage of wooden barrels. Cretan merchants involved in large-scale imports of wine to the imperial capital stimulated there the production of barrel staves, made of timber

69 Oikonomides, "Le marchand byzantin des provinces," 649.

70 *I trattati con Bisanzio, 992-1198*, ed. M. Pozza and G. Ravegnani (Venice, 1993), 119-37, esp. 131; Gérolymatou, "Le commerce, VIIe-XVe siècle," 488.

71 Jacoby, "The Economy of Latin Constantinople," 204-6.

72 See above, n. 14-15, 196.

73 H. Inalcik, "Bursa and the Silk Trade," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, ed. H. Inalcik with D. Quataert (Cambridge, 1994), 219-24.

74 Jacoby, "The Silk Trade of Late Byzantine Constantinople," 136-137.

75 On the deal, see Lefort, "Badoer et la Bithynie," 375-76.

76 See above, n. 18, 196.

77 *Famiglia Zusto*, ed. L. Lanfranchi (Venice, 1955), 50-52, esp. 51, no. 22.

78 *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. Adler, Hebrew, 16-17, English trans., 14. See also D. Jacoby, "The Jews in the Byzantine Economy (Seventh to Mid-Fifteenth Century)," in *Jews in Byzantium: Dialectics of Minority and Majority Cultures*, ed. R. Bonfil, O. Irshai, G. Stroumsa, and R. Talgam (Leiden-Boston, 2012), 230-31.

79 On valonia, see Maltezou, Ο θεσμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βενετού Βαίλου (1268-1453), 141, par. 6.

80 On this whole affair, see Jacoby, "Les quartiers juifs de Constantinople," 191-94, 196-207.

81 Matschke, "Tore, Torwächter und Torzöllner von Konstantinopel," 204-6; D. Jacoby, "The Jews in Byzantium and the Eastern Mediterranean: Economic Activities from the Thirteenth to the Mid-Fifteenth Century," in *Wirtschaftsgeschichte der mittelalterlichen Juden: Fragen und Einschätzungen*, ed. M. Toch unter Mitarbeit von E. Müller-Luckner (Munich, 2008), 33-34.

82 *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, ed. G. M. Thomas and R. Predelli (Venice, 1880-1899), 2:379-80. The revenue from the tax was either included in the salary of Loukas Notaras, who as *mesazon* was entrusted with the administration of the empire, or he acted as farmer of the tax.

from Thrace, and barrel hoops. From the 1420s at the latest Cretan ships returning home from Constantinople carried large amounts of them for the manufacture of casks by the island's coopers. In the years 1437-1439 Giacomo Badoer handled more than 30,000 barrel staves. Their manufacture and export to Crete was halted for some time after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople.<sup>83</sup>

The transit pattern through Constantinople was not always determined by merchants or carriers according to their interests. As noted above, it was sometimes imposed by Byzantine state intervention for grain exports from the Black Sea. Some commercial contracts or wills prescribed the geographic range of transit. In 1281 Niccolò de San Stefano undertook to sell fox furs entrusted to him by a furrier of Pera in the empire, without sailing beyond Abydos in the Dardanelles.<sup>84</sup> Some charters drafted in Black Sea ports include similar clauses limiting trade to the region extending as far as Abydos.<sup>85</sup> In 1389 the Jewish physician Baronus residing in Pera willed a quarter of his movable wealth to his son-in-law, on condition that his investments would be limited to trade from the island of Tenedos to Constantinople and in the Black Sea.<sup>86</sup>

The contribution of transit trade to Constantinople's economy in the late Byzantine period is generally considered in a skewed fiscal perspective. To be sure, the tax exemptions granted to those enjoying Venetian or Genoese nationality and the intensive trading in Genoese Pera reduced the revenue of the imperial treasury. According to Nikephoros Gregoras, around the mid-fourteenth century the imperial treasury collected annually 30,000 gold coins, debased at that time, from custom duties in Constantinople, whereas the Genoese revenue in Pera amounted to 200,000.<sup>87</sup> Yet Byzantine and other merchants engaging in transactions with privileged individuals were taxed, whether directly by the imperial administration or by tax farmers.<sup>88</sup> The revenue yielded by these taxes was partly redistributed in the city in the form of payments and salaries. Moreover, the chronic impoverishment of the imperial treasury contrasts with the enrichment of a group of Byzantine individuals, who actively participated in the Black Sea trade and entered into joint ventures with Latin merchants, although they diverted some of their profits to Genoese and Venetian state funds.<sup>89</sup>

83 Jacoby, "Mediterranean Food and Wine for Constantinople," 142.

84 *Génois de Péra et de Caffa*, 88-89, no. 26, 7 July 1281.

85 Oikonomidès, *Hommes d'affaires*, 39.

86 M. Balard, "Péra au XIVe siècle: Documents notariés des archives de Gênes," in *Les Italiens à Byzance*, ed. M. Balard, A. Laiou, C. Otten-Froux (Paris, 1987), 35, no. 75.

87 Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, 2:841-42.

88 On the farming of state taxes from the 11th century onward, which reached a peak in the first half of the 15th century: see T. Ganchou, "Giacomo Badoer et Kyr Théodôros Batatzès, 'comerchier di pesi' à Constantinople (flor. 1401-1449)," *REB* 61 (2003): 92-95.

89 For two especially well-documented cases of investments, see T. Ganchou, "Le rachat des Notaras après la chute de Constantinople ou les relations 'étrangères' de l'élite byzantine au XVe siècle," in *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes (Xe-XVIe siècles)*, ed. M. Balard and A. Ducellier (Paris, 2002), 158-67, 171-74, 217, and T. Ganchou, "L'ultime testament de Géorgios Goudélès, homme d'affaires, *mésazôn* de Jean V et *ktêtôr* (Constantinople, 4 mars 1421)," in *Mélanges Cécile Morrisson*, *TM* 16 (2010): 291, 303, 305-6, 339-40.

Transit trade also benefited inhabitants of lower social rank in Constantinople. Little attention has been paid so far to the input of the urban infrastructure and the servicing of merchants, carriers, ships and goods into the city's economy. The services included the transfer of goods by barks across the Bosphoros, the loading and unloading of ships required by transit and transshipment, transportation within the city to and from warehouses or residences, storage for goods and accommodation for merchants, the provisioning of ships, crew and passengers, as well as ship repairs. Weighing and measuring goods, the tasting of wine to ascertain its quality, the sifting of spices to remove impurities, as well as packing entailed the payment of fees. Moreover, often transit and transshipment also required the supply of sacks, ceramic containers, boxes, barrels, oil-cloth to protect goods from humidity during long maritime voyages, and strings, all partly manufactured in the city.<sup>90</sup> Late fifteenth-century sources regarding Ottoman Constantinople illustrate the survival of many practices and payments for services from the Byzantine period.<sup>91</sup>

Inter-lingual communication, vital in a multi-cultural trading milieu, called for the intervention of interpreters, agents and middlemen, often local ones, who took advantage of their function to maximize their income by commercial transactions of their own. Three years after arriving in Constantinople Giacomo Badoer was still not fluent in Greek and, therefore, hired a local interpreter who would handle the passage of goods at the imperial customs.<sup>92</sup> Services often entailed bribes and gratuities appearing under various names. Around 1340 Pegolotti advised merchants to bribe customs officers, their scribes and their interpreters in order to reduce tax payments.<sup>93</sup> Giacomo Badoer carefully noted in his account book all the expenses incurred for services and gratuities, which added up to sizeable sums.<sup>94</sup> The recourse to credit and banking was an indispensable component of trade. Despite the prominent role of the Italians, there was room for the operation of Byzantine bankers with fairly abundant capital engaging in both financial and commercial transactions.<sup>95</sup> Byzantine merchants and carriers played an important

90 Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, 34-36, 38-40, 45-47, on packing materials, costs of packing, and other expenses; see also J. Lefort, "Le coût des transports à Constantinople, portefaix et bateliers au XVe siècle," in *Ενθυμία. Mélanges offerts à H. Ahrweiler*, ed. M. Balard et al. (Paris, 1998), 413-25, and next note. On oil-cloth, see L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1852-1861), 2:451. Incidentally, C. Morrisson, "Weighing, Measuring, Paying Exchanges in the Market and the Marketplace," in *Trade and Markets*, ed. Morrisson, 396, mistakenly considers *garbellatura* a control tax charged on spices; in fact, it was the sifting of spices: see Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, 34-35.

91 A. Sopracasa, "Les marchands vénitiens à Constantinople d'après une *tariffa* inédite de 1482," *StVen* 63 (2011): 100-6, on packing, and 185-99, 201-3, on services.

92 Badoer, 650.17.

93 Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, 42.

94 On bribes and tips: Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, 35: "E il comperatore dè dare per vino al fante del venditore carati 4 per fardello di seta." See also 44, "fare cortesia." On tips, see also Badoer, 248, 256, 472, 552, 554, and on *cortexia*, Sopracasa, "Les marchands vénitiens," 202-3.

95 Oikonomidès, *Hommes d'affaires*, 63-68; J. Lefort, "La brève histoire du jeune Bragadin," in *AETOS. Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango, presented to him on April 14, 1998*, ed. I. Ševčenko and I. Hutter (Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1998), 213.

role in local and regional operations in and around Constantinople, whether on their own or in association with Italians, supplying the city and Italian traders in foodstuffs and raw materials and contributing thereby to transit trade.<sup>96</sup>

The Italians, who dominated the transit trade of Constantinople from the early fourteenth century onward, fully exploited their privileges and resources. They are supposed to have exported their gains to Italy, contributing thereby to the city's economic decline. This Eurocentric and 'colonial' perspective is clearly flawed. While some Venetians returned home, like Giacomo Badoer after about four years in Constantinople, others considered the city as their permanent residence. Some Genoese families settled in Pera dominated the economic life of the suburb over several generations.<sup>97</sup> Settled Italians reinvested their gains in the operation of the local economy. Their ranks were presumably reinforced to some extent in the first half of the fifteenth century, when insecurity affecting the Genoese and Venetian outposts and colonies of the Black Sea induced Italian merchants to resettle, some in Constantinople or Pera, and shift their operations from long-distance to regional trading.<sup>98</sup>

Undoubtedly, the Ottoman siege of Constantinople in 1394-1402 and the following ones until 1453 affected the transit function of the city. It is unclear, though, to what extent they also hindered transit through the Genoese suburb of Pera, which benefited from better economic conditions than the Byzantine section of the city.<sup>99</sup> In that section the sieges also resulted in general impoverishment, except for a small group of Byzantine dignitaries, high-ranking functionaries and wealthy citizens engaging in profiteering, and in outbursts of social discontent among lower ranks of Byzantine society.<sup>100</sup> Still, viewed in a long-term perspective, transit trading, the related processing of raw materials re-exported beyond Constantinople, as well as the supply of services provided employment to numerous local residents and injected into the urban economy cash that trickled down the social scale.

<sup>96</sup> Oikonomidès, *Hommes d'affaires*, 74-77.

<sup>97</sup> Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, 1:252-58, 262-64.

<sup>98</sup> B. Doumerc, "La Tana au XVe siècle: comptoir ou colonie?" in *État et colonisation au Moyen Age*, ed. M. Balard (Lyon, 1989), 253-56, 261-64; Doumerc, "Les Vénitiens à La Tana," 5-19; F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Age. Le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XIIe-XVe siècles)*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1975), 427-28. A Byzantine leaving Caffa for Constantinople after 1434: K.-P. Matschke, "Die Bedeutung des Schwarzmeerraumes für die Stadtwirtschaft und Stadtgesellschaft von Konstantinopel in spätbyzantinischer Zeit: Das Chiogia-Ise-Puzzle (1994-2007)," in *Das spätbyzantinische Konstantinopel*, 491-98, 527-31.

<sup>99</sup> On Byzantines taking refuge in Genoese Pera in the 1390s: N. Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins. Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge, 2009), 150; on the contrast between Pera and the Byzantine section of the city: *ibid.*, 190-91, 195.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 155-74, 186-99, 224-28. Additional evidence in K.-P. Matschke, "Nachträge und Vorschläge zur wirtschaftsgeschichtlichen Auswertung des Patriarchatsregister von Konstantinopel," in *The Register of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. An Essential Source for the History and Church of Late Byzantium*, ed. C. Gastgeber, E. Mitsiou, and J. Preiser-Kapeller (Vienna, 2013), 59-77, and in the two studies by Ganchou mentioned above, n. 88.

## The Byzantine Marketplace: A Window onto Daily Life and Material Culture

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Protection against evil was a fundamental concern in the lives of the Byzantines. They equated evil with demonic activity, and the marketplace was a privileged residence of demons. The Gospel narrative of the Cleansing of the Temple is evocative. The Byzantines employed a range of conventional devices intended to ward off evil in protecting economic activity. Various aspects of daily life in the marketplace of Constantinople, with a focus on the food and drink trade, illustrate this fear of evil and the variety of means used to dispel and conquer it. This is done by contextualizing the nexus between supernatural protection and official administrative regulations.

### Protection and the Material Culture of Trade: State, Religion, and Magic

Fraud was the most obvious form of evil threatening the Byzantine marketplace. The fight against fraud thus emerged as an essential issue with which economic agents had to cope. To facilitate orderly outcomes for transactions, the Byzantines employed a range of public and private guarantees. God and the emperor served as the two poles around which daily transactions at the marketplace were regulated.

The fear of moral punishment by God was complemented by a series of material and corporal punishments stipulated by law, ranging from flogging, tonsuring, and "burning in flames," to the payment of fines, confiscation of property, and exile. God's law stipulated the use of proper weights and measures, but infringement of the law was not rare.<sup>1</sup> Chapter 15 of Novel 128 of Justinian I, dated 545 and addressed to Peter Barsymes,

<sup>1</sup> Leviticus 19:36 and Deuteronomy 25:15 both dictate the use of honest, accurate scales, weights, and measures. For the punishments stipulated by law, see discussion in C. Morrisson, "Weighing, Measuring, Paying: Exchanges in the Market and the Marketplace," in *Trade and Markets in Byzantium*, ed. Morrisson

then praetorian prefect of the East, gave the church the role of keeper and guarantor of measures and weights, which were preserved in the “most holy church of each city.”<sup>2</sup> The linear, schematic representation of a church building enclosing a cross is a standard decorative pattern on the lid of sixth-century wooden boxes used to hold sets of bronze weights and balance scales.<sup>3</sup> As the church building was perceived as the dwelling place of God, the image functioned as a powerful form of protection for commercial transactions.

Invocations of God were frequently used in the context of business transactions. One finds an array of recurring religious symbols and formulae on a wide range of objects dated to the fifth and sixth centuries. One standard formula is Θεοῦ χάρις (Grace of God), which is found on the previously mentioned boxes for storing sets of flat weights and a scale, on flat bronze commodity weights, on business contracts written on papyri, and on *tituli picti* (commercial inscriptions on amphorae). The formula is meant to provide a guarantee for the reliability of the weighing instrument, of the contract, or of the content of an amphora.<sup>4</sup>

The Θεοῦ χάρις formula is typically associated with a variety of other apotropaic devices, such as the cross, the alphabetic numeral ρΘ, and the symbol ΧΜΓ (Figs. 1–2). The numeral ρΘ is interpreted as an isopsephic representation of the word ἀμήν. Their numerical value is equivalent (= 99).<sup>5</sup> Θεοῦ χάρις, ἀμήν, written in full, appears on a large wooden stamp from Egypt, now in the Musée du Louvre, in Paris. It has been suggested that such large stamps, between 40 and 60 centimeters long, might have served to seal doors of granaries.<sup>6</sup> The mysterious ΧΜΓ is commonly understood as an acrostic for Χ(ριστὸν) Μ(αρία) γ(εννᾶ) (Mary bore Christ) or Χ(ριστὸς) Μ(ιχαήλ) Γ(αβριήλ) (Christ,

Michael, Gabriel).<sup>7</sup> It may also be an isopsephism for θβ, which appears to signify θεὸς βοηθός (God helper). ΧΜΓ and θβ have the same value, 643. A combination of them, χμγθβ, also appears on papyri.

During the fourth century, ΧΜΓ appeared on semiofficial as well as on public documents.<sup>8</sup> Framed by two crosses, it is found on a marble inscription from Ephesos indicating the place of the Forum of Theodosius.<sup>9</sup> It is also found on the edge of the hinged, reversible octagonal bezel of a sixth-century gold ring at the Benaki Museum, Athens, showing the standing figures of the archangel Michael on one side and Hagia Thekla on the other.<sup>10</sup> On amphorae, these symbols usually precede the information about the identity of the owner, the unit of measure, and the capacity. Their essential function is to ward off evil or invoke a blessing for a place, act, object, or transaction. On papyri, they are usually found in the middle of the first line, the point for proclaiming the veracity of the writing. Their use may be similar to calling on God to witness oath taking, a common practice in the Byzantine marketplace despite the church fathers’ strong condemnation of it.<sup>11</sup>

Θεοῦ χάρις κέρδος is another formula attested in the repertory of *dipinti* found on late antique amphorae. Discussing the New Testament roots of this expression, Tomasz Derda has suggested a metaphoric interpretation for the word κέρδος and translated the inscription as “God’s grace (is) a gain.”<sup>12</sup> More recently, Jean-Luc Fournet and Dominique Pieri have suggested that this expression could have a second meaning, referring to the profits involved in the amphora trade. In this way, the merchant would legitimate the profits made in this world. Their suggested translation is “Gain (is) a grace of God.” This

(Washington, D.C., 2012), 388–90.

2 *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. 3, *Novellae*, ed. R. Schoell and G. Kroll (Dublin-Zurich, 1972), 641. See discussion in C. Entwistle, “Byzantine Weights,” in *EHB* 2:612; M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300–1450* (Cambridge, 1985), 332; Morisson, “Weighing, Measuring, Paying,” 385; B. Pitarakis, “Daily Life at the Marketplace in Late Antiquity and Byzantium,” in *Trade and Markets*, ed. Morisson, 422.

3 M.-H. Rutschowskaya, *Musée du Louvre: Catalogue des bois de l’Égypte copte* (Paris, 1986), 78–80, nos. 271–72; M. Gökçay, “Yenikapı Ahşap Buluntularından Seçmeler/Selected Wooden Finds from Yenikapı,” in *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri. I. Marmaray-Metro Kurtarma Kazıları Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı 5–6 Mayıs 2008/İstanbul Archaeological Museums. Proceedings of the 1st Symposium on Marmaray-Metro Salvage Excavations, 5th–6th May 2008*, ed. U. Kocabaş (Istanbul, 2010), 146, no. 12.

4 For examples of commodity weights bearing the formula, see S. Bendall, *Byzantine Weights: An Introduction* (London, 1996), nos. 50, 63, 66, 74, 111; D. Feissel et al., *Trois donations byzantines au Cabinet des Médailles*, exhibition catalogue (Paris, 2001), 14, 36, nos. 8, 13; G. Vikan and J. Nesbitt, *Security in Byzantium: Locking, Sealing and Weighing* (Washington, D.C., 1980), 36, fig. 82; *Wege nach Byzanz*, ed. B. Furlas and V. Tsamakda, exhibition catalogue (Mainz, 2001), 304–5, no. III.4.5; O. Tekin, “Excavation Coins and a Byzantine Weight from Küçükçekmece Lake Basin,” *İstanbul Araştırmaları Yılığ/Annual of Istanbul Studies* 2 (2013): 64, no. 66; M. Campagnolo and K. K. Weber, *Poids romano-byzantins et byzantins en alliage cuivreux. Collection du Musée d’art et d’histoire – Genève* (Geneva, 2015), 47, no. 24, 62, no. 71.

5 An isopsephism is a numerical value that corresponds to another word or formula with an equal numerical value. See T. C. Skeat, “A Table of Isopsephisms (P. Oxy. XLV. 3239),” *ZPapEpig* 31 (1978): 45–54; S. R. Llewellyn, “ΣΔ, A Christian Isopsephism?” *ZPapEpig* 109 (1995): 125–27.

6 Rutschowskaya, *Musée du Louvre*, 76, no. 268.

7 An alternative reading would be Χ(ριστὸς ὁ ἐκ) Μ(αρία) γ(εννηθεὶς) (Christ, the one born of Mary). See J. O. Tjäder, “Christ Our Lord, Born of the Virgin Mary,” *Eranos* 67 (1970): 148–90; T. Derda, “Some Remarks on the Christian Symbol ΧΜΓ,” *JJP* 22 (1992): 21–27; G. Kiourtzian, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes des Cyclades. De la fin du IIIe au VIIe siècle après J.-C.* (Paris, 2000), no. 49, p. 116; B. Nongbri, “The Lord’s Prayer and ΧΜΓ: Two Christian Papyrus Amulets,” *Harvard Theological Review* 104.1 (2011): 59–68.

8 For instance, it appears on P. Leid. Inst. 62, a papyrus with a declaration presented to the president of the guild of canvas and carpet workers. M. Choat, *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri* (Turnhout, 2006), 116.

9 D. Feissel, “Öffentliche Strassenbeleuchtung im spätantiken Ephesos, Steine und Wege,” in *Festschrift für Dieter Knibbe zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Scherrer, H. Taeuber, and H. Thür (Vienna, 1999), 29, fig. 3; A. Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike* (Mainz, 1996), 292–93. In Aphrodisias, the ΧΜΓ formula is recorded on an inscription of a rectangular statue base found at the gate of the south Agora. It is associated with a cross and to the apotropaic formula Φῶς Ζωή. C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (London, 1989), no. 36, pl. IX; P. Spence, G. Bodard, C. Roueché, J. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions*, revised 2nd edition, 2004 (ALA2004), 2005, Data set/Database, Unknown Publisher, no. 144. See also Inscriptions of Aphrodisias Project, <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/iaph040310.html#edition>

10 M. Chatzidakis, “Un anneau byzantin,” *BNJ* 18 (1994): 174–206; *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, ed. K. Weitzmann, exhibition catalogue (New York, 1979), 326–27, no. 305. *Gold of Greece. Jewelry and Ornaments from the Benaki Museum*, ed. A. R. Bronberg and M. Skiadareses, Dallas 1990, p. 75, pl. 58. The ring is also mentioned in C. Mango, “On the Cult of Saint Cosmas and Damian at Constantinople,” in *Θυμίαμα στη μνήμη της Λαοκαρίνας Μπούρα* (Athens, 1994), 189.

11 See the discussion in L. Lavan, “The Agorai of Antioch and Constantinople as Seen by John Chrysostom,” in *Wolf Liebeschuetz Reflected: Essays Presented by Colleagues, Friends and Pupils*, ed. J. Drinkwater and B. Salway, *BICS*, suppl. 91 (2007): 157–67.

12 T. Derda, “Inscriptions with the Formula Θεοῦ χάρις κέρδος on Late Roman Amphorae,” *ZPapEpig* 94 (1992): 135–52.

formula may then be associated with that of Θεού δίκη (Justice of God), equally attested among *dipinti*.<sup>13</sup>

Marketplace evil manifested itself in ways other than cheating, including through the spoilage of food and drink (thought to be poisoning by a venomous creature) and natural disasters (such as a storm causing the destruction of a merchant ship and its cargo). In these instances, the means of protection involved the mingling of faith and magic. The text of the *Geoponika* offers an interesting prescription for preventing wine from turning sour. It recommends writing on an apple the words of Psalm 34:8 —“O taste and see that the Lord is good”— and putting it in the wine.<sup>14</sup> An alternative method was to impress a good wish, for instance, ΕΥ ΠΙΕ (Drink well), on the clay container or amphora using a bronze stamp. This formula is attested on fifth- or sixth-century foot-shaped stamps (also called sole-shaped or slipper-shaped), the shape of which is also invested with an apotropaic value (Fig. 3).<sup>15</sup>

Some clay *unguentaria* widely distributed throughout the Mediterranean in the sixth and seventh centuries feature a repertory of stamps, including cruciform monograms of names and a range of religious and apotropaic motifs, the function of which compares with those found on the amphorae.<sup>16</sup> The exact function of these small vessels is still debated.<sup>17</sup> The places where they were discovered, such as the basilica of St. Nicholas in Myra, and the presence of the bishop title (Fig. 4) and of an *anagnostes*, or church reader, among the attested monograms suggest that they may have been used in the distribution of *myron* or sanctified oil in the context of pilgrimage. In the majority of cases, however, they were discovered in urban centers, indicating that such vessels had multiple purposes. They probably served as containers for sanctified oil as well as for perfumed oils with medicinal properties. In the latter case, they would have been distributed through conventional commercial channels. The cruciform monogram of a stamp in Ephesos renders the word

*eparchou*, suggesting that the content was rare and precious, perhaps an imported product or oil used for an antidote for instance.<sup>18</sup> Stamps with a bishop's name, however, do not seem necessarily to indicate that the content was blessed oil or *myron*. One might also consider a product that was harvested from the lands belonging to church, in which case the stamp might represent a seal of origin or authenticity.<sup>19</sup>

The widespread use of spells intended to harm the business of a competitor is one of the many reasons for concern about supernatural protection involving traded goods. The repertory of magical papyri from Egypt includes numerous examples of such spells in conjunction with charms designed to improve trade.<sup>20</sup> Business spells are also found in the broad repertory of late antique *defixiones*, or curse tablets (inscribed sheets of lead in the form of small, thin sheets).<sup>21</sup> Tavern proprietors and stall keepers are among the most frequent categories of professions attested in these spells. Two lead sheets evoking spells were yielded by the excavations of the Theodosian harbor, at Yenikapı, but they contain conventional formulae —such as a palindrome, sets of *charakteres*, and schematic figures— that do not allow the identification of the specific subject of the spells.<sup>22</sup>

Parallel to the practice of magic, the holy men of Byzantium also performed exorcisms at the marketplace. The exorcism of harmful serpents —perceived of as embodiments of the Devil— is attested in hagiographic tales among the miracles attributed to holy men in the context of economic activities. The sixth-century *Life of Symeon the Fool* includes the story of a poisonous snake that entered a tavern and drank from a wine goblet, into which it emptied its poison.<sup>23</sup> Another example is in the *Life of Basil the Younger*, a perhaps fictional holy man said to have lived in Constantinople in the tenth century. A wine merchant whose business was in decline invited the holy man to bless his wine jugs. The saint blessed them all except one, which he crushed and from which, to their great amazement, a large snake emerged. After that, the tavern keeper enjoyed renewed prosperity.<sup>24</sup>

13 J.-L. Fournet and D. Pieri, “Les *dipinti* amphoriques d’Antinoopolis,” in *Antinoopolis I: Scavi e materiali*, ed. R. Pintaudi (Florence, 2008), 182.

14 *Geoponika sive Cassiani Bassi Scholastici De re rustica eclogae*, ed. H. Beckh (Stuttgart, 1994), bk. 7, chap. 14; *Geoponika: Farm Work*, trans. A. Dalby (Totnes, 2011); *Géoponiques*, trans. J.-P. Grégois and J. Lefort (Paris, 2012). See also Fournet and Pieri, “Les *dipinti* amphoriques d’Antinoopolis,” 181, n. 16.

15 See B. Caseau, “Magical Protection and Stamps in Byzantium,” in *Seals and Sealing Practices in the Near East: Developments in Administration and Magic from Prehistory to the Islamic Period*, ed. I. Regulski, K. Duistermaat, and P. Verkinderen (Leuven-Paris-Walpole, Mass., 2012), 121–23; G. Galavaris, “The Power of the Foot: The Foot as Talisman,” in *Εξορκίζοντας το κακό: Πίστη και δεισιδαιμονίες στο Βυζάντιο/Essorcizzare il Male: Credenze e Superstizioni a Bisanzio* (Athens, 2006), 41–52; P. Perdrizet, “Υγία, Ζωή, Χαρά,” REG 27 (1914): 266–80. For examples of such stamps, see also M. Grünbart, “Byzantine Metal Stamps in a North American Collection,” DOP 60 (2006): 22, nos. 2–3; *Συλλογή Γεωργίου Τσολοζίδη: Το Βυζάντιο με τη ματιά ενός συλλέκτη*, exhibition catalogue (Athens, 2001), 91, no. 119; Vikan and Nesbitt, *Security in Byzantium*, 27–28, fig. 64, 67; *Age of Spirituality*, ed. Weitzmann, 627–28, no. 565.

16 The bibliography on this issue is extensive. For a discussion and bibliography, see B. Pitarakis, “Empowering Healing: Substances, Senses, Rituals,” in *Life Is Short, Art Long: The Art of Healing in Byzantium*, ed. B. Pitarakis, exhibition catalogue (Istanbul, 2015), 162–79.

17 The publication on the *unguentaria* from Rhodes is being prepared by Angeliki Katsioti from the Fourth Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Rhodes. I would like to thank her for the photograph in Fig. 4.

18 M. Grünbart and S. Lochner-Metaxas, “Stempel(n) in Byzanz,” in *Wiener Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik: Beiträge zum Symposium Vierzig Jahre Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien im Gedenken an Herbert Hunger*, ed. W. Hörandner, J. Koder, and M. Stassinopoulou (Vienna, 2004), 183; S. Metaxas, “Frühbyzantinische Ampullen und Amphoriskoi aus Ephesos,” in *Spätantike und Mittelalterliche Keramik aus Ephesos*, ed. F. Krinzinger (Vienna, 2005), 83, nos. 28–29.

19 See J. Durliat, “Les attributions civiles des évêques byzantins: L'exemple du diocèse d'Afrique,” in *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Wien, 4.–9. 1981: Akten*, vol. 2.2, JÖB 32.2 (Vienna, 1982), 73–84.

20 *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, ed. H. D. Betz (Chicago, 1986), 81–82, PGM IV. 2360–72 and 2374–2441.

21 See discussion in S. Trzcionka, *Magic and the Supernatural in Fourth-Century Syria* (Abingdon, 2007), 56–62. See also F. Heintz, “Magic Tablets and the Games at Antioch,” in *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City*, ed. C. Kondoleon, exhibition catalogue (Princeton, 2000), 163–67. For the classical period, J. G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York-Oxford, 1992), 151–74.

22 F. Demirkök, “Marmaray Kazılarında Ele Geçen Yazıtlardan Dört Örnek/Four Inscriptions Discovered in the Marmaray Excavations,” in *I. Marmaray-Metro Kurtarma Kazıları Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı/Proceedings of the 1st Symposium on Marmaray-Metro Salvage Excavations*, ed. Kocabaş, 168–73.

23 The wine goblet is named βίσσα, βίσσιν. See Léontios de Neapolis, *Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, ed. A.-J. Festugière and L. Rydén (Paris, 1974), 81 (Greek text), 135 (French trans.).

24 *The Life of Saint Basil the Younger*, ed. D. F. Sullivan, A.-M. Talbot, and S. McGrath, DOS 45 (Washington, D.C., 2014), 154–58, chap. 44.



Although the hagiographic literature from the sixth to the ninth century primarily centers on miracles of healing, miracles related to economic activity are not lacking. As with healing, the model is again found in the Gospel narrative. The Gospel of John inaugurates the miracle-working career of Christ at the Wedding at Cana (John 2:1-11) and closes it with the Miraculous Catch of Fish (John 21:3-14). “Economic miracles,” as Marie-France Auzépy calls them, offer a valuable illustration of the role of the holy man in the material aspects of daily life within society. In a chronological overview, Auzépy observes an increase in the ratio of economic miracles versus those of healing in ninth-century hagiography (e.g. Lives of Peter of Atroa, Makarios of Pelekete, St. Niketas Patrikios, Eustratios of the Agaura monastery, St. Michael of Synada). The miracles she discusses range from the fruitful growth of a capital sum, the protection of goods, and people performing an economic activity to recovery from damage or injury to business.<sup>25</sup>

It is particularly interesting to discover that after the death of a saint, his relics do not continue to perform economic miracles. At this point, their power is exclusively directed toward healing. By contrast, icons held a large role in the context of economic miracles. Within its universal protective role, the icon of Christ also stood as surety for a loan and other contracts. Some images were more popular than others at specific times and places, and literary sources reveal practices that otherwise would not have been obvious. The privileged role of St. Symeon Stylites at the marketplace in Rome is such an example. Our source is no less than the influential Theodoret of Cyrillus (ca. 393–ca. 457), who states that in Rome the saint had become so well known that “small portraits of him were set up on a column at the entrance of every shop to bring through that some protection and security to them.”<sup>26</sup>

The exercise of the saint’s power over natural disasters threatening economic activity is another common *topos*. The *Life of St. Nicholas of Sion* (d. 564) contains several instances in which the saint’s intervention led to the calming of violent storms encountered on the open sea. In the episode of the journey to Jerusalem, a violent storm is conjured up by the devil.<sup>27</sup> A late twelfth-century Sinai icon depicts the black-winged devil clinging to the mast, while the saint addresses him from the stern of the small boat with a high, curved prow.<sup>28</sup> In another episode illustrated in the fourteenth-century fresco decoration of the church of St. Nicholas Orphanos in Thessalonike, St. Nicholas raises a small clay vessel filled with oil intended to rebuke the devil.<sup>29</sup> Vineyards saved from a hailstorm, ravaging, or worms appear among the miracles performed by Theodore of Sykeon in the seventh

25 M.-F. Auzépy, “Miracle et économie à Byzance (VIe-IXe siècles),” in *Miracle et karâma: Hagiographies médiévales comparées*, ed. D. Aigle (Turnhout, 2000), 2:331-51.

26 *The Lives of Simeon Stylites*, trans. R. Doran (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1992), 75, chap. 11; *Théodoret de Cyr: Histoire des moines de Syrie*, trans. P. Canivet and A. Leroy-Molinghen, SC 234 (Paris, 1977-79), 257.

27 N. Patterson-Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (Torino, 1983), 95-103.

28 *Ibid.*, 95-102.

29 *Ibid.*, 102. See also *Ayios Nikolaos Orphanos: The Wall Paintings*, ed. C. Bakirtzis (Athens, 2003), 104-107, figs. 75-76.

century. In these instances, the holy man placed wooden crosses at the boundaries of the space to be protected in addition to offering prayers and holding processions.<sup>30</sup>

A blessing, or *eulogia*, stamped with a saint’s portrait could be used as a stand-in for his physical presence. One interesting example is provided by the fifth-century *Life of Hypatios*, the abbot of the monastery of Rouphinianai, on the Asiatic coast of Constantinople southeast of Chalcedon. A tempest had forced the crew of a commercial ship to jettison bundles of silk fabric to avoid capsizing. Among the bundles that found their way ashore, only those that contained *eulogiae* (blessings) of Hypatios remained undamaged and dry.<sup>31</sup>

### Protection and the Marketplace Setting in Constantinople

The monumental landmarks of Constantinople may have contributed to the protection of commercial transactions there. Descriptions in the eighth-century *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* and the tenth-century *Patria* provide interesting testimony.

### Urban Statuary and Justice at the Marketplace

The first monument that comes to mind is the bronze *modios* (official grain measure). The *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* describe two bronze hands positioned above the *modios* to warn potential cheaters about the penalty for cheating, that is, having one’s hand chopped off.<sup>32</sup> The *Patria* provide supplementary information about the bronze hands, indicating that they were on spikes. They also place the *modios* at the Forum Amastrion, which raises a few problems, because in the tenth century the *De Cerimoniis* locates the *modios* on the Mese between the Philadelphion and the Forum Tauri, probably in front of the Myrelaion (Bodrum Cami).<sup>33</sup>

The *modios* was a cylindrical receptacle illustrated often in the visual arts of late antiquity because it also served as a repository for circus prizes.<sup>34</sup> A *modios* was also sometimes engraved on flat commodity weights and on bust-shaped counterpoise weights.<sup>35</sup> Such an example, framed by two stalks, perhaps ears of grain, can be identified on

30 *Vie de Théodore Sykéon*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, Subsidia Hagiographica 48 (Brussels, 1970), chaps. 52, 144, 115; M. Kaplan, “La viticulture byzantine (VIIe-XIe siècle),” in *Olio e vino nell’alto medioevo, Spoleto, 20-26 aprile 2006, Settimane* 54 (2007): 182.

31 G. J. M. Bartelink, *Callinicos: Vie d’Hypatios, introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes*, SC 177 (Paris, 1971), 228-31, chap. 38. See discussion in V. Déroche and B. Lesieur, “Notes d’hagiographie byzantine: Daniel le Stylite-Marcel l’Acémète-Hypatios de Rufinians-Auxentios de Bithynie,” *AB* 128 (2010): 292-93.

32 G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire: Études sur le recueil des “Patria”* (Paris, 1984), 135 and n. 45; *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, ed. A. Cameron and J. Herrin (Leiden, 1984), 186-87.

33 *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris, De Cerimoniis aulae byzantinae libri duo*, ed. I. Reiske (Bonn, 1829), I.10, 83, and I.17, 106; see P. Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale: Études sur l’évolution des structures urbaines* (Paris, 1996), 23-24.

34 See *Hippodrome / Atmeydanı. A Stage for Istanbul’s History*, ed. B. Pitarakis, exhibition catalogue (Istanbul, 2010), 46 and 257-58, no. 8.

35 See Bendall, *Byzantine Weights*, 43, no. 113 (circular flat weight with a *modios* topped by a cross motif).

the base of a bronze Athena weight from the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately surviving bronze *modioi* are rare. One example, from Ponte Puñide, Galicia, is kept at the National Archaeological Museum of Spain, in Madrid (inv. MAN 1930/16/1). It has a height of 22 centimeters and a diameter of 26 centimeters (Fig. 5). The Latin inscription engraved around the rim reads “Modii l(ex) iuxta sacram iussio[n]em ddd(ominorum) nnn(ostrorum) Valentiniani Valent(i)s et Gratiani invictissimorum / principum iubente Mario Artemio v(iro) c(larissimo) ag(ente) vic(ariam) p(raefecturam) cur(antibus) Potamio et Quentiano (= Quintiano) principalibus.”<sup>37</sup> The text refers to legislation enacted by the emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian and sent to the *vicarius* Marius Artemius, more properly, *agens vice praefectorum praetorio*, that is, deputy of the praetorian prefect, from 369–370. Potamius and Quintianus were two curiales between 367 and 375 and apparently were in charge of certain indirect taxes. The inscription of their names on the measure seems to have been a guarantee of its accuracy.<sup>38</sup>

The third-century mosaic at the Hall of the Grain Measurers in the Forum of the Corporations in Ostia, the port of Rome, is an excellent illustration of a *modios* in the context of its use. The composition establishes a correlation between fair weighing practices and prosperity. The mosaic’s *modios*, filled with grain, stands on a tripod and has two lateral handles. The measurer (*mentor*) touches the grain with his left hand, while with the right hand he poises a leveling stick (*rutellum*) above the *modios*. A boy standing next to him counts the sacks arriving from the harbor. The branch-like object that he holds is a counting device—a cord onto which he adds a wooden stick for each unit that the measurer handles.<sup>39</sup>

The scene is in some respects similar to the famous second- or third-century painting (now in the Vatican Museums) from a tomb of the necropolis of Porta Laurentina, south of Ostia, showing the loading of the merchant ship *Isis Giminiana* with sacks of grain (Fig. 6).<sup>40</sup> Of particular note is the figure at the center named Abascantos, “Immune from the Evil Eye.” He pours grain from a sack marked *Res* (goods) into a *modios* as the corn measurer supervises. A second corn measurer stands at the bow of the ship next to a full *modios* marked *Feci* (I have finished). The tomb is thought to have belonged to

36 A. Gonosová and C. Kondoleon, *Art of Late Rome and Byzantium in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts* (Richmond, 1994), 242–45, no. 83.

37 Artemius *vicarius* of Spain is known in 369 (Cod. Theod. 8.2.2). See R. de Ureña, “El *modius* de Ponte Puñide,” in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 66 (1915): 485–507; A. D. Pérez Zurita, “Control y administración de pesos y medidas en las ciudades del Imperio romano (Pars Occidentalis),” *Gerión: Revista de Historia Antigua* 29.1 (2011): 131–32. See also Hispania Epigraphica online database, [http://eda-bea.es/pub/search\\_select.php](http://eda-bea.es/pub/search_select.php), record no. 13931.

38 See M. Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities* (Baltimore, MD., 2004), 45, 313. I owe this reference to Jonathan Bardill, whom I would like to thank for his help in my discussion on this inscription.

39 See K. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge, 1999), 313; J. R. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representations of Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C.–A.D. 315* (Berkeley, 2003), 127. For online illustrations, see “Regio II – Insula VII – Piazzale delle Corporazioni (II,VII,4),” <http://www.ostia-antica.org/piazzale/corp.htm> (last consulted 9 May 2016).

40 R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, 2nd ed. (London, 1973), 294–95, fig. 25e.

somebody who had escaped a shipwreck during his lifetime and thus had dedicated a ship to Isis and to the twin brothers Castor and Pollux, who were worshipped as protectors of shipwrecked sailors.

The two hands above the Amastrianon *modios* in Constantinople may also be interpreted as the hands of justice. Another legendary monument associated with commercial activities in Constantinople is the pair of statues—probably imperial since they were made of porphyry—called the Just Judges (Δικαιοκρίται), at the Philadelphion.<sup>41</sup> To resolve disputes about the price of merchandise, sums of money would be placed in the hand of one of these statues and coins added until the just price was reached. When the just price was obtained, any excess would be rejected. Alternatively, the litigants would put their hands in the statue’s mouth, and it would bite off the hand of the guilty party.

The Just Judges probably reference the concept of the equity of the emperor that seems also to be conveyed by the iconography of weights. A fourth- or fifth-century one-pound commodity weight in the British Museum shows two busts of co-emperors within a frame carried by a pair of Tychai on the top. Below is a half-nude female figure with her arms extended horizontally and both hands open for holding the denominational mark.<sup>42</sup> Her pose appears to be a symbolic representation of a balance scale with two concave pans, while the imperial busts above suggest imperial endorsement for an accurate measure. A copper alloy weight of similar type at the Pera Museum, Istanbul, dated to the fourth-fifth centuries, shows the enthroned co-emperors in a wreath carried by two Victories above (inv. no. PMA 3004) (Fig. 7).<sup>43</sup> These Victories are crowned, as is a third one above the imperial throne extending both hands in a gesture of blessing. The composition is modeled after fourth-century coin iconography showing a winged Victory hovering above the enthroned co-emperors (coins of Gratian, Valentinian I, Valentinian II, Theodosius I, and Arcadius).

The weight offers close comparison with an example from the collection of the Byzantine Museum in Athens on which the enthroned emperors appear under an arch rather than in a wreath. In the Athenian weight, the central winged figure is also of a larger scale, with more precision in the facial and anatomic details. In her discussion of this piece, Olga Gratsiou stresses that the winged figure is not flying but stands behind the throne and suggests identifying it as an angel. She then addresses this identification in the context of the evolution of coin iconography during the sixth century and notes the replacement of the winged Victory by an angel on coins of Justin I. On the weight, the emperors could be Justin and Justinian (co-emperors during April–August 527), who in coin iconography are represented seated with a cross between them and an angel on the reverse.<sup>44</sup>

41 C. Mango, “The Legend of Leo the Wise,” *ZRVI* 6 (1960): 75.

42 *Byzantium, 330–1453*, ed. R. Cormack and M. Vassilaki, exhibition catalogue (London, 2008), 408, no. 117.

43 O. Tekin, *Suna and İnan Kıraç Foundation Collection at the Pera Museum. Part 2: Late Roman and Byzantine Weights, Corpus Ponderum Antiquorum et Islamicorum, Turkey 3* (Istanbul, 2015), no. 091, pl. 26.

44 O. Gratsiou, “Αυτοκρατορικό σταθμίο, νέο απόκτημα του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου,” in *Θυμιάματα στη μνήμη της*

The righteous Christian emperor as God's regent was a purveyor of good, and his image demanded the same respect and veneration. Like the city Tyche, the imperial image was believed to have magical powers and serve an apotropaic function. Imperial portraits had a ubiquitous presence in the public space and were considered direct substitutes for his person, carrying all the authority of his person.<sup>45</sup> The function of the imperial image in the decoration of weights, both commodity weights and coin weights (*exagia*), is similar to its use on official insignia as illustrated in the late antique representations of the trial of Christ. In the depiction of the scene in the sixth-century Rossano Gospels, imperial portraits are highlighted not only on the standards of the two soldiers who flank Pilatus, but also on the white cloth covering his table and the display case of his pen.<sup>46</sup>

### Gorgon Heads at the Marketplace

The decorative monumental sculptures of the marketplace may also have been invested with apotropaic or protective values. Two connected episodes in the *Patria* focus on a pair of Gorgon heads said to decorate an archway (or vault) in the area of the Artopoleia (bakers' quarters).<sup>47</sup> The story is about a herd of pigs crossing the arch of the Artotyrianos (the bread-and-cheese place), which, according to Albrecht Berger, is the same as the four-sided arch of the Artopoleia. This location lay between the Fora of Constantine and Theodosius. We learn that as they come up, the pigs come to a standstill and cannot go through the arch. The swineherds, trying to encourage them to move on, proceeded to beat them severely to the point that blood, a sacrifice to the place, flowed from their snouts. After blood had been spilled, the pigs abruptly set off. The Gorgon heads on the arch above this spot are said to have been facing one another, one on the right of the arch and one on the left.

The *Patria* is a text in which legends, misinterpretations of older stories, and topographical information are intermingled and interpolated. The rich repertory of statues that it describes is part of the folklore of Constantinople. About the Forum of Constantine one also reads, "There also stands a pig, which signifies the shouts of the market, and a naked statue which signifies the shamelessness of the buyers and sellers" (ἀλλὰ καὶ χοῖρος ἴστατο σημαίων τὴν κραυγὴν τῆς πανηγύρεως, καὶ γυμνὴ στήλη σημαίνουσα τὸ ἀναισχυντον τῶν ἀγοράζόντων καὶ τῶν πωλούντων).<sup>48</sup> The Gorgon heads probably did exist within the city's landscape.

*Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα* (Athens, 1994), 115–17, pl. 60.

45 See discussion in L. Lavan, "Political Talismans? Residual 'Pagan' Statues in Late Antique Public Space," in *The Archaeology of Late Antique Paganism*, ed. L. Lavan and M. Mulryan, *Late Antique Archaeology* 7 (Leiden, 2009), 461–62.

46 See W. C. Loerke, "The Miniatures of the Trial in the Rossano Gospels," *ArtB* 43 (1961): 171–95; G. Cavallo, *Codex purpureus Rossanensis* (Rome, 1992), fol. 8r and 8v, figs. 13–14.

47 *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: The Patria*, trans. A. Berger (Cambridge, Mass.-London, 2013), 80–81, 2.46 and 2.46a; Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 138.

48 *Patria* 2.103, trans. Berger, 124–25; Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 114 and 138.

The *Patria* mention four other gorgon-like heads on the ancient palace of Constantine, in the area of the Forum Tauri.<sup>49</sup> These are said to be part of eight such heads removed from the Temple of Artemis in Ephesos, the other four being on the Chalke Gate in the palace. The latter had the sign of the cross above them. The association of a Gorgon head and a cross is also illustrated on a sixth-century marble slab from Lechaion, in Corinth, which comes from a late Roman nymphaeum transformed into a hagiasma in the sixth century. The double-sided slab features a Gorgon head carved on one side and a cross on the other.<sup>50</sup>

The legendary and powerful gaze of the Gorgons that could turn onlookers into stone led to images of Gorgons being used as hardstone amulets in the Roman period and in late antiquity. The carving technique of a jasper cameo at Dumbarton Oaks indicates a date in the late fourth or early fifth century.<sup>51</sup> Gorgon heads were also placed on buildings for protection, appearing as a motif in the sculptural decoration of antique urban centers. For instance, they appear on the arches decorating the Severan Forum in Leptis Magna and a gate in Ephesos beyond the west gate of the Agora built around 400 AD. Its entrance pillars bear capitals with reliefs of Gorgon heads.<sup>52</sup>

The bust of Athena with a Gorgon head on her aegis ranks among the most popular iconographic types used on bronze counterpoise weights in late antiquity. Archaeological finds from Constantinople and Anatolia attest to its use well into the seventh century.<sup>53</sup> The model was perhaps the bronze Athena from Lindos in Rhodes that once stood at the Forum of Constantine until the Latin conquest of the city (Fig. 8). The famous tenth-century poet Constantine the Rhodian describes the bronze statue as warlike, helmeted, with a monstrous Gorgon on her aegis (goatskin breastplate), and the snakes entangled around her neck.<sup>54</sup>

By tracing the probable path of the pigs in the *Patria* episode, it is possible to roughly identify the location of the building on which the Gorgons were situated. A likely trajectory proceeds from the harbor (possibly the Julian harbor), where they were

49 *Patria* 2.28, trans. Berger, 68–69; *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, chaps. 44a and 78.

50 See *Transition to Christianity: Art of Late Antiquity, 3rd–7th Century AD*, ed. A. Lazaridou (New York, 2011), 149, no. 116; Y. Theocharis, "Το θωράκιο με το γοργόγνειο στο Βυζαντινό Μουσείο Αθηνών," *ΔΧΑΕ* 33 (2012): 93–104.

51 See O. Peleg-Barkat and Y. Tepper, "Engraved Gems from Sites with a Military Presence in Roman Palestine: The Cases of Legio and Aelia Capitolina," in *Gems of Heaven: Recent Research on Engraved Gemstones in Late Antiquity c. AD 200–600*, ed. C. Entwistle and N. Adams (London, 2011), 100–101, pl. 5; H. Molesworth and M. Henig, "Love and Passion: Personal Cameos in Late Antiquity from the Content Collection," in *Gems of Heaven*, 180, pl. 4; M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, vol. 1: *Metalwork, Ceramics, Glass, Glyptics, Painting* (Washington, D.C., 1962), 94, no. 112.

52 *Ephesus: The New Guide*, ed. P. Scherrer (Istanbul, 2000), 146.

53 See N. Franken, "Aequipondia: Figürliche Laufgewichte römischer und frühbyzantinischer Schnellwaagen" (Ph.D. diss., Rheinisch-Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1994), 181–91, no. CB1–CB55; Pitarakis, "Daily Life at the Marketplace," 421–22. See also *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, ed. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, exhibition catalogue (Athens, 2002), 75, no. 23.

54 *Constantine of Rhodes, on Constantinople and the Church of the Holy Apostles*, ed. L. James (Farnham, 2012), 29, ll. 159–60. See also the description of the bronze Athena by Kedrenos: *Georgios Kedrenos, Historiarum Compendium*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols., CSHB 35–36 (Bonn, 1838–39), 1:565.

unloaded, to the Forum of Theodosius, where butchers could buy them (Fig. 9).<sup>55</sup> One might imagine that the pigs were driven up the hill from the Julian harbor. Once they arrived at the junction with the Mese, they crossed the vault (or arch) of the bread sellers, which probably corresponded to what remained of the bronze tetrapylon (χαλκοῦν τετράπυλον).<sup>56</sup> According to Albrecht Berger, the Chalkoun Tetrapylon and the Artotyrianos mentioned in this episode would be equivalent to the site of the *Anemodoulion*, a tall, four-sided monument with a pyramidal roof that functioned as a weather vane.<sup>57</sup> From the *Life of St. Andrew the Fool*, it appears that the *Anemodoulion* marked the site of a hay-market.<sup>58</sup> It is possible that the herds of pigs were stopped there while handlers purchased bedding for them.

The archaeological record of Istanbul can also assist in visualizing the marble Gorgon heads described in the pig episode. A colossal Gorgon head, now in the garden of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, was unearthed in 1869 in the foundations of a wooden house to the south of the Porphyry Column of Constantine (inv. 3214 T) (Fig. 10).<sup>59</sup> It forms a group with the two famous marble blocks that were reused in the Basilica Cistern (today Yerebatan Sarayı) along with columns from what looks like the Arch of Theodosius. These probably ended up as spolia in the 530s after Justinian redeveloped the Mese following the Nika riot. These Gorgon head blocks are attributed to the Constantinian period. Constantine's circular Forum was surrounded by a two-story colonnade adorned on both sides by a monumental arch, possibly with massive keystones ornamented with Medusa heads.<sup>60</sup>

The collections of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums include another fourth-century marble Gorgon found in the area of the Forum of Constantine.<sup>61</sup> The piece, with

a diameter of 1.02 meters, is carved in a medallion. The Gorgon head is slightly turned to the right, with the eyes, especially the right one, looking toward the right. These are features of the Gorgons described in the *Patria*.

### The Procession of the Hodegetria and the Artopoleia

Another aspect of daily life in the marketplace of Constantinople involved divine protection provided by a miraculous icon. The example here focuses on the well-known fresco panels from the narthex of the main church of the Blacherna monastery in Arta, Epiros, that illustrate the weekly procession of the Hodegetria icon in Constantinople through a group of food and beverage street vendors.<sup>62</sup>

The Blacherna was a monastery that some time before 1230 was converted into a convent to house nuns from the aristocracy of Constantinople who had found refuge there following the conquest of the city. Perhaps the nuns invited painters there who had worked in the city or were trained in the artistic traditions of the capital. The composition spreads out along the southwest arcade and its left pier. The upper part shows a row of women watching from what appear to be balconies on a two-storey building.

The lower register of the arcade and the north side of the left pier are devoted to representations of traders conducting transactions with their customers. The inscriptions identify the *phokadia* ([... ας] πωλῶν τὰ φώκάδια), which might be a variant of *phouskaria*, referring to a place where φουκάς or φουσκάς, a sort of perfumed wine, was sold;<sup>63</sup> “a woman selling vegetables” (Ἡ λαχανοπώλισσα πωλοῦσα τὰ λάχανα); and “a woman selling fruits” (Ἡ ὀπωροπώλισσα πωλοῦσα τὰ ὀπώρικα).

On top of the pier, an old woman with vessels hanging on a chain in front of her probably offers holy water (*hagiasma*) for drinking and sprinkling.<sup>64</sup> Below, one finds the impressive figure of the “Khazar who sells caviar” (Ὁ Χάζαρις πουλῶν τὸ χαβιάριν). As David Jacoby has demonstrated, caviar was not a particularly rare or expensive commodity in Byzantium.<sup>65</sup> The merchant holds with two fingers the cord from which

(Constantinople, 1912), 1:361–62, no. 145.

62 The procession is described in various sources, mostly travelers' reports, from the 11th to the 15th century. It progressed throughout the city every Tuesday. Its route depended on the location of the church assigned as the final stop for the icon, where a fair would take place. Testimonies from the 14th and 15th centuries indicate a change in the ritual, with the principal part being located outside the church of the Hodegoi, in a large square where the icon was placed. A manuscript from circa 1440, in the Vatopedi monastery, notes the precinct wall of the monastery of the Hodegoi and the street at the north gate where the *foros* (market) was usually held on Tuesday. C. Angelidi, “Un texte patriotique et édifiant: le ‘Discours narratif’ sur les Hodègoi,” *REB* 52 (1994): 122. Christina Angelidi suggests locating the composition of the fresco in the vicinity of the church of the Hodegoi on the portico that links the Tzykanestirion to the Blachernai, passing by the Hodegetria and the Mangana.

63 The column at the Artopoleia was built by Phokas, so there might be some curious connection between the name Phokas and the *phokadia*.

64 The fragmentary inscription reads Τῆς Θεοτόκου χαρὰ [. . .] κωθόνια πίνειν (The joy of the Theotokos . . . drinking from *kothonia*). In written sources, *kothonia* are mentioned as holy water vessels. M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Η Βλαχέρνα της Ἀρτας: Τοιχογραφίες* (Athens, 2009), 82.

65 In 10th-century epistolography, one finds several instances in which bishops from the region of

55 *Book of the Eparch* 16.2–3, trans. J. Koder, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, CFHB 33 (Vienna, 1991), 124, 126. Butchers are threatened with punishment if they hide pigs in the houses of the nobles to resell them later (ibid. 21.3, ed. Koder, 137). On the consumption of pigs, see M. Grünbart, “Store in a Cool and Dry Place,” *Eat, Drink, and Be Merry (Luke 2:19): Food and Wine in Byzantium*, ed. L. Brubaker and K. Linardou (Aldershot, 2007), 47; F. Fros, “Sausage and Meat Preservation in Antiquity,” *GRBS* 40 (1999): 241–52.

56 See discussion in C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe–VIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1985), 30–31 and n. 52; A. Berger, “Das Chalkun Tetrapylon und Parastaseis, Kapitel 57,” *BZ* 90 (1997): 7–12; M. Mundell Mango, “The Porticoed Street at Constantinople,” in *Byzantine Constantinople*, ed. Necipoğlu, 39.

57 Berger discusses the reference to a church of St. Barbara in the texts of the *Patria* and the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*. In the first, the church is said to be in the vicinity of the *Artotyrianos topos*, while the second locates it in the vicinity of the *Anemodoulion*. A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos* (Bonn, 1998), 313; Berger, “Das Chalkun Tetrapylon,” 7–12. It has been recently suggested that the *Anemodoulion* was set up above the Chalkoun Tetrapylon in the 8th century during the reign of Leo III (714–741). See B. Anderson, “Leo III and the *Anemodoulion*,” *BZ* 104 (2011): 41–54.

58 *The Life of St Andrew the Fool*, ed. L. Rydén, 2 vols. (Uppsala, 1995), 2:140–42, ll. 1942–43.

59 N. Firathi et al., *La sculpture byzantine figurée au Musée archéologique d'Istanbul* (Paris, 1990), 132, no. 259. H. 1.55 m, L. 2.95 m. C. G. Curtis and M. Walker, *Broken Bits of Byzantium* (London, 1869–91), 2: no. 31. The block was later brought to the second court of the Topkapı Palace, after where it arrived at the Archaeological Museums in 1916 along with two imperial sarcophagi. J. Ebersolt, *Constantinople: Recueil d'études, d'archéologie et d'histoire* (Paris, 1951), 112; Mango, *Le développement urbain*, 26, n. 17.

60 Mundell Mango, “The Porticoed Street at Constantinople,” 35.

61 Mango, *Le développement urbain*, 26; G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*

a balance is suspended. This is the correct way of holding a balance scale, prescribed by legislation of Constantine the Great.<sup>66</sup> The surrounding inscriptions offer interesting topographical information. Above the icon one reads, Μήτηρ Θεοῦ ἡ Ὁδηγήτρια (Mother of God, the Hodegetria); Ἡ χαρὰ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Ὁδηγήτριας τῆς ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει (The joy of the most holy Theotokos the Hodegetria the [one] in Constantinople); and Τὸ Σταυρὸν (The Staurin) (Fig. 11).

In a monograph devoted to the decorative program of this church, Myrtali Acheimastou-Potamianou suggests identifying this Staurin as the one located at Zeugma and argues that this shows the great distance from the monastery of the Hodegetria that the route of the procession followed, perhaps still in the thirteenth century.<sup>67</sup> The Staurion at Zeugma was right beside the Golden Horn, close to the church of St. Akakios at the Heptaskalon in the area of modern Unkapanı.<sup>68</sup> There was a retail market for meat and other products, including perfumes and drugs, in this area throughout the Middle Ages. As Paul Magdalino has shown, this would be at sea level in a part of the city where no public avenue existed. It was, however, along the processional route going from the Hagia Sophia area to the Blachernae that the Friday *presbeia* followed. The route must also have been used on the days when the Hodegetria icon was brought from the Hodegoi to the Pantokrator monastery.<sup>69</sup>

Another possible location of the Staurin from the fresco might be the site of a cross monument called the Staurin. According to the *Patria*, it was a paved courtyard near the Artopoleia, to the east of the church of Forty-Martyrs and near the Chalkoun Tetrasyon. At the middle of the court stood a masonry column topped by a cross at its center.<sup>70</sup> This was also one of the stations in the imperial procession during which the emperor was received by the circus factions.<sup>71</sup> The eighth-century *Life of Stephen the Younger*

makes mention of this Staurin, located on the imperial avenue, near the place where the parents of the saint lived in goodly sized dwellings known as *ta Konsta*, which Magdalino locates on the Mese between the Fora of Constantine and Theodosius.<sup>72</sup> References to the Artopoleia in the *Life of St. Andrew the Fool* also confirm that this was a lively place for the trade of foodstuffs and beverages. However, the center of Constantinople had been gutted by the great fire of 1203, and it is unlikely that the damage was repaired during the Latin occupation. The area might have been renovated for commerce after 1261, but the evidence for commercial activity in the Palaiologan period pertains mainly to the Golden Horn. The location of the Hodegetria procession depicted in Arta therefore seems more likely in the area of Zeugma than the vicinity of the Artopoleia.<sup>73</sup>

In conclusion, the need for protection against evil stands out as an essential feature of daily life in the Byzantine marketplace. The control exercised by state officials was empowered by a rich set of devices invoking supernatural powers. God was the ultimate judge, and in the thirteenth century, the falsifier of weights made his appearance among the categories of sinners in the iconography of the Last Judgment. At the church of St. George at Kalyvia Kouvara, Attica, Greece, the instrument of his vice, a scale, is suspended around his neck.<sup>74</sup> It appears, therefore, that the inscriptions and images associated with the material culture and setting of the marketplace were not mere decoration. They had, instead, inherent powers that reflected the system of beliefs of the contemporary society and thus cannot be dissociated from the historical background.

Constantinople receive caviar from the Black Sea as gifts. G. Dagron, "Poissons, pêcheurs et poissonniers de Constantinople," in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, ed. Mango and Dagron, 59.

66 Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy*, 329.

67 Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Η Βλαχέρνα της Ἀρτας*, 134.

68 This was an open place marked by a cross on a column. To the west of the church of St. Akakios was an agora mentioned by Procopius (*De Aedif.* I.4.26), which Berger plausibly associated with the market known as the Leomakellon. A. Berger, "Zur Topographie der Ufergegend am Goldenen Horn in byzantinischer Zeit," *IstMitt* 45 (1995): 153.

69 P. Magdalino, "The Maritime Neighborhoods of Constantinople: Commercial and Residential Functions, Sixth to Twelfth Centuries," *DOP* 54 (2001): 221 [repr. in P. Magdalino, *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot, 2007), no. III].

70 P. Magdalino, "Aristocratic *Oikoi* in the Tenth and Eleventh Regions of Constantinople," in *Byzantine Constantinople*, ed. Necipoğlu, 65–66 [repr. in Magdalino, *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople*, no. II]. In the *Patria*, we also learn that charioteers of the four circus factions would venerate the cross at the Staurion to obtain victory. Berger, *Patria*, 2.64, 94–95; Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 88, n. 97. This is probably the masonry column that, according to the *Chronicon Paschale*, was erected by the emperor Phokas immediately before his fall. Two years later, in 612, Heraclius erected a cross on top of the column. *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1832), 698–99 and 703. In English, *Chronicon Paschale, 284–628 AD*, trans. M. Whitby and M. Whitby (Liverpool, 1989), 148, 155. In the 14th century, Nikephoros Kallistos describes this column as a high pillar made of marble blocks and located at a place called Artopolion (PG 146:121).

71 *De Cerimoniis*, ed. Reiske, I.8, 56; I.10, 84; I.17, 106.

72 Magdalino, "Aristocratic *Oikoi*," 66; M.-F. Auzépy, *La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre* (Aldershot, 1997), 91, chap. 3.

73 I would like to thank Paul Magdalino for his insightful remarks on the topography of this area of Constantinople in the 13th century.

74 Pitarakis, "Daily Life at the Marketplace," 425.



Fig. 1 Amphorae of Apollinarios, a 6th-century merchant, Antinoopolis (photo courtesy of Dominique Pieri and Jean-Luc Fournet).



Fig. 2 Dipinto on the neck fragment of an amphora (African *spatheion*), 6th–7th century, Antinoopolis (photo courtesy of Dominique Pieri and Jean-Luc Fournet).



Fig. 3 Foot-shaped stamp with the ΚΑΠΠΙΟΘΕΟΥ (Fruit of God) formula, 6th–7th centuries. Istanbul Archaeological Museums, inv. no. 6191 (M) (Photo: Uğur Ataç).



Fig. 4 Stamp of Bishop Severianos on an *unguentarium* from Rhodes (photo courtesy of Angeliki Katsioti).



Fig. 5 *Modios* from Ponte Puñide, 4th century, Galicia. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, inv. no. 1930/16/1 (photo Gonzalo Cases Ortega).



Fig. 6 The merchant ship *Isis Geminiana*. Painting from the necropolis of Porta Laurentiana, south of Ostia, 2nd or 3rd century. Vatican Museums (copyright Jonathan Bardill).



Fig. 7 Copper alloy weight with enthroned co-emperors and Victories, 4th–5th centuries. Pera Museum, inv. no. PMA 3004 (photo courtesy of the Pera Museum).



Fig. 8 The Forum of Constantine and the bronze statue of Athena. 3-D reconstruction (copyright A. Tayfun Öner).



Fig. 9 Aerial view from the Julian Harbor to the Mese. 3-D reconstruction (copyright A. Tayfun Öner).



Fig. 10 Colossal marble Gorgon head. Istanbul Archaeological Museums, inv. no. 3214 (T). 3-D scan (courtesy of A. Tayfun Öner).

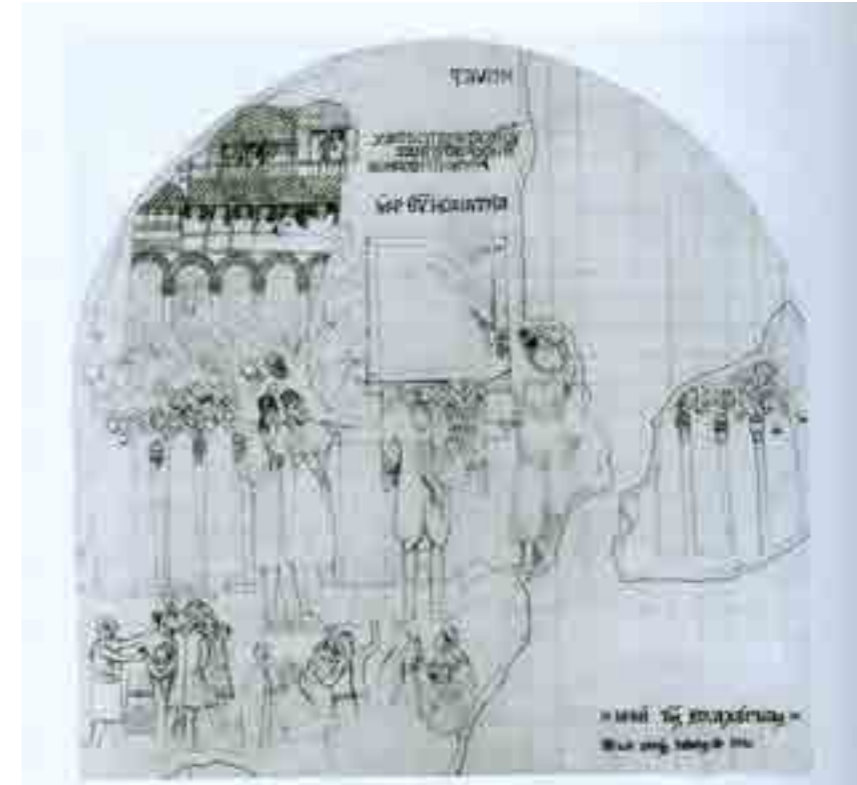


Fig. 11 The procession of the Hodegetria icon in Constantinople. Line drawing of the painted panel in the narthex of the Blachernitissa Church, Arta, Greece (photo Th. Konstantinidi, after M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Η Βλαχέρνα της Άρτας: Τοιχογραφίες* [Athens, 2009], fig. 121).



# Bizans Başkentinde Müslüman Tacirler İçin Mimarlık: *Mitaton*

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## ABSTRACT Architecture for Muslim Merchants in the Byzantine Capital: The *Mitaton*

Indubitably Constantinople accommodated a Muslim community, involved in the urban life of the Byzantine capital, and the sources mention buildings reserved for it. When considering buildings that housed large Muslim groups, the existence of two locations becomes particularly clear. Both of these locations are referred to as *mitaton* in the sources: the *Praetorium Mitaton* that housed ambassadors and important prisoners of war and the Perama *Mitaton* allocated to merchants.

It appears that in the *Praetorium* referred to as Dar al-Balat by al-Muqaddasi, a tenth-century Arab geographer, and as *Mitaton* by an eleventh-century English pilgrim, the place allocated to the high-ranking Muslims was close to the Great Palace.

The Perama *Mitaton* was allocated to Muslim merchants, mainly to Syrians dealing in the silk trade. According to information given by Niketas Choniates, it can be concluded that the Perama *Mitaton* where merchants lodged and marketed their goods was located outside the city walls, in the Bahçekapı area, close to the Saint Irene Church. Considering the continuous silk trade, it is possible that a trade and lodging building, located at the Perama waterfront since late antiquity, was later allocated to Muslim merchants. The fact that referring to the fire of 1203 Niketas Choniates mentions both the mosque (συναγωγή των Σαρακηνών) and the *Mitaton* leads us to assume that the two buildings had a connection. However, it is uncertain whether the mosque of the *Mitaton* at Perama was the one commissioned by Saladin.

*Mitaton* derives from the word *metatus* meaning lodging. The term is used in the plural as “*mitata*” in the *Book of the Eparch*, one of the most important sources confirming their existence in Constantinople. Indeed, we know that not only Muslims, but also Russians

and Bulgarians had their *mitata*. A *mitaton* can be “imagined” as a kind of compound within the medieval architectural context. It is highly possible that *mitaton* had a courtyard like the medieval lodging buildings referred to with various names. It is also possible that its mosque was close by or maybe in the center of the courtyard as in the Seljuk caravanserais.

The term *mitaton* seems to have disappeared in Palaiologan Constantinople. However, apparently, the plan of medieval lodging buildings with a central courtyard was maintained because no radical change happened in the way trade was conducted for centuries.

## Giriş

Bizans İmparatorluğu başkenti Konstantinopolis tacirler için daima çekici olmuştur. Latin tacirlerin on birinci yüzyıldan itibaren Haliç’in güney sahilinde yerleştikleri bilinir. Ancak, Latinlerin Haliç’in güney sahiline yerleşmelerinden önce Müslümanların ticari etkinliklerinin olduğu ve zamanla pazarın Batılı tacirlerin eline geçtiği söylenebilir.<sup>1</sup> İslamiyetten önce de Arapların Bizans başkentine gidip geldikleri konusunda şüphe yoktur.<sup>2</sup> Ioustinianos (527-565) Sasanilerle savaşlarda müttefik ihtiyacı nedeniyle Araplar ile yakın ilişkide olmuştur.<sup>3</sup> İslamiyetin kabulünün ardından da Arapların Bizans ile ilişkileri kesilmemiştir.<sup>4</sup>

İki büyük Arap kuşatmasının<sup>5</sup> ardından Müslümanlar ile iletişim bazen düşman bazen müttefik olarak devam etmiştir. Bizans başkentinde kendilerine ayrılmış yapılardan bahsedecek kadar kent hayatına dahil olan bir Müslüman topluluğu olduğu kesindir. Bu topluluğu, elçilik heyetleri, savaş esirleri, mahkûmlar, paralı askerler, tacirler olarak gruplandırmak mümkündür. Kalabalık Müslüman grupların barındığı yapılar düşünüldüğünde özellikle iki yerin varlığı konusunda şüphe yoktur. Kaynaklarda bu iki yer de *mitaton* olarak geçmektedir: elçiler ile önemli savaş esirlerinin kaldığı *Praetorium*<sup>6</sup> Mitatonu ve tacirlere tahsis edilmiş olan Perama Mitatonu.

## Praetorium Mitatonu: *Dar al-Balat*

Bizans kaynakları ve Arap kaynakları Bizans İmparatorluğu’nun yönetim merkezi Praetorium’da Müslüman elçilik heyetlerinin ve önemli esirlerin kalabildiği, yakınında veya içinde bir camiye de barındıran bir yapı veya yapılar grubu olduğu konusunda hemfikirler. Mesleme (Maslamah b. Abd al-Malik) (705-738?) tarafından Praetorium’da inşa ettirildiği iddia edilen cami, Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos’a (913-959) atfedilen *De administrando imperio* başlıklı esere de konu olmuştur.<sup>7</sup> Kaynakta, açık olarak Mesleme tarafından Praetorium’da bir *magisdion* (mescit)<sup>8</sup> inşa edildiği aktarılmaktadır. Hasluck’a göre bu yapının Mesleme tarafından değil, Mesleme adına 860 tarihli Sarazen (Müslüman) elçiliği sırasında, karşılıklı anlaşmalar çerçevesinde inşa edilmiş olması olasıdır.<sup>9</sup>

Onuncu yüzyıl Arap coğrafyacısı El-Makdisi, *Dar al-Balat*<sup>10</sup> olarak adlandırdığı Müslümanlara ayrılan yerin Praetorium’da Büyük Saray’a yakın bir konumda bulunduğunu aktarmaktadır. Önemli savaş esirlerinin de elçilerle birlikte *Dar al-Balat*’ta imparatorun koruması altında adeta “misafir” edildikleri ve burada esir değişiminin olacağı günü bekledikleri düşünülebilir.<sup>11</sup> Müslümanların hayatında ibadet günlük yaşamı şekillendirdiğinden, Ortaçağ’da konaklama yapısının ibadet mekânı veya yapısı ile birlikte düşünülmesi kaçınılmazdır. Savaş esirlerinin de ibadetlerini yapmalarına izin verildiğini Patrik Nikolaos Mystikos, Halife Muktedir’e yazdığı 922 tarihli mektubu ile bildirmektedir.<sup>12</sup> Mystikos, Müslüman esirlerin konakladıkları yer hakkında da bilgi vermiştir. Anlatımına göre, esirler geniş dairelerde kalmaktaydılar; temiz havaya ve insan ihtiyacına yönelik diğer konforlara da sahiptiler. Ayrıca bir de *oratoriumları*<sup>13</sup> bulunmaktaydı. Mystikos’un anlatımındaki yerin *Dar al-Balat* olup olmadığı anlaşılabilir. Ancak, halifeye yazılan mektupta önemli esirler söz konusu olduğundan bahsi geçen yerin *Dar al-Balat* olması olasıdır. İçinde ibadet yapısını da içeren, elçilik heyetlerinin, önemli esirlerin kontrollü bir barınma mekânı olarak anlaşılan Praetorium’daki *Dar al-Balat*’ın Anderson’a göre ayrıca bir üretim alanı olarak kullanılmış olması olasıdır. Anderson, *Dar al-Balat*’ın Bizans sarayına yakın oluşunu anlamlı bulmuş ve sarayın tekstil üretiminde burada kalan esirlerin çalıştırılmış olabileceği görüşünü iletmiştir.<sup>14</sup>

1 Olivia Remie Constable, Venediklileri hariç tutarak Müslüman tacirlerin Batı Avrupalılardan önce Konstantinopolis’te aktif olduklarını yazmıştır. Müslüman tacirlerin Venediklilerden de önce Konstantinopolis’te ticarete başlamış olmaları büyük bir olasılıktır: bkz. O. R. Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World* (Cambridge, 2004), 149; ayrıca bkz. J. Turchetto, “Il Mitaton dei Saraceni di Niceta Coniata,” *Medioevo Greco* 14 (2014): 271.

2 Şair Imr’ al Qays, Ioustinianos zamanında Konstantinopolis’i ziyaret etmiştir: bkz. İ. Mumayiz, “Imr’ al Qays and Byzantium,” *Journal of Arabic Literature* 36.2 (2005): 135-51.

3 Mumayiz, “Imr’ al Qays,” 136.

4 İslamiyet, Bizans imparatoru Herakleios (610-641) zamanında yayılmaya başlamıştır: bkz. G. Ostrogorsky, *Bizans Devleti Tarihi*, çev. F. Işıltan (Ankara, 1995), 102.

5 İlk Arap kuşatması beş yıl sürmüştür (673-678). Grek ateşi sayesinde kuşatma sona erdirilmiştir. İkincisi Mesleme’nin kuşatmasıdır (717-718): bkz. Ostrogorsky, *Bizans*, 116-17, 145-46. Mesleme’nin kuşatması hakkında ayrıca bkz. G. Abûl Farac (Bar Hebraeus), *Abûl Farac Tarihi*, çev. Ö. Doğrul, c. 1 (Ankara, 1945), 193.

6 İmparatorluğun resmi dairelerinin bulunduğu *Praetorium/Praitorion*, Konstantinos Forumu ile Million arasında bulunmaktaydı: bkz. R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, 2. bas. (Paris, 1964), 258.

7 *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio*, ed. G. Moravcsik, çev. R. J. H. Jenkins (Washington, D.C., 1967), 92-93.

8 Ortaçağ’da Mescid-i Aksa örneğinde olduğu gibi cami yerine mescit kullanımı yaygındır.

9 F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, ed. M. M. Hasluck, c. 2 (İstanbul, 2000), 561.

10 Saray alanı için kullanılmış bir ifade olmalıdır: bkz. G. D. Anderson, “Islamic Spaces and Diplomacy in Constantinople: Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries C.E.,” *Medieval Encounters* 15 (2009): 89.

11 Anderson, “Islamic Spaces,” 89-93.

12 S. W. Reinert, “The Muslim Presence in Constantinople, 9th-15th Centuries: Some Preliminary Observations,” *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. H. Ahrweiler ve A. E. Laiou (Washington, D.C., 1997), 128.

13 İbadet yeri.

14 Anderson, “Islamic Spaces,” 90.

Praetorium'un Müslüman *mitatonu* on birinci yüzyılda Konstantinopolis'e gelmiş olan bir İngiliz hacının tasvirinde de geçmektedir.<sup>15</sup> Metinde *mitaton* yakınındaki Kırk Şehitler Kilisesi'nden söz edilmektedir. Aynı yer, yaklaşık bir yüzyıl sonra Niketas Khoniates'in *Historia*'sında da ortaya çıkmaktadır. Khoniates'in anlatımına göre, 1201 yılında Praetorium'da cereyan eden Ioannes Lagos isyanında "Sarazenlerin sinagogu" (*synagogion Sarakenon*) temellerine kadar tamamen tahrip olmuştur. Khoniates'in *Historia*'sının Işın Demirkent tarafından yapılan çevirisinde, Praetorium'da bulunan yapı için "mitaton" terimi kullanılmıştır.<sup>16</sup> *Historia*'nın on altıncı yüzyılda Hieronymus Wolf tarafından yapılmış Latince çevirisinde ise "mitaton" yerine özgün Yunanca metinde geçen ve bir "toplanma yeri"ni, yani camiye, ifade eden "sinagog" teriminin karşılığı olarak "conventiculum" kelimesi tercih edilmiştir.<sup>17</sup> İsyanda tahrip edilen kilise de Kırk Şehitler Kilisesi olmalıdır. Praetorium'da Müslümanlara ayrılmış konaklama yapısının kontrollü açık hava sağlanması gereği nedeniyle avlulu olduğu düşünülebilir. Praetorium'da Müslümanların kullanımına ayrılan yapının büyük bir olasılıkla özenli camisiyle birlikte bir tür "elçi hanı" gibi bir işleve sahip olduğu söylenebilir.

## Müslüman Tacirler

Konstantinopolis'teki Müslümanların önemli bir kısmını ticaret ile uğraşanlar oluşturuyor olmalıydı. İslam dininin seyahati teşvik eden anlayışı uzak yol ticaretini cazip hale getirmiştir.<sup>18</sup> Kültürel geçişlerde, bilgi alışverişlerinde önemli bir rol üstlendikleri düşünülebilecek Müslüman tacirler, Konstantinopolis'in gündelik hayatına dâhil olmaktadır. Ancak, Bizans İmparatorluğu'nda yabancılar için ticaretin hiç kolay olmadığı, erken onuncu yüzyılda yazılmış olan VI. Leon döneminin (886-912) ticari içerikli eseri *Eparkhos'un Kitabı*'nda izlenebilmektedir.<sup>19</sup> Ağır tarifelere ve malzemenin sağlanmasındaki çeşitli güçlüklerle rağmen uzaklardan gelen malların akışı durmamıştır. Malları uzaklardan ulaştıran tacirlerin konaklamaları ve işlerini yürütmeleri için ise Bizans yönetimi tarafından belli sayıda yapı tahsis edilmiştir. Yabancı tacirler başkente ulaştıklarında kentin yetkili makamlarına başvurmakta ve kendilerine tahsis edilen

*mitaton*larda kalmak zorundaydılar.<sup>20</sup> Konstantinopolis kentinin Müslüman tacirleri içinde Bizans'taki ilk yabancı tüccar gruplarından olan Suriyeliler dikkati çekmektedir. *Eparkhos'un Kitabı*'nda da belirtildiği gibi, ipek ve lüks mallarda uzmanlaşmış Suriyeli tacirler Bizans ekonomisinde önemli bir yere sahiptiler.<sup>21</sup> Suriyeliler tarafından ithal edilen kıymetli kumaşların toplandığı *mitaton*,<sup>22</sup> hem tacirler için, hem de malları için güvenli bir yer olmalıydı. Belki de bu şekilde Müslümanların dağılımlarıyla ortaya çıkabilecek sorunlar da engellenmiş oluyordu.<sup>23</sup> Benzer bir uygulamanın, arada çok zaman farkı olsa da, Venedik'teki *Fondaco dei Turchi*'de (Türk Fonduğu) de görüldüğü söylenebilir.<sup>24</sup> Müslüman tacirler için bir yerde, bir arada bulunmanın faydaları da olmalıydı. *Mitaton*, özellikle ipek ticareti yapmalarına izin verilenlerin kalabildiği, bir pazar yeri olarak da işlev gören bir mekân olarak anlaşılmaktadır.<sup>25</sup> Suriyeli tacirlerin getirdikleri ham veya işlenmiş ipekler<sup>26</sup> ve diğer mallar —muhtemelen güzel kokulu baharatlar, giysiler— *mitaton* içinde alıcılarına ulaştırılmaktaydı. *Mitaton*da kalabilmek için kentte geçici olarak bulunuyor olmak şarttı. *Eparkhos'un Kitabı*'na göre, kira ödeyerek geçici olarak kalabilen yabancıların üç aydan fazla Konstantinopolis *mitaton*larında bulunmaları mümkün değildi.<sup>27</sup> Tacirlerden kaldıkları üç ay içerisinde getirdikleri tüm malların satışını tamamlamaları beklenmekteydi.<sup>28</sup> Bu kuralın, on birinci yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren Latin tacirlerin Bizans başkentinde kalıcı bir yerleşime sahip olmalarıyla geçerliliğini yitirdiği söylenebilir.<sup>29</sup>

## Perama Mitatonu'nun Olası Yeri

Müslüman tacirlere tahsis edilen *mitatonun* yeri ile ilgili kuşkusuz en önemli veri, Niketas Khoniates'in Latinlerin 1203'te başlattıkları yangın hakkında verdiği bilgidir. Işın Demirkent'in çevirisini bazı farklar olması nedeniyle, satır aralarındaki ayrıntıları anlamak açısından Hieronymus Wolf'un Latince çevirisiyle karşılaştırarak ele almak yararlı olacaktır.<sup>30</sup>

15 "Apud mitatum est ecclesia sanctorum XL martirum et sunt in ipsa reliquiae eorum." K. N. Ciggaar, "Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pelerin anglais," REB 34 (1976): 257.

16 "Halk [...] Hıristiyanların kilisesini yağmaladı ve Müslümanların Mitaton'unu temellerine kadar yıktılar [...]" I. Demirkent, *Niketas Khoniates'in Historia'sı (1195-1206): İstanbul'un Haçlılar Tarafından Zaptı ve Yağmalanması* (İstanbul, 2004), 89. Işın Demirkent (dn. 167) bu yapının Perama'daki Mitaton olduğunu iddia etmiştir. Ancak, Lagos isyanında (1201) olaylar Praetorium'da geçtiğinden bahsi geçen yapı da Praetorium'da Müslümanlara ayrılan yapı olmalıdır.

17 "[...], & captivis emiffis, Chriftianam illius loci ædem fpoliant, Sarracenorum vero conventiculum a fundamentis evertunt." N. Khoniates, *Nikētou Akōminatou Chōniatou Historia = Nicetæ Acominati Choniatae, magni logothetæ secretorum, inspectoris et ivdicis veli, præfecti sacri cubiculi, Historia* (Venedik, 1729), 279.

18 N. Eslami, *Architettura del commercio e città del Mediterraneo: Dinamiche e strutture dei luoghi dello scambio tra Bisanzio, l'İslam e L'Europa* (Milano-Torino, 2010), 34-35.

19 J. Nicole, *Le Livre du Préfet, ou, L'édit de l'empereur Léon le Sage sur les corporations de Constantinople* (Cenevre, 1894).

20 Nicole, *Livre du Préfet*, 32. Ayrıca bkz. R. S. Lopez, "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum* 20.1 (1945): 14.

21 Anderson, "Islamic Spaces," 95; Lopez, "Silk Industry," 30; K. Durak, "Bizans Yazılı Kaynaklarında Suriye'nin Konumu: Bir Soru, Birçok Cevap," *Jtus* 36 (2011) [=In *Memoriam Angeliki Laiou*, ed. C. Kafadar ve N. Necipoğlu]: 57-67.

22 P. Magdalino, *Ortaçağda İstanbul: Altıncı ve On Üçüncü Yüzyıllar Arasında Konstantinopolis'in Kentsel Gelişimi*, çev. Barış Cezar (İstanbul, 2012), 136; Anderson, "Islamic Spaces," 95-96.

23 Latinler gibi daimi bir yerleşimleri olmayan tacirlerin, on yıl ticari faaliyette bulunarak güvenilirliği sağlamaları şartıyla şehirde kalıcı olarak ikamet etmelerine ve "bağımsız ticaret" yapmalarına göz yumulmaktaydı: bkz. Lopez, "Silk Industry," 30.

24 Bu konuda bkz. E. Concina, *Fondaci: Architettura, arte e mercatura tra Levante, Venezia e Alemagna* (Venedik, 1997), 219-46.

25 Anderson, "Islamic Spaces," 96.

26 İpek ticareti ile ilgili ayrıntılı bilgi için bkz. M. Parani, "Fabrics and Clothing," *OHBS*, 410; D. Jacoby, "Silk Production," *OHBS*, 423.

27 Lopez, "Silk Industry," 30; Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, 147.

28 Turchetto, "Il Mitaton," 267.

29 Lopez, "Silk Industry," 40.

30 Tablodaki cümleler için bkz. *Nikētou Akōminatou Chōniatou Historia* (1729), 293-94; Demirkent, *Niketas*

<p>[...] <i>menfis Augufti die XIX, VI. Indictione, anni VI MDCCXI.</i></p> <p><i>Quidam vero ex Francis, qui olim Flaminii vocabantur, Pifanorum&amp;Venetorum cohorte affumppta, ad diripiendas Sarracenorum facultates, tamquam ad parata praedam trajiciunt</i><sup>31</sup></p>	<p>- 6711. yılın (1203) 6. indiktion'unda 19 Ağustos günü bazı <i>Phrangisker</i>'ler/ (eskiden bu halka <i>Felemeng</i> denilirdi), <i>Pisalılar ve Venedikliler</i> askerlerle boğazı geçtiler. <i>Saracenlerin</i> [Müslümanlar] <i>paralarının, alınmayı bekleyen bir hazine olduğunu düşünüyorlardı.</i></p>
<p><i>Ea fcelerata factio, cum ad urbem appuliffet (neque enim quifquam erat, qui eorum vel acceffum vel receffum impediret) in Sarracenorum fynagogam, quam vulgo Mitatum dicunt, irrupunt, &amp; per vim omnia diripiunt.</i></p>	<p>- <i>Bu grup gemilerle şehre geldi —tabii onların yolunu kesecek kimse yoktu— zira şehre girip çıkmalarını kimse engellemiyordu. Birdenbire Agaren tacirlerinin [Müslüman tacirlerin], halk arasında Mitaton diye bilinen binasına saldırdılar ve kılıçlarını çekip etrafı yağmaladılar.</i><sup>32</sup></p>
<p><i>Eam inexpectatam injuriam Sarraceni armis obiter arreptis ulciscuntur. Romanis etiam ejus mali fama excitatis, adjutantibus: neque tamen tantum proficiunt, quantum oportebat, caetu illo militum paulifper demtaxat regreffo: &amp; omiffa defenfione, ad alterum incendium priore vix dum reftincto, properante: cum experientia didiciffent, nihil effe efficacius ad urbem ulciscendam &amp; evertentdam, quam ignem.</i></p>	<p>- <i>Bu rezaletler mantıksızca ve umulmadık bir hunharlıkla yapılırken, Saracen'ler ellerine silah olarak ne geçirebildilerse kaparak kendilerini savundular. Bu saldırıyı gören Romalılar hemen Müslümanların yardımına koştular. Yeterince kimse gelmedi ama az sonra bu adamlardan yana dövüşenlerden dolayı Latinler geri çekilmeye mecbur kaldılar. Silahlarla mücadelenin nafile olduğunu görüp ateşe yöneldiler. Zira tecrübe ile biliyorlardı ki, ateş en etkili silahtı ve şehri ellerine geçirmek hususunda diğer silahlardan çok daha hızlı bir araçtı.</i></p>
<p><i>Proinde variis in locis difperfi, aedes incendunt. Flamma vero fupra cogitationem in altum elata, totam illam noctem &amp; poftridie, eo item die qui fequebatur ad vefperam ufque omnia pervagata eft. [...]</i></p>	<p>- <i>Bunlar, birbirinden uzak bulunan birçok yerdeki binaları, evleri ateşe verdiler. O gece alevler onların da tahmin edemeyeceği kadar yükseldi. Bütün gece ve ertesi gün akşama kadar ateş her tarafa yayıldı ve her şeyi mahvetti [...]</i></p>
<p><i>Cæpit incendium a fynagogio Sarracenorum, quod ad Septentrionalem urbis partem ad mare &amp; ædem divæ Irenes vergit. Versus orientem, in latitudine in templo maximo defuit. Ad occafum ufque ad Perama fe extendit, atque inde in latitudinem urbis fe diffudit:[...]</i></p>	<p>- <i>Yangın, şehrin kuzey bölümünde ve denize inen yamacında bulunan ve Azize Eirene Kilisesi'nin yakınındaki Müslümanların Mitaton adlı binasından başladı. Şehrin doğusuna doğru çok geniş şekilde yayıldı ve Büyük Kilise'nin orada şiddetini kaybetti. Fakat yangın şehrin batı tarafına, Perama denilen sahil boyuna doğru da yayıldı [...]</i></p>

<sup>31</sup> Khoniates'in *Historia*'sı (1195–1206), 122–25.

Niketas Khoniates'in anlatımından şu bilgilere ulaşılmaktadır:

- Latinler, Müslümanların zenginliklerini bilmekteydiler. Dolayısıyla, *mitatonda* kıymetli mallar bulunuyor olmalıydı. Niketas Khoniates “etraf”ın yağmalandığını yazmıştır. Kentin en zengin çarşısının *mitaton* olması kuvvetli bir olasılıktır.
- Müslümanların *mitatonu* denizden kolay ulaşılabilir durumda olmalıydı. Yangın önce şehrin doğusuna yayıldığından, *mitaton* şehrin doğusuna yakın bir yerdedi. Yangın daha sonra sahilden şehrin batı tarafına ilerlemiştir. Bu durumda “yapı” sahilde olmalıydı.<sup>33</sup> Yangının çabuk dağılması, kolay tutuşabilir malların varlığının yanı sıra, *mitatonun* birden çok katlı olduğunu ve ahşap öğeler içerdiğini düşündürmektedir.
- Saldırı sırasında Müslümanlar *mitaton* içindeydiler ve saldırıya hazırlıksız yakalandılar. Bu bilgi, *mitatonun* malları depolama dışında, bir konaklama yapısı olduğunu da göstermektedir.
- Özgün metinde *mitaton* (Μιτάτον) denilen “Agarenlerin sinagogu” ifadesi konaklama alanı, ticaret alanı ve caminin ilişkili olduğu bilgisini vermektedir.
- Perama rıhtımında yer aldığı kabul edilen San Irene Kilisesi'ne yakınlığı *mitatonun* Bahçekapı çevresinde konumlandığını düşündürmektedir.<sup>34</sup>

Birkaç yerden çıkartılan yangının çok güçlü olduğu ve sur duvarına da bitişik yapılar nedeniyle kolaylıkla sur içine geçtiği varsayılabilir. *Mitatonun* San Irene Kilisesi'ne yakınlığı da yapının sur dışında olduğunu gösteren önemli bir ayrıntıdır. Kentin zaman üstü olarak daima ticari canlılığa sahip bu bölgesinde Geç Antik Dönem'den beri var olan bir yapının yüzyıllar içinde yine uzak yol ticareti yapanlar tarafından değiştirilerek ve onararak kullanılagelen bir yapı olması olasıdır. Haussig'in verdiği bilgiden *mitaton* olarak adlandırılan bir yapının 569 yılında Konstantinopolis'te var olduğu öğrenilmektedir. İpek ticareti yapan Soğdlu ve Göktürk tacirlerinin kaldığı *mitatonun* yüzden fazla kişiyi alabilecek büyüklükte olduğu bilgisi ilginçtir.<sup>35</sup> Söz konusu kayıta göre, Çin ipeği için Sasani engellemesi nedeniyle Karadeniz'in kullanıldığı “Kuzey İpek Yolu” tercih edildiğinden,<sup>36</sup> altıncı yüzyıl *mitatonunun* limana yakın bir yerde bulunmuş

<sup>31</sup> Çevirmenin yan notu bulunmaktadır: *Synagoge Sarracenorum direptio caufa incenfæ urbis*. Yan not “Sarazenlerin sinagogu (Müslümanların camisi) şehirde çıkan yangın nedeniyle yağmalandı” şeklinde anlaşılabilir.

<sup>32</sup> Demirkent, Niketas Khoniates'in *Historia*'sı (1195–1206), 122–23. Özgün metinde “Agaren tacirlerinin sinagogu.”

<sup>33</sup> Turchetto yangının kente çok hızlı yayılmasını da gerekçe göstererek Perama *Mitatonu*'nun sur içinde, sura bitişik olabileceğini öne sürmüştür. Önerisini desteklemek amacıyla Akka, Palermo, Salerno ve Valensiy'a'da yabancılara ayrılmış konaklama yapılarının sur içindeki konumlarını örnek olarak göstermiştir: bkz. Turchetto, “Il Mitaton,” 283.

<sup>34</sup> San Irene Kilisesi'nin sur dışında, Perama rıhtımında yer aldığı ve Bahçekapı'ya yakın bir konumda aranabileceğine ilişkin görüşe, önceki çalışmalarda yer verilmişti: bkz. A. Ağır, *İstanbul'un Eski Venedik Yerleşimi ve Dönüşümü* (İstanbul, 2013), 80–82.

<sup>35</sup> H. W. Haussig, *İpek Yolu ve Orta Asya Kültür Tarihi*, çev. M. Kayayerli (İstanbul, 2001), 187.

<sup>36</sup> M. Tezcan, “İpek Yolu'nun İran Güzergâhı ve İpek Yolu Ticaretine İran Engellemesi,” *International Journal of Turkish Literature Culture Education* 3.1 (2014): 96–123.

olması büyük bir olasılıktır. Bir başka deyişle, stratejik öneme sahip<sup>37</sup> ipek ticaretini devam ettiren Müslümanların *mitatonunun* konumunun, altıncı yüzyılda Asyalı ipek tacirlerinin kullandığı *mitatonun* konumu ile çakışması olasıdır. Geç Antik Dönem’de Bizans kültürüne yabancı “öteki”lerin sur dışında, güvenli yapılarda tutulmuş olmaları akla yakın gelmektedir.

Perama Mitatonu’nun Anna Komnene’nin eserinde belirttiği eski Yahudi iskelesine<sup>38</sup> yakın olması kuvvetli bir olasılıktır. Nitekim, Magrip ve Endülüs’ten gelen Yahudi ve Müslüman tacirlerin konuşma ve yazma konusundaki ortak değerleri nedeniyle bazen iş ortağı oldukları bilindiğinden,<sup>39</sup> Konstantinopolis’te birbirlerine yakın bir çevrede bulunmuş olmaları olasıdır. Venedikli ve Amalfililerin Araplarla ticari ilişkilerinin<sup>40</sup> bir sonucu olarak Latinlerin de bu bölgeye çekildiği söylenebilir. Magdalino’nun da belirttiği gibi, Latin tacirlerinin yerleşimlerinin Müslüman *mitatonu* ile yakınlığı tesadüf olmamalıdır.<sup>41</sup>

## Ticaret - Konaklama Yapısı Olarak *Mitaton* ve Türdeş Yapılar

*Mitaton*, Geç Antik Dönem’de karşılaşılan bir terimdir. *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*’a göre, konaklama anlamına gelen *metatus* kelimesinden türemiştir.<sup>42</sup> Terim, Roma kültüründe askeri veya şehirde görevli devlet memurlarının konakladığı yapılara karşılık gelmektedir. Beşinci yüzyıl ve ardından Ioustinianos (527–565) döneminde ordu hareketleri ile ilgili olarak da bu terime rastlanmaktadır.<sup>43</sup>

*Mitaton* veya Latince *mitatum* kelimesinin kökenini oluşturan *metatus* teriminin Erken Ortaçağ’da eski Roma topraklarında kullanımının sürdüğü altıncı yüzyılda Gregorius’un *Historia Francorum* başlıklı eserinde de yer almasından anlaşılmaktadır.<sup>44</sup> Burada konaklama yapısını işaret eden terim, bir başka Ortaçağ kaynağında kilise bünyesinde istisnai olarak askerlerin de konaklayabildiği yer olarak kullanılmıştır (*ius metatus*).<sup>45</sup> Dolayısıyla Roma İmparatorluğu mimarisinden Bizans kültürüne geçen, kalabalıkları içine alabilen büyük bir yapı söz konusudur.

37 Lopez, “Silk Industry,” 1.

38 Bugün Bahçekapı yakını için bkz. Anna Komnena, *Alexiad*, çev. B. Umar (İstanbul, 1996), 186.

39 N. Levzion, “Muslim Travelers and Trade,” *Trade, Travel and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopaedia*, ed. J. B. Friedman ve K. M. Figg (New York-Londra, 2000), 419.

40 M. P. Pedani, *Venezia. Porta d’Oriente* (Venedik, 2010), 9–10; D. Valérian, “Amalfi e il mondo musulmano: un laboratorio per le città marinare italiane,” *Rassegna del Centro di Cultura e Storia Amalfitana* 20 (2010): 199–212.

41 P. Magdalino, “The Maritime Neighborhoods of Constantinople: Commercial and Residential Functions, Sixth to Twelfth Centuries,” *DOP* 54 (2000): 221.

42 “Mitaton,” *ODB* 2:1385.

43 Concina, *Fondaci*, 58.

44 Merovenj döneminin bir villasından bahsedilirken *palatium*, *domus*, *casa*, *aula*, *mansio* ve *metatus* terimleri kullanılmıştır: bkz. R. Samson, “The Residences of *Potentiores* in Gaul and Germania in the Fifth to Mid-Ninth Centuries” (Doktora Tezi, Glasgow Üniversitesi, 1991), 181.

45 C. A. Bachofen, *A Commentary on the New Code of the Canon Law*, c. 6 (St. Louis, Mo.-Londra, 1921), 10.

Konstantinopolis’te *mitatonun* varlığını duyuran en önemli kaynaklardan *Eparchos’un Kitabı*’nda, terimin çoğulu *mitata* kullanılmıştır.<sup>46</sup> Nitekim, sadece Müslümanların değil, Rusların<sup>47</sup> ve Bulgarların<sup>48</sup> da *mitaton*larının olduğu bilinmektedir.

## Türdeş Yapılar

Ortaçağ’da Akdeniz ve yakın çevresinde konaklama yapıları farklı kültürlerde farklı isimlerle anılmaktadır: Bizans kültüründe *pandokheion*, *ksenodokheion*, *mitaton*; Yakın Doğu ve İslam kültürlerinde *han*, *kervansaray*, *ribat*, *funduq*; Avrupa kültüründe ise *fondaco*, *lobia*, *loggia*<sup>49</sup> terimleri ile karşılaşılmaktadır.<sup>50</sup>

*Pandokheion* terimi, konaklama işlevini kapsayan terimlerin ilklerindedir. M.Ö. dördüncü yüzyılda varlığı bilinen yapı,<sup>51</sup> Yunanca konukların kabul edildiği yer anlamına gelmektedir.<sup>52</sup> Geç Antik Dönem’de Suriye bölgesinde menzil yapıları olarak *pandokheion*’ların (*pandokheia*) aktif olduğu düşünülebilir.<sup>53</sup>

Niketas Khoniates’in 1180’lerde ticari etkinlikleri yoğun olarak çeken Konstantinopolis’te tacirleri barındıran bir *pandokheion* olduğundan bahsetmesi bu yapı türünün devamlılığını göstermektedir.<sup>54</sup>

<i>Domum Ifaacii Sebaftocratis in ardua parte Sophiani portus fitam, in Pandocheum transformavit, ubi centum viri cibum capere, totidem lectis cubare, &amp; totidem equi ftabulari poffent. Et qui eo veniebant, fine pecunia diebus compluribus pafcebantur.</i>	- <i>Sophiai Limanı’nın yamacında sebastokrator Isaakios’a ait ev, hana</i> <sup>55</sup> <i>dönüştürüldü. Burada 100 kişi için yatacak ve yemek yiyecek yer, ayrıca hayvanları</i> <sup>56</sup> <i> için de ahırlar yapıldı ve yolcular misafir edildi; bu insanlar para ödmeden günlerce burada konaklayabildiler.</i>
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Ortaçağ’da *ksenodokheion*ların da bir konaklama yapısı olduğu bilinmektedir.<sup>55</sup> Yunanca *ksenon* (yabancı) kelimesinden türeyen *ksenodokheion*lar, konaklama ve yemek yemenin ücretsiz olduğu manastır benzeri konaklama alanları olarak anlaşılmaktadır. Geç Roma ve erken Bizans döneminde yaygın olan *ksenodokheion*lar daha sonra sadece Hristiyanların kullanımına ayrılan ve hastaneye dönüşen bir yapı türü haline gelmiştir.<sup>56</sup> “*Xenodochium*” kelimesi İtalya’da da onuncu yüzyılda kullanılan bir terimdir.<sup>57</sup>

46 Magdalino, *Ortaçağda İstanbul*, 136. Ayrıca bkz. Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, 147.

47 Lopez, “Silk Industry,” 25, dn. 2.

48 Lopez, “Silk Industry,” 32.

49 “Loggia” için bkz. A. Ağır, “Yapı ve Mekan Olarak Loggia,” *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* 10 (2006): 151–57.

50 Turchetto, “Il Mitaton,” 268.

51 Ayrıntılı bilgi için bkz. Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, 18–22.

52 Eslami, *Architettura del commercio*, 113

53 Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, 33.

54 *Nikētou Akōminatou Chōniatou Historia* (1729), 233; I. Demirkent, *Niketas Khoniates’in Historia’sı (1180–1195). Komnenos Hanedanı’nın Sonu ve II. Isaakios Angelos Devri* (İstanbul, 2006), 265.

55 “Xenodochion,” *ODB* 3:2208.

56 T. Miller, “Charitable Institutions,” *OHBS*, 627.

57 Lopez, “Silk Industry,” 37, dn. 2.

Ortaçağ'da rastlanan bir diğer konaklama yapısı ise İslam kültüründe “*funduq*,” Latin kültüründe “*fondaco*” olarak adlandırılan, içinde hem malların depolanması, hem de satılmasının mümkün olduğu konaklama birimlerini de içeren han benzeri yapılardır.<sup>58</sup> Arapça “*funduq*” kelimesinin Yunanca “*pandekheion*” dan türediği görüşü bulunmaktadır. Nitekim, kültürel geçişler dilde de izlenebilmektedir. İlk Müslümanların *pandokheion*lara aşına oldukları düşünülebilir. İslam dünyası yedinci yüzyılda kurumlarını büyük ölçüde Bizans kültüründen aldığı için kelime geçişleri kabul edilebilir bir önermedir. Geçişin Yunanca metinlerin Arapça'ya çevirileri sırasında olduğu tahmin edilmektedir.<sup>59</sup> Constable, Aziz Luka'nın metninin Arapça çevirisine dayanarak dokuzuncu yüzyılda *pandokheion*un *funduq* olarak çevrildiğini kanıtlamıştır.<sup>60</sup>

*Funduqlara* Antik kültürden Bizans kültürüne, yedinci yüzyılda da İslam kültürüne uyarlanan bir kurum gözüyle bakılabilir. Terimin Yunanca'dan Latince'ye geçişi Arapça'dan olmuştur. *Funduq* ve *fondacoların* Akdeniz kültüründe konaklama ve ticaret işlevine sahip yapılar olduğu bir İtalyanca kaynaktan açıkça belirtilmiştir: “*fondachi appositi per soggiornarvi e mercatarsi.*”<sup>61</sup> *Funduq* veya *fondacolar* dini yapılarla da ilişkilidir. Pisa ve Cenovalıların İskenderiye'deki *fondacolarında* kilisenin de bulunması,<sup>62</sup> tacirlerin işlerini bir dini kimlik çerçevesinde gerçekleştirdiklerini göstermektedir.

Sergiopolis'teki (Al-Rusafa) Ortaçağ kent içi kalıntılarında elde edilen veriler bugün var olmayan *funduqlar* için bir fikir verebilir. Karnapp'ın kalıntılara dayanarak sunduğu restitüsyon önerisine göre, *funduq* dikdörtgen planlı, avlulu, tek kapısı ile korunaklı, konaklama işlevi de içeren bir ticaret yapısı olarak anlaşılmaktadır.<sup>63</sup> Granada'da *Corral del Carbón* (*Funduq al-Jadid*), Tunus'ta *Funduq al-Aṭṭārīn*, *funduqların* avlulu, revaklı, üst katı olan bir mimariye sahip olabildiğini gösteren örneklerdir.<sup>64</sup> *Ribatların* da benzer bir kurguyla inşa edildikleri düşünülebilir.<sup>65</sup> Genel olarak kent dışında yer alan *ribatların* Roma *castrumları* ve Sasani kervansarayları ile benzerliğe sahip olduğu görüşü yaygındır.<sup>66</sup>

Sonuç olarak, Concina'nın belirttiği gibi Ortaçağ'ın evrensel ticari örgütlenme modelinin Akdeniz coğrafyasında ortak bir mimari tip geliştirdiği kabul edilebilir.<sup>67</sup> *Mitaton*, han, *funduq/fondaco* ve *wakāla*<sup>68</sup> olarak adlandırılan yapıların ihtiyaç programlarının çok benzer oluşu, bu yapıların türdeş olduklarını göstermektedir.

Jacopo Tiepolo'nun Konstantinopolis'in eski Venedik yerleşimi içinde Latin patrikliğinden kiraladığı alanda bir *fondaco* inşa ettirmiş olduğu bilinmektedir. Balkapanı

58 Eslami, *Architettura del commercio*, 83.

59 Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, 38–39, 41.

60 O. R. Constable, “Reconsidering the Origin of the Funduq,” *Studia Islamica* 92 (2001): 196.

61 Eslami, *Architettura del commercio*, 93.

62 Eslami, *Architettura del commercio*, 93.

63 Concina, *Fondaci*, 19, 145, 249, plan 1.

64 Eslami, *Architettura del commercio*, 181; Concina, *Fondaci*, 150–51.

65 Susa Ribati (Tunus, 9. yüzyıl) örnek olarak gösterilebilir: bkz. H. Stierlin, *Islam: Early Architecture from Baghdad to Cordoba* (Köln-New York, 1996), 172, 178.

66 Eslami, *Architettura del commercio*, 108–9.

67 Concina, *Fondaci*, 63.

68 Kuzey Afrika'da *fonduqların wakāla* olarak adlandırıldıkları da bilinmektedir: bkz. Concina, *Fondaci*, 49.

Hanı'nın söz konusu *fondaco* ile ilgisi kuvvetli bir olasılıktır.<sup>69</sup> Ortaçağ'dan kaldığı büyük bir olasılıkla söylenebilecek han, iskeleye yakınlığı, bodrumunda kıymetli malları depolamaya uygun alanı ve avlusu ile değerli bir ticaret yapısı olarak görülüyor olmalıydı. Palaiologoslar döneminde *fondaco* terimine rastlanmaması, zaman içinde bu terimin yerini *loggia* terimine bırakmış olması ile ilgili bulunabilir.

*Funduq/fondacoların* Anadolu Selçuklu han ve kervansarayları ile ilişkileri de sorgulanabilir. Selçuklu han ve kervansaraylarının çoğunlukla kentten uzak menzil yapıları olarak kısa süreli mal depolamaya ve konaklamaya uygun bir plana sahip oldukları görülmektedir. *Funduq/fondacoların* ise *mitaton* gibi kent içi hanlarına uygun bir planlamaya sahip oldukları söylenebilir.

### Mimarlık Tarihi Açısından Latin Dönemi (1204–1261) Öncesi Perama Mitatonu

*Mitaton*, yukarıda da belirtildiği gibi, Ortaçağ mimarlık içeriği içinde bir tür han olarak “tahayyül” edilebilir. Hangi dinden olurlarsa olsunlar Ortaçağ tacirleri için dini yapı ticaret yapıları ile bağlantılı olmuştur. Bu bağ, Konstantinopolis'in tüccar vasıflı kolonisi Venediklileri barındıran *Embolo Venetorum*'da da benzerdir. San Marco Kilisesi'nin (*San Marco de Embolo*) adından ötürü *embolos*<sup>70</sup> ile doğrudan bağlantılı bir konumda bulunuyor olması büyük bir olasılıktır. Müslümanlar için de ticaret yapıları ve ibadet yapılarının yakınlığı bir gelenektir. Çarşı (*bazar, suq*) ve cami İslam kentinin merkezini oluşturur. Bu anlayış çerçevesinde Müslümanlara ayrılan bir mimari alan olarak algılanan Perama Mitatonu'nun, ticaret ve konaklama alanlarıyla birlikte ibadet işlevini de içeren bir yapı ile doğrudan ilişkili olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Ticaret, konaklama ve ibadet, Ortaçağ'da Hristiyan topraklarında bulunan Müslüman tacirler için birbirinden koparılması mümkün olmayan işlevler olmalıydı.

Perama Mitatonu'nun mimarisini “tahayyül” etmek açısından ihtiyaç programı düşünüldüğünde şu başlıkların karşılanmış olması beklenir:

#### Ticaret

- Limana ve ticaret merkezlerine yakınlık. Malları kolaylıkla taşıyabilme (iskeleye yakın konumlanma);
- Menzil hanlarından farklı olarak daha sınırlı bir alanda daha çok işlev barındırabilme (iki kat);
- *Mitaton* kapsamındaki tüm birimlerin ve içindekilerin güvenliği ile birlikte kentlilerin huzuru açısından sınırlar ve kontrollü geçiş alanına sahip olma (yüksek duvarlar ve kapı);

69 A. Ağır, “Konstantinopolis'te *Locus Venetorum* (1082–1261): Yapılar ve Olası Yerleri,” *Birinci Uluslararası Sevgi Gönül Bizans Araştırmaları Sempozyumu: Bildiriler*, ed. A. Ödekan, E. Akyürek ve N. Necipoğlu (İstanbul, 2010), 331.

70 *Embolos*, çarşı-cadde olarak anlaşılabilir. Ayrıntılar için bkz. Ağır, *İstanbul'un Eski Venedik Yerleşimi*, 62–64.

- Uzak yollardan gelen develerin, atların girebileceği, yüklerin güvenli bir şekilde indirilebileceği bir büyük açık alana sahip olma (avlu);
- Develerin, atların tutulabileceği bir alana sahip olma (ahır);
- Getirilen malların güvenli bir şekilde depolanabileceği birimlere sahip olma (zemin katta veya bodrumunda depolar);
- Getirilen malların yerel tüccarlara sergilenebileceği, anlaşmaların yapılabileceği alanlara sahip olma (portiko/revak, galeri, belki dış çeperinde dükkânlar).

### Konaklama ve İbadet

- Tacirlerin aylarca konaklayabileceği, ısıtılabilen, havalandırılabilen, ışık alabilen, depoladıkları mallara kolaylıkla ulaşabilecekleri güvenli birimlere sahip olma (hücreler);
- Gıda depolama ve pişirme alanlarına sahip olma (kiler, mutfak);
- Tacirlerin günün beş vaktinde ibadetlerini yapabilecekleri güvenli bir ibadet mekânı veya yapısına sahip olma (cami, mescit);
- Temizlenme ve abdest alma ihtiyaçlarını da içeren ıslak hacimler ve bunun için İslam inancı açısından “akan” su kaynağına/olanağına yakın olma (çeşme, şadırvan, hamam, su kuyusu).

*Mitaton* için sıralanan bu ihtiyaç programı Ortaçağ konaklama yapıları için çoğunlukla benzerdir.

### Perama Mitatonu'nun Mimari Kurgusu ile İlgili Öneriler

Ortaçağ ticaret ve konaklama yapısı olarak Perama Mitatonu'nun olası mimari özellikleri ile ilgili “merak”a geri dönüldüğünde El-Hariri'nin *Maqāmāt* (on üçüncü yüzyıl) başlıklı eserinde yer alan Wāsīt'te bir han<sup>71</sup> minyatürü fikir verebilir (Res. 1). Burada yapı, revaklı ve üstü galerili bir bina olarak gösterilmiştir. Üst kattaki kapılar, konaklama birimlerini işaret ediyor olmalıdır. Aynı kaynaktaki bir diğer çizimde de avlulu bir yapı tasvir edilmiştir (Res. 2). Su kuyusu, avlunun ortak kullanım alanı olarak, işlevlerinden birini aktarmaktadır. El-Hariri'nin minyatürleri Ortaçağ konaklama yapılarının avlulu ve iki katlı olabileceğini göstermektedir. *Mitaton*ların da avlulu olmaları, konaklama işlevini de içermeleri nedeniyle üst katlarının olması ve hayvanlar için ahırlarının bulunması kuvvetli bir olasılıktır. Perama Mitatonu'nun bu özelliklere ek olarak, depolanan malların satışı açısından dış çeperinde dükkânlar barındırmış olması da olasılıklar arasındadır (Res. 3).

Yukarıda da bahsedildiği gibi Perama Mitatonu'nun içinde konaklayanların günlük ibadetlerine olanak sağlayan bir mekân veya yapı ile ilişkili olduğu, dolayısıyla bir

<sup>71</sup> Aynı minyatüre Concina'nın kitabında “funduq” (*Fondaci*, 146-47), Constable'ın kitabında ise “khan” (*Housing the Stranger*, 91-92) olarak yer verilmiştir.

camisinin olduğu açıktır.<sup>72</sup> Caminin konaklama birimlerinden ve günlük işlerin cereyan ettiği alanlardan kolaylıkla ulaşılabilen, dışarıdan gelebilecek huzursuzluklara kapalı bir alanda düşünülmüş olduğu ihtiyaç programı çerçevesinde varsayılabilir. Bu bağlamda, caminin Selçuklu kervansaraylarında olduğu gibi avlu içinde yer alması da olasılıklar arasındadır. Yüzyıl farkı olsa da erken Osmanlı dönemi yapısı Bursa Koza Han'da avlu ortasındaki mescit, *mitatonu* ve ibadet alanını tahayyül etmeye yardımcı olabilir.

Perama Mitatonu'nun var olan bir yapının cami inşasıyla Müslüman tacirlere uyarlanmış olabileceği daha akla yakın gelmektedir (Res. 4). Anderson da, hem Praetorium'daki hem de Perama'daki *mitatonun* var olan yapıların uyarlanmasıyla ilgili olduğunu iddia etmiştir.<sup>73</sup> Naser Eslami, *mitaton*ları giriş ve çıkışları kontrollü olan pazar yerlerine benzetmiştir.<sup>74</sup> Ortaçağ konaklama yapıları, *mitaton*, *fondaco* ve hanların avlularının antik çağın agora ve forumlarının rollerini mikro ölçekte sürdürdükleri düşünülebilir.

*Mitaton*ların olası ihtiyaç programı, Niketas Khoniates'in anlatımı ile büyük ölçüde çakışmaktadır. Niketas'ın yangından bahsederken hem ibadet yapısından,<sup>75</sup> hem de *mitatondan* aynı içerikle bahsetmesi, iki yapının birbiri ile bağlantılı olduğunu kanıtlamaktadır. *Mitaton* “mescidi” de Konstantinopolis'teki Müslümanlar açısından özel anlam yüklenen bir yapı olmalıydı. Perama Mitatonu camisinin Selahaddin Eyyübi (1138-1193) tarafından yaptırılmış olması olasıdır. Selahaddin Eyyübi'nin yaptırdığı cami, Papa III. Innocentius'un 1210 tarihli mektubuna da konu olmuştur.<sup>76</sup> Latinlerin Müslümanların mitatonuna saldırmalarının nedeni, kıymetli mallara ulaşmalarının yanı sıra, Kudüs'ü fethetmesi (1187) nedeniyle Selahaddin Eyyübi için biriktirdikleri özel bir nefret ile de ilgili bulunabilir.

Cami inşaatının eski bir mescidin tamamen yenilenmesi olarak düşünülmesi de mümkündür. Selahaddin Eyyübi yaptırdığı cami için din adamları ile birlikte çeşitli hediyeler göndermiştir. Camiye gönderdiği hediyeler içinde minber dikkati çekmektedir. Selahaddin Eyyübi'nin gönderdiği minberin Ortaçağ İslam sanatının özenli bir örneği olabileceğini düşünmek yanlış olmasa gerektir. Gemiyle gönderilen din adamlarının ve hediyelerin Konstantinopolis'te kalabalık bir Müslüman topluluğu tarafından karşılandığını aktaran Arap yazar Baha'al-Din, karşılama gününün Müslümanlar için büyük bir gün olduğunu belirtmiştir.<sup>77</sup> Bu anlatıma göre Selahaddin'in gönderdiği din adamları ve “tefriş” öğeleri nedeniyle gerçekten yeni bir cami yaptırdığını düşünmek mümkündür. Kutlamaya katılan tüccarların çokluğu, Müslümanların devamlılığını da belgelemektedir. Karşılamanın Müslüman grup içinde Selçuklu tacirlerinin de olduğu

<sup>72</sup> Konstantinopolis'te birden fazla cami olduğu çeşitli kaynaklarca dile getirilmektedir. Konstantinopolis camileri ayrı bir araştırma konusudur.

<sup>73</sup> Anderson, “Islamic Spaces,” 107.

<sup>74</sup> Eslami, *Architettura del commercio*, 147.

<sup>75</sup> Sarazenlerin sinagogu ve mitaton ifadeleri için bkz. Nikētou Akōminatou Chōniatou *Historia* (1729), 293.

<sup>76</sup> “*quin etiam Isachius imperator ob gratiam Saladin fieri fecerit in urbe Constantinopolitana meskitam*”: bkz. Reinert, “The Muslim Presence,” 141 dn. 55. Ayrıca bkz. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 258.

<sup>77</sup> Reinert, “The Muslim Presence,” 141.

düşünülebilir.<sup>78</sup> Selahaddin Eyyübi'nin camisi, on ikinci yüzyıl sonunda Konstantinopolis Müslümanları için bir çekim alanı olmalıydı. Konstantinopolis camilerinde hutbe okutma yarışı, İslam dünyasında gücün kimde olduğunun duyurulduğu bir simge davranışa dönüşmüşe benzetilmektedir. Bu durum, Selahaddin Eyyübi'nin yaptırdığı cami için de geçerli olmuştur.

Anderson, Selahaddin'in yaptırdığı caminin Praetorium'da olması gerektiğini, *mitaton* içindeki caminin sadece tacirlere açık olabileceğini düşünmüştür.<sup>79</sup> Buna karşın, Niketas Khoniates'in 1203 yangını anlatımında yer alan Perama'daki *mitaton* dahilinde veya yakınındaki caminin, Magdalino'nun da belirttiği gibi Selahaddin Eyyübi tarafından on ikinci yüzyıl sonunda inşa edilmiş cami olması kuvvetli bir olasılıktır.<sup>80</sup> Bir tür propaganda unsuru olarak caminin ticaretin canlı olduğu yerde yapılmış olması gücün görünürlüğü açısından daha uygun bir öneri olarak kabul edilebilir. Caminin bir gelenek olarak minaresinin olması olasıdır ve belki yangının sıçramasında etkili olmuş olabilir. On ikinci yüzyıl camisini tahayyül edebilmek için El-Hariri'nin minyatürleri bir fikir verebilir (Res. 5 ve 6).

### Palaiologoslar Döneminde Müslümanlar için Yapılar

Latin döneminde Müslümanlara ne olduğu konusunda bilgiler sınırlıdır. Ancak Doğu ile ticaretin süregeldiği, 1220 yılı belgesinde bahsedildiği gibi Venedikliler tarafından Konstantinopolis'te bir *fondaco* inşa edilmesinden ve Anadolu'da kervansaray sayısının artmasından anlaşılmaktadır. Latinlerin 1220 tarihinde Selçuklularla Bizans protokolünü taklit edecek şekilde<sup>81</sup> anlaşma yapmaları, Latin döneminde de Müslümanlar ile ilişkilerin kanıtıdır.

Palaiologoslar dönemine gelindiğinde İslam dünyasında gücün Memlüklerin eline geçtiği, Baybars (öl. 1277) tarafından kentin batı tarafında inşa ettirilen camide hutbe okunması ile duyurulmuş olmaktadır.<sup>82</sup> Palaiologoslar döneminde artık *mitaton* terimi kaybolmuşsa da, aynı işlevli yapı türü farklı bir isimle anılır olmuşa benzetilmektedir. Arap seyyahı al-Jazari'nin, 1293 yılında, "*makān*" olarak adlandırdığı Müslümanlara ayrılmış bir konaklama yapısından bahsetmesi ilginçtir. Yapıyı, Şam'daki *funduklar* kadar büyük,<sup>83</sup> duvarlarla çevrili<sup>84</sup> ve iki katlı olarak tasvir eden al-Jazari, tek kapısının her gece kapanan şehir kapıları gibi açılıp, kapandığını aktararak on üçüncü yüzyıl sonunda bir kent hanının mimari özellikleri ve kullanımı ile ilgili çok değerli bilgiler vermiş

78 Reinert, "The Muslim Presence," 142.

79 Anderson, "Islamic Spaces," 103.

80 Magdalino, "The Maritime Neighborhoods of Constantinople," 220-21.

81 Anlaşmada *sigilla aurea* (altın mühür) vurgusu bulunmaktadır: bkz. M. E. Martin, "The Venetian-Seljuk Treaty of 1220," *The English Historical Review* 95/375 (1980): 322.

82 Reinert, "The Muslim Presence," 143; Anderson, "Islamic Spaces," 107.

83 N. M. El-Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004), 206'da anlatılan yer, "*as large as two-thirds of Damascus*" olarak aktarılmaktadır.

84 "Avlu" olarak anlaşılabilir.

olmaktadır.<sup>85</sup> Osmanlı hanlarının *kşenodokheion*dan esinlenilerek üretildiği öngörüsünde olan Texier'nin Selanik'te bir Bizans hanından dönüştürüldüğünü iddia ettiği II. Murad dönemi hanının planı (Res. 7),<sup>86</sup> al- Jazari'nin anlatımı ile uyumludur ve kurgusuyla bir uzak yol tacirinin ihtiyaçlarını karşılar görünmektedir. Palaiologoslar döneminin koşulları düşünüldüğünde, al-Jazari'nin bahsettiği kent içi hanının, onarılmış Perama Mitatonu olması olasıdır; ancak, Baybars'ın kentin "batı" tarafında inşa ettirdiği caminin yakınında olması da olasılıklardan bir diğeridir.

Yıldırım Bayezid'in de 1396 yılında camisi ve kadılığı olan bir mahalle kurdurduğu, Ankara Savaşı (1402) sonrasında caminin yıkıldığı bilinmektedir.<sup>87</sup> Yıldırım'ın camisinin konumunun Baybars tarafından kentin batı tarafında inşa ettirilen caminin konumu ile çakışması olasıdır.

### Sonuç

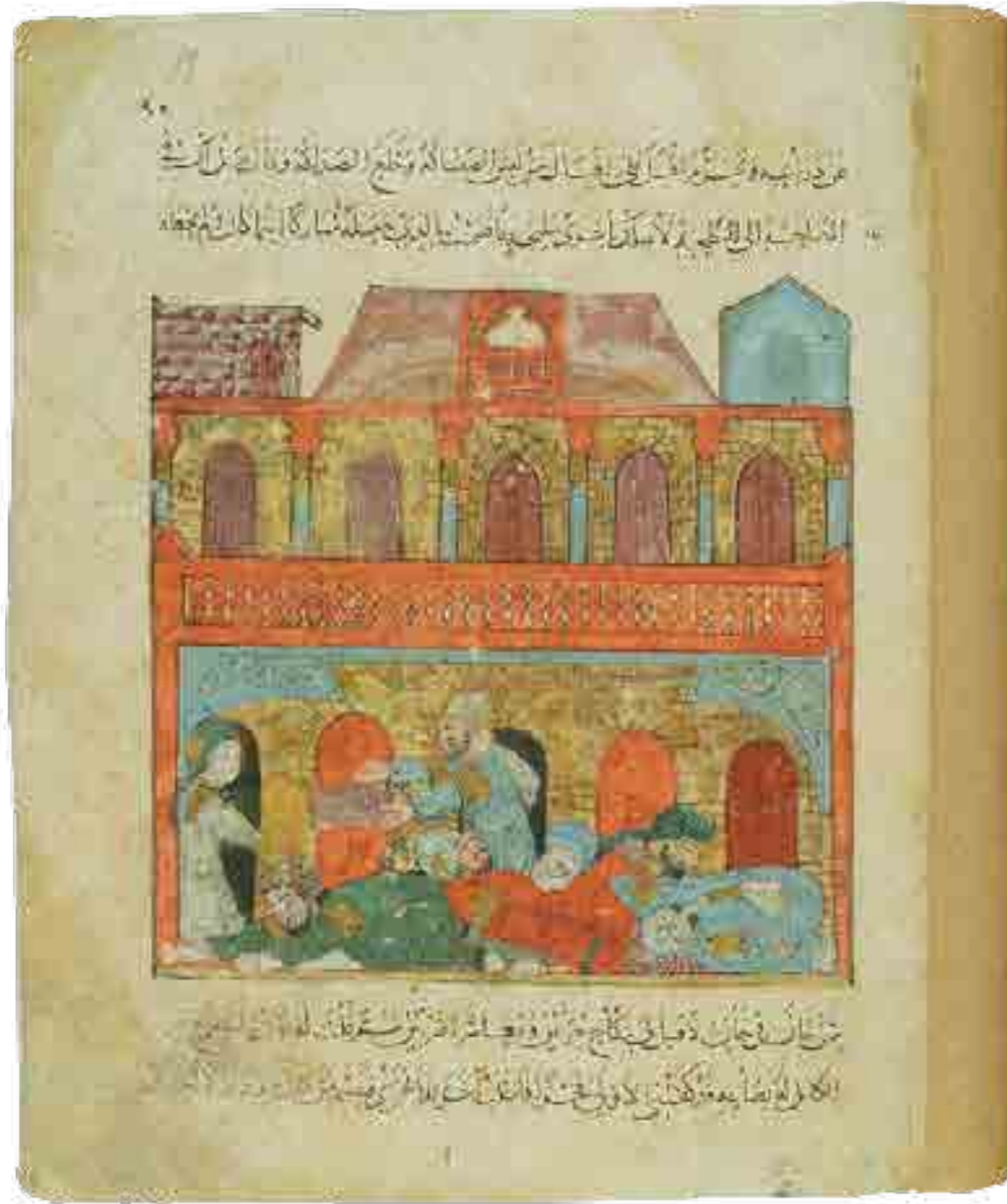
*Mitaton* terim olarak geç Ortaçağ'da kaybolmuşa benzetilmektedir. Ancak, anlaşıldığı kadarıyla, ticaretin gerçekleştirilme şeklinde yüzyıllar boyunca büyük değişim yaşanmaması ile ilişkili olarak avlulu plan kurgusu süreklilik göstermiştir. *Mitatonu* anlama çabaları sonucunda, Osmanlı hamam mimarlığının Roma kökeninin olması gibi, Osmanlı kent içi hanlarının da Roma kökeni olduğu iddia edilebilir. *Mitaton*, işlevi ve kurgusu açısından Akdeniz kültürünün geliştirdiği bir mimari tiptir; "*metatus*" tan "han"a giden süreçte Osmanlı mimarlığı ticaret yapıları için de "kök"lerden biridir. Yüzyıllar boyunca ipek ticaretine sahne olan Bursa'da, Orhan Camisi ve Ulu Cami ile kentin kalbini şekillendiren Emir Hanı, Koza Hanı ve Fidan Hanı'nın mimarisi *mitatonu* tahayyül etmeye yardımcı olabilir.

85 Anderson, "Islamic Spaces," 107.

86 C. Texier ve R. P. Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture; Illustrated by Examples of Edifices Erected in the East during the Earliest Ages of Christianity, with Historical & Archaeological Descriptions* (Londra, 1864), 130-31. Ayrıca bkz. L. de Beylié, *Supplément. L'habitation byzantine: les anciennes maisons de Constantinople* (Grenoble-Paris, 1903), 71.

87 N. Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge-New York, 2009), 138-40.

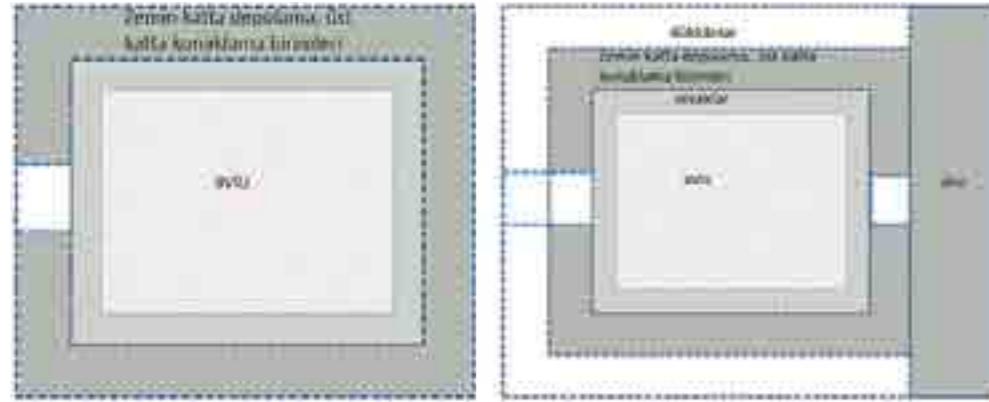




Res. 1 Al-Harîrî'nin *Maqâmât* (13. yüzyıl) başlıklı eserinde yer alan Wâsît'te bir han minyatürü (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Arabe 5847, 89r).



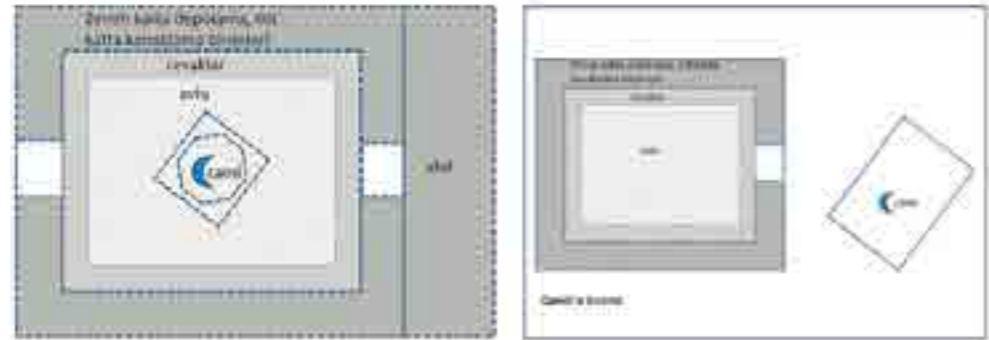
Res. 2 Al-Harîrî'nin *Maqâmât* (13. yüzyıl) başlıklı eserinde avlulu bir yapı minyatürü. (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Arabe 3929, 177r)



a önerisi

b önerisi

Res. 3 *Mitaton* planı ile ilgili öneriler (a, b). Yapının giriş yönü, planı temsilidir (Aygül Ağır).



Camili a önerisi

Camili b önerisi

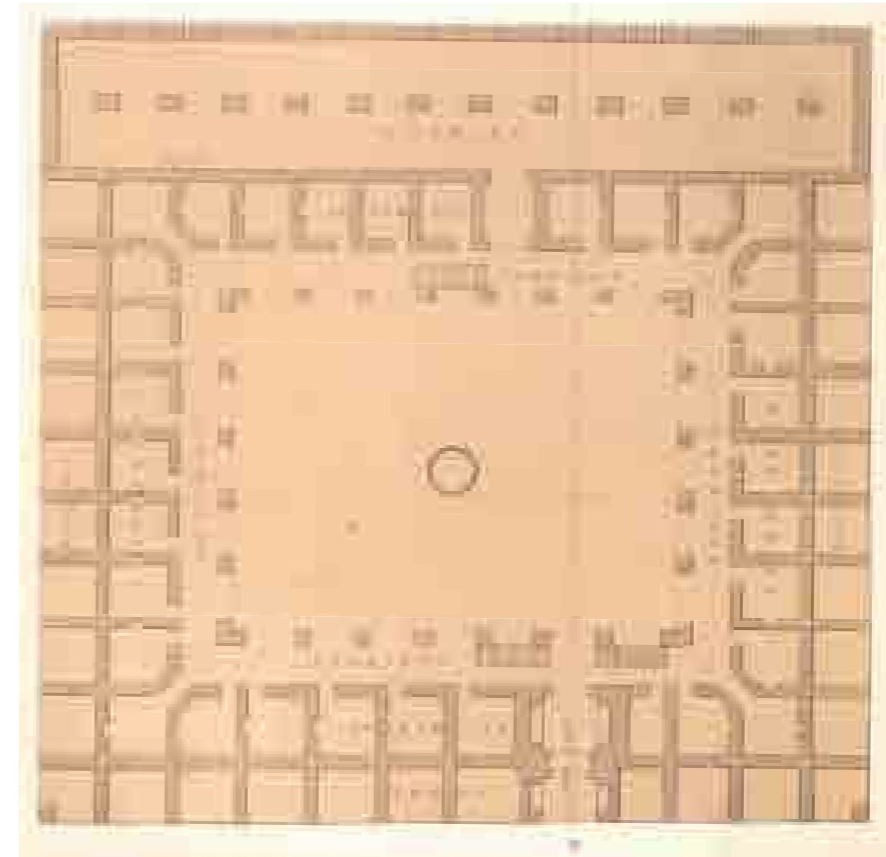
Res. 4 Perama *Mitatonu*'nun planı ve camisinin konumu ile ilgili öneriler (a, b). Yapının giriş yönü, planı, caminin konumu temsilidir (Aygül Ağır).



Res. 5 Al-Hariri'nin *Maqāmāt* (13. yüzyıl) başlıklı eserinde bir cami tasviri ile ilgili minyatür (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Arabe 5847, 84 v).



Res. 6 Al-Hariri'nin *Maqāmāt* (13. yüzyıl) başlıklı eserinde bir cami tasviri ile ilgili minyatür (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Arabe 5847, 164 v).



Res. 7 Selanik'te Bizans *ksenodokheion*undan Osmanlı hanına dönüştürüldüğü iddia edilen yapının çizimleri (C. Texier ve R. P. Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture*, 130).

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**CENTERS  
AND  
NETWORKS  
IN  
ANATOLIA**

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# Communications and Trade in Western Asia Minor during the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Periods: The Case of Ephesos

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This paper aims to examine the role of the ancient city of Ephesos in international and regional trade networks during the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods. Archaeological and textual evidence will be evaluated to assess this role, which will be put into context in the light of larger historical developments.

## Medieval Trade Networks in the Eastern Mediterranean

### Byzantine-Arab Trade Network

From the late-tenth century onwards, with the increasing role of Alexandria as a hub for international transit trade, the volume of Byzantine and Egyptian trade started to increase. However, until recently this north-south axis was largely overlooked since research has mostly focused on the long-distance commercial exchanges between the West and the East. The differing and complementary natures of the economies of Byzantium and Fatimid Egypt stimulated commercial exchanges not only in luxury items but also in a variety of other goods.<sup>1</sup> Ships traveling from Egypt and the Levant to Constantinople sailed along the western coast of Asia Minor.<sup>2</sup> Around 1025, one such ship sank in Serçelimanı, off the coast of southwest Asia Minor. Its diverse cargo points at the variety of goods being traded between Byzantium and Egypt.<sup>3</sup> Ports along the western and southern coasts of Asia Minor benefited from the trade between Byzantium and Egypt by providing logistical support and services to merchants and ships. Documents found in the Cairo Genizah attest to the lively trade carried out between the two great powers of the eastern Mediterranean during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> D. Jacoby, "Byzantine Trade with Egypt from the Mid-Tenth Century to the Fourth Crusade," *Thesaurismata* 30 (2000): 25-77.

<sup>2</sup> E. Malamut, *Les îles de l'Empire byzantin: VIIIe-XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1988), 546-52.

<sup>3</sup> *Serçe Limanı: An Eleventh-Century Shipwreck*, ed. G. F. Bass and J. W. Allan (College Station, TX, 2004).

<sup>4</sup> D. Jacoby, "What Do We Learn About Byzantine Asia Minor from the Documents of the Cairo Genizah?" in

The itinerary of a Russian pilgrim who traveled to the Holy Land around 1106 also provides clues about the shipping routes. The account of Daniel's journey starts in Constantinople, after which he made stops on the islands of the Marmara Sea and the ports along the Gelibolu Peninsula. His journey in the Aegean took him to Tenedos, Lesbos, Chios, Ephesos, Samos, Rhodes, and several other Aegean islands as well as to Makri (modern Fethiye), Patara, and Myra on the southwest coast of Asia Minor, from where he sailed to Cyprus and reached the Holy Land.<sup>5</sup> This was probably a well-established nautical route.

### East-West Trade Network

Western commercial interest in the Levant started much earlier than the Crusades. In 1082 emperor Alexios I granted trading privileges to the Venetians which enabled them to conduct trade without paying customs tax or other associated duties within the empire. These privileges were renewed and extended in the following decades.<sup>6</sup> In the course of the twelfth century Genoa, Pisa, and other maritime states obtained similar concessions and expanded their activities in the Byzantine territories. However, compared to mainland Greece, the importance of the East-West trade network was relatively insignificant for western Asia Minor until the second half of the thirteenth century.

### Regional Trade Networks

In addition to international and long-distance trade, medium and short-range trade in the Aegean itself was also important. Ports of western Asia Minor served not only as stations of call for long-distance trade ships, but also as outlets for the agricultural commodities of their own hinterland which they shipped to other places in the empire, in particular to Constantinople.<sup>7</sup> There is textual evidence indicating that Venetians started trading between Constantinople and the ports of western Asia Minor like Smyrna and Adramyttion already in the mid-twelfth century.<sup>8</sup>

Despite the predominance of Constantinople as a destination for the agricultural produce of western Asia Minor, it was not the sole destination. In 1054 emperor Constantine IX ordered the annual shipment of 1,000 *modioi* of grain to the Nea Mone Monastery in Chios from a place called Bessai, which was most probably one of the dependent monasteries of Galesion and located somewhere near Anaia to the south of Ephesos.<sup>9</sup>

Similarly in the thirteenth century, the Monastery of St. John on Patmos acquired privileges from the Nicaean emperors to conduct trade without paying certain taxes in the ports of western Asia Minor.<sup>10</sup> Because this regional trade was largely in foodstuffs and raw materials, it did not leave any trace in the archaeological record.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless the monks of Patmos apparently continued to enjoy similar tax exemptions under the Ottomans as well. An Ottoman imperial decree of 1507 states that the monks of Patmos had enjoyed these exemptions “since old” (*kadimden*) and the *kadis* of Ayasuluk (ancient Ephesos) and Balat (ancient Miletos) were instructed to make sure that the monks were not overtaxed.<sup>12</sup>

There were also trade relations with the Seljuks of Rum to the east. According to Gregoras, when the Seljuk Empire was hit by a famine in the thirteenth century, large quantities of grain were shipped to Konya.<sup>13</sup> And finally in the fourteenth century Turkish *beyliks* established close trade relations with each other. For example, the alum produced in Kütahya, in the territories of Germiyanogulları, was brought down to Ayasuluk, Balat, and Antalya from where it was shipped overseas.

In the course of the second half of the thirteenth century, the Arabs increased military pressure on the Frankish trade outposts in the Levant and gradually conquered them. The fall of Acre in 1291 marked the end of the Crusader states in the Levant. These conquests deprived Western merchants of their privileged positions. Trade routes partly shifted from their previous courses and a new commercial pattern was established. New regions and ports like Famagusta in Cyprus, Lazzio in Cilicia, western Asia Minor, and Black Sea gained more importance in the following years.<sup>14</sup>

In 1261, the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII concluded the treaty of Nymphaion with the Genoese and granted them tax concessions and permitted trading colonies to be established in certain ports including Anaia, Smyrna, Adramyttion, Chios, and Lesbos. In the course of the following decades, not only the Genoese but also other nations started visiting the ports of western Asia Minor to conduct trade. The activities of Western merchants in this region intensified in the fourteenth century when the region was conquered by the Turks.

<sup>5</sup> *Byzantine Asia Minor (6th – 12th Centuries)*, ed. S. Lampakes (Athens, 1998), 89ff.

<sup>6</sup> Abbot Daniel, *Khozhenie=Abt Daniil Wallfahrtsbericht*, ed. K. D. Seemann (Munich, 1970), 7.

<sup>7</sup> TT 43–54, 113–24.

<sup>8</sup> M. Angold, “The Shaping of the Medieval Byzantine City,” *ByzF* 10 (1985): 2.

<sup>9</sup> V. von Falkenhausen, “Il commercio di Amalfi con Costantinopoli e il Levante nel secolo XII,” in *Amalfi, Genova, Pisa e Venezia: Il commercio con Costantinopoli e il Vicino Oriente nel secolo XII*, ed. O. Banti (Pisa, 1998), 31, 37.

<sup>10</sup> C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* (Cambridge, 1979), 129, n. 52.

<sup>11</sup> *Πάτμος*, 2:232. For the maritime activities of Patmos in the 13th and 14th centuries, see G. Saint-Guillain, “L’Apocalypse et le sens des affaires. Les moines de Saint-Jean de Patmos, leurs activités économiques et leurs relations avec les Latins (XIIIe et XIVe siècles),” in *Chemins d’outre-mer*, ed. Coulon et al., 2 vols. (Paris, 2004), 2:765–90.

<sup>12</sup> D. Jacoby, “Thirteenth-Century Commercial Exchange in the Aegean: Continuity and Change,” in *Change in the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium; Proceedings*, ed. A. Ödekan, E. Akyürek and N. Necipoğlu (Istanbul, 2010), 187.

<sup>13</sup> E. A. Zachariadou, *Συμβολή στην ιστορία του νοτιοανατολικού Αιγαίου*, (Athens, 1966), 184–230.

<sup>14</sup> N. Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, ed. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1828–1855), 1:42–43.

<sup>15</sup> D. Jacoby, “The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the Late Thirteenth Century,” *Μελέται καὶ ὑπομνήματα* 1 (Nicosia, 1984): 145–79.

### The City of Ephesos as a Trade Center<sup>15</sup>

Ephesos had been an important commercial center during the Roman period and continued to function as such throughout the Late Antique and Byzantine periods. In the eighth century, it housed an annual fair (*panegyris*) which was held in conjunction with St. John the Evangelist's feast day on 8 May. In 795 emperor Constantine VI came to Ephesos and he donated the tax revenues of the fair to the Church of St. John. According to Theophanes, the sum Constantine bestowed to the Church of St. John equalled 100 pounds of gold.<sup>16</sup> If we are to assume that this sum was generated from the *kommerkion* levied at the rate of ten percent on the gross revenue of the fair, it implies a gross revenue of 1,000 pounds of gold.<sup>17</sup> This is a very substantial amount and even if it is inflated, it nevertheless shows clearly that despite the military disturbances of the seventh and eighth centuries, trade was flourishing in Ephesos. There are also three documented visits by Western pilgrims during the eighth century further indicating that Ephesos was the terminal point of maritime routes.<sup>18</sup>

Around 830, after spending the winter in a monastery near Ephesos, St. Gregory of Dekapolis decided to sail to Constantinople in spring. He found a multitude of ships in the harbor, all laden with merchandise and eager to set sail.<sup>19</sup> The presence of many ships full of merchandise ready to set sail in spring could indicate that the occasion took place at the conclusion of the annual fair of Ephesos.<sup>20</sup>

For the next 250 years there is a big gap in textual evidence relating to trade in Ephesos. Nevertheless this gap can be filled to a certain extent by archaeological evidence. Excavations in Ephesos brought to light fragments of Glazed White Wares which were produced during the middle Byzantine period. It is generally accepted that this type of pottery was produced in or around Constantinople. The mere presence of this type of pottery in Ephesos proves sustained contact with the imperial capital.

By the late eleventh century Ephesos was obviously known and most probably frequented by Western merchants. This is substantiated by the chrysobull of 1082, which granted the Venetians significant trade privileges.<sup>21</sup> It has been argued that Ephesos, together with thirty other places, was stated specifically in the chrysobull because the Venetians wanted an explicit reference to the ports of the empire where they were either already conducting intensive trade, or were planning to expand their activities

to these places in the near future.<sup>22</sup> A few decades after the granting of the chrysobull, a Russian pilgrim, whose itinerary was discussed above in detail, stated that Ephesos had "abundance of everything," possibly a reference to its fertile hinterland and merchandise passing through.<sup>23</sup>

Ongoing excavations have brought to light fragments of Günsenin I type amphora in several sites in and around Ephesos (Kuretes Street, St. Mary's Church, Byzantine Governor's Palace, Pamucak Harbor).<sup>24</sup> This amphora type was probably produced in Ganos during the eleventh century and distributed widely in and out of the empire.

During the Laskarid period there is no textual evidence for Italian merchants visiting Ephesos, but as mentioned above boats of the monastery of St. John frequented its harbor where they enjoyed tax exemptions. There are also references in the textual sources indicating that by the second half of the thirteenth century Westerners were active in this region. In 1269, a Venetian merchant called Alberto Stella sailed from Negroponte to Anaia and from there continued to the town of Belongi, where there was a fair (*panegyris*). After concluding his business there, he was on his way back to Anaia when he was arrested by the governor of Ephesos, who confiscated his merchandise and threw him into jail. Even though the location of Belongi is not known, clearly it was in the vicinity of Ephesos.<sup>25</sup> The penetration of Westerners to the region of Ephesos during this period is also substantiated by the archaeological evidence. Two Genoese tombstones from the years 1284 and 1293 were found in Ephesos.<sup>26</sup> This proves that although Ephesos was not one of the places mentioned in the treaty of Nymphaion where Genoese were to establish a trading colony, they nevertheless visited it for business, and some of them could have even settled there.

Our information about thirteenth-century imports into and exports from western Asia Minor is very limited. According to Venetian and Genoese partnership contracts, textiles, soap, and metals were imported into Asia Minor.<sup>27</sup> During the same period grain, slaves, alum, raw silk, and wine were exported to the West. However wine was most probably purchased by the crews of the ships for consumption rather than as an export commodity.

15 The ancient city of Ephesos had various different names throughout its history. In the 14th century it was "Ephesos" or "Theologos" for Byzantines, "Altoluogo" for Westerners, and "Ayasuluk" for Turks.

16 *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883; repr. Hildesheim, 1980), 1:469f; *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, trans. C. Mango and R. Scott (Oxford, 1997), 645.

17 *Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, trans. Mango and Scott, 645, n. 3.

18 McCormick, *Origins*, 199.

19 *La vie de saint Grégoire le Décapolite et les Slaves macédoniens au IXe siècle*, ed. F. Dvornik (Paris, 1926), 53.

20 McCormick, *Origins*, 199.

21 TT 51-54.

22 D. Jacoby, "Italian Privileges and Trade in Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade: A Reconsideration," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 24 (1994): 351-54.

23 Abbot Daniel, *Khozhenie=Abt Daniil Wallfahrtsbericht*, 7.

24 M. Turnovsky, "Antique and Byzantine Pottery of the Church of St. Mary in Ephesos. An Introduction," *Acta Rei Cretariae Fautorum* 39 (2005): 222; D. Iro, H. Schwaiger and A. Waldner, "Die Grabungen des Jahres 2005 in der Süd- und Nordhalle der Kuretenstrasse. Ausgewählte Befunde und Funde," in *Neue Forschungen zur Kuretenstrasse von Ephesos: Akten des Symposiums für Hilke Thür vom 13. Dezember 2006 an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, ed. S. Ladstätter (Vienna, 2009), 58; H. Liko, "Keramikauswertung," in *Das sog. Lukasgrab in Ephesos: Eine Fallstudie zur Adaption antiker Monumente in byzantinischer Zeit*, ed. A. Pülz (Vienna, 2010), 187.

25 TT 3:193.

26 J. Keil, "XIX. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos," *ÖJh* 30 (1937): 209-12. Both of the stones were found in the courtyard of a house in Selçuk, clearly transported there from somewhere else.

27 C. Maltezou, "Ἑλληνες καὶ Ἴταλοί ἔμποροι στὴν Ἀναία τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας (ἀρχές 14ου αἰ.)," in *Porphrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, ed. C. Dendrinos, J. Harris, E. Harvalia-Crook and J. Herrin (Aldershot, 2003), 257.

Ephesos was captured by the Turks in 1304 and clearly soon after the Turkish conquest Altoluogo/Ayasuluk (as it was called by the Westerners/Turks) became one of the most important trading centers of the region. This is substantiated by a trade manual written around 1315 which included Ayasuluk along with Constantinople, Phokaia, and Antalya.<sup>28</sup> Slightly later, the Florentine merchant Pegolotti, who composed his trade manual *La pratica della mercatura* in the 1330s while living in Cyprus, also allocated a fairly long description to Ayasuluk.<sup>29</sup> Throughout the fourteenth century commercial relations between Aydınoğulları and Italian maritime states continued despite frequent military confrontations. Close trade relations and frequent military confrontations resulted in at least seven treaties to be concluded between the Venetians and Aydınoğulları. Three of these treaties have been preserved in the archives.<sup>30</sup> According to the terms of the earliest surviving treaty in 1337, a Venetian consul was to be established in Ayasuluk, Venetian merchants were given an area in Ayasuluk, and the customs duties were fixed.<sup>31</sup> Another treaty concluded in 1353 enlarged the Venetian quarter, which was to include houses, a church, a *loggia*, and a bakery.<sup>32</sup> A Genoese consul was appointed to reside in Ayasuluk after a treaty which was concluded with Genoa probably in 1351.<sup>33</sup> Cyprus and Rhodes might also have established consuls in Ayasuluk. Merchants from Florence, Barcelona, Ancona, Ragusa, and Messina also frequented Ayasuluk during this period.<sup>34</sup>

In general, the *beylik* exported agricultural products and raw materials. The anonymous manual of 1315 mentions alum, wax, rice, gall nuts, carpets, goat skins, and slaves as exports from Ayasuluk.<sup>35</sup> To this list Pegolotti adds grain and raw hemp.<sup>36</sup> Imports were mostly luxury goods and metals including soap, high quality textiles, silver, copper, tin, and wine.<sup>37</sup> According to Pegolotti no import duties were imposed except for soap and wine. Exports, however, were taxed at four percent with the exception of wax which was taxed at two percent.<sup>38</sup> The fact that no taxes were imposed on imports and yet exports were taxed suggests that the balance of trade was in favor of the *beylik*.

28 R.-H. Bautier, “Une géographie des courants commerciaux Orient-Occident au début du XIVe siècle (vers 1315?),” in *Sociétés et compagnies de commerce en Orient et dans l’Océan indien*, ed. M. Mollat (Paris, 1970), 313. I am grateful to Prof. David Jacoby for bringing this source to my attention.

29 F. B. Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 55–57. On the date of composition of the sections of *La pratica* concerning eastern Mediterranean ports including Ayasuluk, see P. Grierson, “The Coin List of Pegolotti,” in *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori* (Milan, 1957), 491–92.

30 Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, Doc. 1337A, 190–94; Doc. 1346A, 201–4; Doc. 1353A, 211–16. The text of the truce between the Emir of Aydın and the Sancta Unio, dated 1348, has also been preserved and it contains some clauses concerning trade: *ibid.*, Doc. 1348A, 205–10.

31 *Ibid.*, Doc. 1337A, clauses 6–8, 191–92.

32 *Ibid.*, Doc. 1353A, clause 17, 214.

33 *Ibid.*, 58.

34 *Ibid.*, 128.

35 Bautier, “Une géographie des courants,” 313.

36 Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, 56.

37 Bautier, “Une géographie des courants,” 313.

38 Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, 55–57.

## Coins

According to the Egyptian traveler Al-Umari, who traveled in Asia Minor in the fourteenth century, each *beylik* had its own silver coinage which was called *akçe*.<sup>39</sup> However, *akçes* of a certain *beylik* also circulated in the territories of other *beyliks*. For example, the excavations in Sardis, which was under the rule of Saruhanogulları, unearthed not only local Saruhan coins, but also those of other *beyliks*.<sup>40</sup> Similarly silver and copper coins of Karesiogulları, Saruhanogulları, and Menteşeoğulları were excavated in Ephesos.<sup>41</sup>

Because of the intense commercial relations with Westerners, coins of the Italian city states and those of Cyprus, Rhodes, Chios, and Lesbos were also in circulation in Ayasuluk during the fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries.<sup>42</sup> Italian *gigliati* and later on ducats or florins were commonly used for transactions in the eastern Mediterranean as they were international money of exchange. Both types of coins were imitated by various states in the eastern Mediterranean. It is known that the *beyliks* of Saruhanogulları, Aydınoğulları, and Menteşeoğulları have struck imitative *gigliati*.<sup>43</sup> Aydınoğulları started striking imitative *gigliati* around 1330, and it has been argued that these were “representative issues.”<sup>44</sup> However, recent die analysis has cast doubt on this by revealing that these coins were produced “locally, systematically, in good quantities and perhaps by the same authorities.”<sup>45</sup> By the second half of the fourteenth century Venetian ducats replaced the silver *gigliati* in the eastern Mediterranean, and it was not long before the *beyliks* started striking imitative Venetian ducats.<sup>46</sup> The wide scale striking and distribution of these imitative ducats which probably started around 1353–1354 by Aydınoğulları was

39 Al-Umari: Y. Yücel, “Mesalik Ü'l-Ebsar'ın Anadolu Beylikleri Kısımının Çevirisi,” in *XIII-XV. Yüzyıllar Kuzey-Batı Anadolu Tarihi Çobanoğulları Candaroğulları Beylikleri*, ed. Y. Yücel (Ankara 1980), 181–201.

40 T. V. Buttrey, A. Johnston, K. M. MacKenzie and M. L. Bates, *Greek, Roman, and Islamic Coins from Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 240–42.

41 Unpublished. Menteşe and Saruhan coins were found in 2001 and 2002 in İsa Bey Hamamı, and the Karesi coin was found in 2002 in Vadius Gymnasium. My thanks to Dr. Sabine Ladstätter for allowing me to examine the inventory lists preserved at the excavation house in Selçuk.

42 A coin of Francesco II Gattilusio (1384–1403) issued in Lesbos, and another coin of the Maona of Chios (1390–1430) have been excavated in İsa Bey Hamamı in 2002. I am grateful to Dr. Julian Baker for his help in identifying these unpublished coins.

43 J. Karabacek, “Gigliato des jonischen Turkomanfürsten Omar-beg,” *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 2 (1870): 525–38; G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l’Orient latin* (Paris, 1878), 478–89. P. Lambros, “Monnaie inédite de Sarukhan émir d’Ionie, frappée à Ephèse (1299–1346),” *RN*, n.s., 14 (1869–1870): 335–43 published an imitative *gigliato* struck in Ayasuluk but confused the *beylik* of Saruhanogulları with that of Aydınoğulları.

44 L. Reis, “Zur Datierung der lateinischen Prägungen der anatolischen Beyliks im 14. Jahrhundert,” *MÖNumGes* 42.1 (2002): 6–8.

45 J. Baker, “Some Notes on the Monetary Life of the Dodecanese and its Mikroaseatic Peraia, ca. 1100–1400,” in *To nóμισμα στα Δωδεκάνησα και τη Μικρασιατική τους Περαία* (Athens, 2006), 366.

46 Reis, “Zur Datierung der lateinischen Prägungen,” 8–9. Bendall and Morrisson have attributed a hoard of 133 imitative ducats which was found in Turkey to Aydınoğulları or some other *beylik* in the region: S. Bendall and C. Morrisson, “Un trésor de ducats d’imitation au nom d’Andréa Dandolo (1343–1354),” *RN*, series 6, 21 (1979): 185 ff.



a matter of serious concern for the Venetians, and upon their pressure<sup>47</sup> the *beylik* agreed to cease the striking of imitative ducats only around 1370.<sup>48</sup>

Three coin hoards from the *beylik* and Ottoman periods have been discovered in Ephesos. Because coin hoards reflect the coin circulation at the time of their concealment, it is necessary to study their composition in more detail. The first of these hoards was found by John Wood during his excavations in the Temple of Artemis in 1871 and it will be designated as “Artemis Hoard.”<sup>49</sup> The hoard contained 2,427 silver coins issued sometime between 1285 and 1365. It could have been concealed around 1370.<sup>50</sup> The hoard contained almost exclusively the large module silver denomination called *gigliati*, which was minted originally in Naples but also in many other locations in Europe and the eastern Mediterranean. This hoard alone is clear evidence of the popularity that *gigliati* enjoyed in the fourteenth century in this region, since it contains both the Neapolitan and the Provençal types. A recent study of the part of this hoard preserved in the British Museum revealed the continued arrival of rather late Provençal issues, which testifies to the close networks that tied the region of Ephesos to western Europe.<sup>51</sup> Among the twenty “Turkish *gigliati*” found in the hoard, seventeen were minted in Ephesos and three in Manisa.

The second coin hoard was found in 1999, during the excavations in the so-called İsa Bey Hamamı in Selçuk. It contained 936 silver *akçes* and will be designated as “İsa Bey Hamamı Hoard.”<sup>52</sup> The coins in this hoard bear no date but the name of the ruling monarch is stated: Aydınoğlu İsa Bey and Menteşeoğlu Ahmed Gazi. Consequently, we can assume that the composition of the hoard must have taken place between ca.1360 and ca.1390, and the hoard could have been buried shortly after the latter date.<sup>53</sup> Dies analysis on these coins revealed 150 different dies used for minting these pieces, which points to the intensive striking activity during this period.<sup>54</sup>

In 1979, during the excavations in the Church of St. John, another coin hoard was excavated among the Ottoman layers. It will be designated as “Ayasuluk Hoard” here. The earliest of the coins in the hoard can be dated to 1343 and the latest to 1457. The overwhelming majority of the coins in the hoard were Ottoman *akçes* (eighty-eight percent) minted during the reign of Murad II (1421–1451).<sup>55</sup> The hoard could have

been concealed around 1460. Among the *akçes* with identifiable mints, only one percent of the pieces were actually minted in Ayasuluk itself. The dominance of the issues coming from the mints located in the Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire (eighty-five percent) is very striking. Although trade, pilgrimage, and military campaigns are known to influence the emission zone of the issues of a particular mint, in the absence of such extraordinary circumstances, coins tend to circulate within a certain territory not very far from the place of their issue. Because no regular contacts are known between Ayasuluk and the Balkan provinces in this period, the availability of so many issues from Balkan mints might indicate that the bulk of the hoard was gathered somewhere in the Balkans, and then transferred to Ayasuluk. Under what circumstances they were brought to Ayasuluk remains unknown.

## Conclusion

There is textual and archaeological evidence to suggest that Ephesos continued to be an important trade center during the Byzantine period, and starting from the second half of the thirteenth century its importance in international trade increased significantly. This was mainly thanks to the shifts in international trade routes after the Arab conquest of the Levant.

The conquest of Ephesos by the Turks in the early fourteenth century bolstered the economic role of this region further. With the Turkish conquest, security in the region improved and also the coastal area and the fertile inland valleys were connected under a single political entity. This integration allowed agricultural produce from the valleys, as well as livestock produced further inland in the Anatolian plateau, to be transported to the coast, from where they were shipped to the West in large quantities.

<sup>47</sup> Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 141–42.

<sup>48</sup> Reis, “Zur Datierung der lateinischen Prägungen,” 10.

<sup>49</sup> J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus: including the site and remains of the Great Temple of Diana* (London, 1877), 181–83.

<sup>50</sup> H. A. Grueber, “An Account of a Hoard of Coins Found at Ephesus,” *NC* 12 (1872): 120–56.

<sup>51</sup> Baker, “Some Notes on the Monetary Life,” 363–71.

<sup>52</sup> Ş. Pfeiffer-Taş, “Der historisch-archäologische Hintergrund zum Münzschatz des Aydınoğlu İsa Bey,” *ÖJh* 70 (2001): 119ff.

<sup>53</sup> Pfeiffer-Taş, “Der historisch-archäologische Hintergrund,” 132. İsa Bey ruled between ca. 1360 and 1390. Ahmed Gazi’s reign probably started around 1360 and he died in 1391 as indicated by his tombstone: P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Menteşe: Studie zur Geschichte Westkleinasiens im 13.–15. Jh.* (Amsterdam, 1967), 72–83.

<sup>54</sup> Pfeiffer-Taş, “Der historisch-archäologische Hintergrund,” 120, 126.

<sup>55</sup> C. Ölçer, “Selçuk (Efeso), Il Tesoro venuto alla luce durante gli scavi della Chiesa di S.Giovanni,” *BNumRoma* 6–7 (1986): 299–304.

# Portolan Charts and Harbor Towns in Western Asia Minor towards the End of the Byzantine Empire

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Colors on maps with the symbolic meanings attributed to them may convey different meanings as signifiers. Such is the case with the portolan charts, which provide us with visual elements of the trade network of the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages. In keeping with this theme, this paper takes the red color used to describe some of the harbor towns along the coast of the Mediterranean as a starting point. Building on the assumption that those western Anatolian ports whose names are written in red were important trade centers, I will look for clues in the historical documents to support this assessment and discuss the position of this region in the Mediterranean trade network that was controlled by the Italian maritime republics.

Although in scientific debates the emergence of portolan maps is dated to the beginning of the thirteenth century, the earliest surviving artifacts are from the end of the same century; the maps in general become more prevalent from the fourteenth century onwards. If we are to accept the fact that these maps with their sophisticated navigation systematics were based on an older tradition of accumulated knowledge, they also reflect the actual situation of the navigation routes as well. Accordingly the most notable ports from north to south would be Adramyttion, Phokaia (New and Old), Smyrna, Altoluogo (Ephesos), Anaia, and Palatia.

Portolans can be described as living records of the Mediterranean geography on which new information was added or corrected. T. Campbell writes of the portolan charts as a living record of Mediterranean self-knowledge subject to constant modification.<sup>1</sup> Portolan charts can be considered as supplements to the portolans that were the written information on navigation, routes, harbors and shorelines. The oldest portolan from the

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<sup>1</sup> T. Campbell, "Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500," in *The History of Cartography*, ed. J. Harley and D. Woodward (Chicago, 1987), 373.

Middle Ages, Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, is dated to the eleventh century.<sup>2</sup>

E. L. Stevenson notes the simultaneous appearance of portolans and the awakening of commercial activity in the coastal cities of Europe, notably in Italy. They helped the mariners as a necessary guide in navigation, just as the *periploi* had done in earlier times. With the emerging necessity for continuously expanding maritime trade, portolan charts appeared in the thirteenth century, although we do not know how the transformation of the verbal data into graphics worked.<sup>3</sup>

Since the earliest examples of the portolan charts are quite advanced, some scholars suggest that earlier charts might have got lost.<sup>4</sup> The "Carta Pisana" is accepted to be the oldest surviving portolan chart. It is often considered to be of Genoese origin and dated to the late thirteenth century (ca. 1275 and ca. 1300).<sup>5</sup>

P. Gautier Dalché has found and published a portolan text dated to 1160-1200 and possibly produced in Pisa. Although it does not contain a chart, P. Gautier Dalché suggested that one actually existed.<sup>6</sup> From this new information some scholars bring the earliest use of portolan charts back to the beginning of the thirteenth century.<sup>7</sup>

The earliest medieval reference to the use of a sea chart is in Guillaume de Nangis' *Gesta sancti Ludovici*. In 1270, the crusader fleet led by Louis IX had to find shelter and by looking at a chart (*allata mapa mundi*), they figured out that they were close to Cagliari. Actually in a few hours, the port became visible 60 miles ahead.<sup>8</sup> Ramon Llull's *Arbor Scientiae* (1295) mentions *cartam, compassum, acum et stellam* as aids for navigation.<sup>9</sup>

The expansion of maritime trade accelerated the flow of available information and increased the need to record new information. Parallel to the economic and spatial developments, more people started to become literate. And by the end of the twelfth century the merchant mariners possessed a huge database on the distances between the harbors around the Mediterranean and their directions.<sup>10</sup>

The names of locations found on portolan charts are quite numerous even for the Mediterranean and sometimes there are more than a thousand. These names are written

at right angles to the shoreline in minuscule letters. Many of them are written in black while harbors of importance are written in red. Although frontiers are not indicated, coats of arms are sometimes used to identify the ruling power of a certain region.<sup>11</sup>

We do not have any examples of Byzantine portolans from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There are some post-Byzantine portolans from the sixteenth century in which a strong Venetian influence can be observed in the names.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand there is an interesting mention of a chart in Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*. Writing about the campaign against the Normans in the Adriatic Sea, she says that the emperor drew a map showing the shores of Lombardia and Illyrikon and sent it to Kontostephanos.<sup>13</sup>

The emergence of portolan maps was closely related to the growth of trade activities; similarly, the classification of ports as important or unimportant destinations as indicated on the maps was linked to the commercial potential of those towns and their hinterland. Furthermore, the ports that are listed in the documents concerning the privileges granted to the Italian maritime republics by the Byzantine emperors where Italian merchants could engage in free trade similarly reflect the importance of these towns.

The chrysobulls given by the Byzantine emperors to different Italian maritime republics show the harbor towns in which the Italian merchants desired to have commercial privileges. It was the commercial potential of those harbor towns that shaped the maritime routes of the period. What makes those privileges so important is that they represent an Italian commercial perspective rather than the perspective of the Byzantines in Constantinople.<sup>14</sup>

Although the date of the chrysobull of Alexios I Komnenos for the Venetians is under discussion, in the incomplete Latin copy of it we find *Strouilon* (Strotilos), *Theologon* and *Phocian* (Phokaia).<sup>15</sup> The same list of towns is also mentioned in the privileges given to the Venetians by John II Komnenos in 1126.<sup>16</sup> In the document of 1147 signed by Manuel I Komnenos, the towns are *Strouilom*, *Theologon*,<sup>17</sup> *Phocian*.<sup>18</sup> In the document signed by Isaac II Angelos in 1187, the same towns are mentioned as *Strouilum*, *Theologum* and *Fociam*.<sup>19</sup>

In the document signed by Alexios III Angelos in November 1198, the towns and regions were defined in some detail. In the list, towns are defined as *provincia* so it was not the town itself but its hinterland as well. Here, *Strouilus* (Strotilos) is mentioned

2 E. L. Stevenson, *Portolan Charts: Their Origins and Characteristics with a Descriptive List of Those Belonging to the Hispanic Society of America* (New York, 1911), 13.

3 Stevenson, *Portolan Charts*, 14-15.

4 G. R. Crone, "A Manuscript Atlas by Battista Agnese in the Society's Collection," *GJ* 108, no. 1.3 (1946): 72.

5 Campbell, "Portolan Charts," 404 and n. 253.

6 P. Gautier Dalché, *Carte marine et portulan au XIIe siècle. Le "Liber de existencia riveriarum et forma maris nostri Mediterranei"* (Pise, circa 1200) (Rome, 1995); E. Edson, *The World Map, 1300-1492: The Persistence of Tradition and Transformation* (Baltimore, 2007), 44.

7 R. J. Pujades i Bataller, *Les cartes portolanes. La representació medieval d'una mar solcada* (Barcelona, 2007), 512; for a detailed discussion on the issue see T. Campbell, <http://www.maphistory.info/portolanchapter.html#liber> accessed on 16.05.2013.

8 A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Periplus: An Essay on the Early History of Charts and Sailing Directions* (Stockholm, 1897), 16; Stevenson, *Portolan Charts*, 2-3; Pujades, *Les cartes portolanes*, 458.

9 Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, 16; Pujades, *Les cartes portolanes*, 459.

10 Pujades, *Les cartes portolanes*, 520.

11 Stevenson, *Portolan Charts*, 23-24.

12 A. Delatte, *Les Portulans grecs* (Liège, 1947), xix.

13 A. Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (Cambridge, 2000), 13.7.

14 D. Jacoby, "Italian Privileges and Trade in Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade: A Reconsideration," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 24 (1994): 352; repr. in D. Jacoby, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 1997), no. II.

15 TT 1:52-53.

16 TT 1:95-98. The Latin text of the chrysobull dated to 1126 is in the document signed by Manuel I in 1147. See D. M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (Cambridge, 1988), 80, n. 3.

17 Tafel and Thomas did not write about Theologos clearly and in their footnote they mentioned with "?" if this place was Patmos Island where St. John lived (TT 1:118, n. 8).

18 TT 1:118-19.

19 TT 1:184.

together with the islands of Mitylini, Chios, Samos, Rhodes and Kos.<sup>20</sup> The list continues as *Prouincia Opsikiu et Eegeu...Prouincia Atramyti, Prouincia Milasis et Melanudij, Prouincia Meandri, Prouincia Neokastron*. The term *prouincia* is used both for the towns and the names of the themes.<sup>21</sup> Jacoby describes this list as a “list of financial regions.”<sup>22</sup>

Another Italian maritime republic that received privileges after the Venetians was Pisa. The document through which the Pisans received some privileges has not survived but is only partially incorporated in the document issued by Isaac II Angelos in 1192. According to this document, there were no geographical limitations and the Pisans could trade between the capital and the Byzantine islands. In the same document of 1192, the agreement signed by John II Komnenos also appears.<sup>23</sup>

Genoa was the last of the maritime republics to receive commercial privileges from the Byzantines, by a chrysobull of Manuel I Komnenos (1169). Instead of naming the harbors individually, this chrysobull mentions all the land apart from Rosia and Matracha to the north of the Black Sea.<sup>24</sup> In the second half of the twelfth century Genoese merchants were in Adramyttion for trade. But according to Jacoby, this was more international trade marketing the goods from Adramyttion rather than internal trade.<sup>25</sup>

In the chrysobull issued by Theodore Laskaris in 1219, no specific town is mentioned.<sup>26</sup> Although chrysobulls of John III Vatatzes and Theodore II Laskaris are mentioned in a later document of Andronikos II, they have not survived.<sup>27</sup>

There was a fierce competition between Venice, Genoa and Pisa. For instance between 1204 and 1261, we do not see much Genoese commercial activity in the Aegean. In two *commendas* signed in 1207 and 1213, we see a clause “except in Romania.” Although another notarial document mentions an agreement to cease upon arrival in Thessalonike, the situation was not easy for them until a peace treaty was signed with the Venetians in 1218.<sup>28</sup>

Starting from the mid-thirteenth century, we see an increased Genoese presence in the Aegean Sea. The first step was the Treaty of Nymphaion signed by Michael VIII in 1261 by which the Genoese were granted colonies in Anaia, Smyrna and Adramyttion.<sup>29</sup>

20 TT 1:265.

21 TT 1:270-1.

22 Jacoby, “Italian Privileges,” 356.

23 G. W. Day, “Manuel and the Genoese: A Reappraisal of Byzantine Commercial Policy in the Late Twelfth Century,” *Journal of Economic History* 37.2 (1977): 291; Jacoby, “Italian Privileges,” 357-58 and n. 35.

24 MM 3:35; Latin version ed. C. Imperiale di Sant’Angelo, *Codice diplomatico della Repubblica de Genova* (Rome, 1936-42), 2:112; see D. Jacoby, “Byzantium, the Italian Maritime Powers and the Black Sea before 1204,” *BZ* 100 (2007): 677.

25 Jacoby, “Italian Privileges,” 366.

26 TT 2:205-7; Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 163-64 and n. 1.

27 Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 164, n. 1 and 238.

28 M. Balard, “Les Génois en Roumanie entre 1204 et 1261. Recherches dans les minutiers notariaux génois,” *MélRome* 78.2 (1966): 472, 476.

29 C. Maltezos, “Ἑλληνας καὶ Ἰταλοὶ ἐμποροὶ στὴν Ἀναία τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας (ἀρχές 14ου αἰ.),” in *Porphyrogenita*, ed. C. Dendrinos, J. Harris, E. Harvalia-Crook and J. Herrin (Aldershot, 2003), 253; *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*, Tl. 3: *Regesten von 1204-1282*, ed. F. Dölger (Munich, 1932), 36; R. S. Lopez,

In 1268 a new treaty was signed between Michael VIII and Genoa but here no town was mentioned.<sup>30</sup>

At the end of the thirteenth century when Turks took over, the ruling emirates were (from north to south) Karasi, Saruhan, Aydın, Menteşe and Teke. In the following decades among the most active traders were Venetians and Genoese merchants dealing in raw materials as well as in the products and luxury goods arriving from the Far East. In this period Theologos (Ayasuluk/Selçuk-Ephesos) and Palatia (Balat/Miletos) were important harbors.<sup>31</sup>

Although the location of medieval Adramyttion is still debated, it is generally believed that the medieval town was built on the ancient site.<sup>32</sup> The city was shortly occupied after the Latin conquest of Constantinople and it was also under Latin rule between 1213 and 1224. Villehardouin mentions in his account of the first Latin occupation that the city is by the sea and that it was full of food and other merchandise.<sup>33</sup> In 1284 the synod between the Church and the Arsenites took place in Adramyttion, which was a clear sign of its secure atmosphere but in twenty years the region would be taken over by the Turks.<sup>34</sup>

The importance of Phokaia (Old and New) drastically rose after Michael VIII granted it to the Zaccaria family in the second half of the thirteenth century and it became a production and trade center of alum. Probably between 1286 and 1296, New Phokaia was founded while the original one became Old (Palaia) Phokaia.<sup>35</sup> From the agreement of Benedetto and Manuel brothers with some other merchants made on 22-24 August 1285, for trade in Genoa, Mallorca, Syria, Black Sea and some other places, it appears that alum was not the sole commodity traded.<sup>36</sup>

During the reign of Theodore I Laskaris, Smyrna was the most important harbor of his empire. Even the monastery of Patmos received commercial privileges in Izmir in 1214, which was a clear sign on the importance of the city.<sup>37</sup>

After Michael VIII recaptured Constantinople in 1261, his interest in western Anatolia declined and the region became open to Turkish invasion.<sup>38</sup> Smyrna remained

“Market Expansion: The Case of Genoa,” *Journal of Economic History* 24.4 (1964): 449; G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J. Hussey, rev. ed. (New Brunswick, N. J., 1969), 449.

30 TT 3:92-100.

31 K. Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State: The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey* (Cambridge, 1999), 5, 22.

32 W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1891), 24; W. Müller-Wiener, “Die Stadtbefestigungen von Izmir, Sığacık und Çandarlı,” *IstMitt* 12 (1962): 65, n. 20.

33 Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. M. R. B. Shaw (London, 1963), 111-12.

34 D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1993), 123.

35 P. Lemerle, *L’Emirat d’Aydın, Byzance et l’Occident* (Paris, 1957), 26, n. 1; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen Âge*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1885-86; repr. Amsterdam, 1959), 2:461-64; W. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (London, 1921), 285-86.

36 Miller, *Latin Orient*, 295.

37 H. Ahrweiler, “L’histoire et géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081-1317), particulièrement au XIIIe siècle,” *TM* 1 (1965): 35.

38 N. Oikonomides, “Byzantium between East and West (XIII-XV cent.),” in *Byzantium and the West c.850-c.1200*.

as one of the major shipyards, along with Monemvasia, Lemnos and Rhodes, but mostly for commercial vessels.<sup>39</sup>

Piracy was the major issue in the second half of the thirteenth century in the Aegean Sea. It is believed that Michael VIII allowed the members of his navy to earn their salary through piratical activities.<sup>40</sup> Giovanni Senzaraxon, Andrea Gafforo, and Giovanni de lo Cavo are mentioned as *homines domini imperatoris*.<sup>41</sup> In this way the emperor could keep his navy at a relatively low cost.<sup>42</sup> When the navy was totally abandoned by Andronikos II, most of the sailors carried on their lives as pirates rather than going back to work on the land.<sup>43</sup> Small-scale shipyards where vessels were produced for the pirates became quite active and Anaia was among them.<sup>44</sup>

The presence of the Pisan merchants in Anaia dates from 1269.<sup>45</sup> There was also Maineto de Maineti, a Pisan merchant who is mentioned as public *scriba et tabularia communis Pissanorum Anee*. Between 1300 and 1302 Venetian merchants from Crete, having negotiated with the Byzantines, were visiting the Byzantine ports of western Anatolia, particularly the port of Anaia.<sup>46</sup> In the notarial records of Lambertus de Sambuceto in Famagusta from 1301, we read the names of Alecxe de Annea and Anthonii de Annea.<sup>47</sup>

In the light of the portolan charts, the Venetian claims over the piracy in the Aegean provide us with clear information on the trade routes and the commodities being traded.<sup>48</sup> Among the harbors mentioned in the claims, we can find only Anaia from western Anatolia and when we consider that the complainants were Venetians, we can come up with three conclusions:

- The Venetians were not involved in active trade in western Anatolia as much as they were in mainland Greece, the islands and the northern shores of the Aegean. This does not reflect the situation of the Genoese and Pisans.
- They kept clear of areas where pirates were active, although the claims clearly show that they could not avoid them altogether.

*Proceedings of the XVIII Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. J. D. Howard-Johnston (Amsterdam, 1988) [= BF 13], 321.

39 H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer: la marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VIIe-XVe siècles* (Paris, 1966), 437.

40 G. Morgan, "The Venetian Claims Commission of 1278," *BZ* 69 (1976): 421.

41 R. J. Runyan and A. R. Lewis, *European Naval and Maritime History 300-1500* (Bloomington, 1985), 39-40; Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 201-2.

42 Morgan, "Claims Commission," 425.

43 Lemerle, *L'Emirat d'Aydin*, 15.

44 Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, 437.

45 K. Otten-Froux, "Documents inédits sur les Pisans en Roumanie aux XIIIe-XIVe siècles," in *Les Italiens à Byzance*, ed. M. Balard, A. E. Laiou, K. Otten-Froux (Paris, 1987), 167-68.

46 Maltezos, "Ελληνες και Ιταλοί," 256; E. A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade. Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1305-1415)* (Venice, 1983), 5, n. 13.

47 R. Pavoni, *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare, Atti rogati à Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (6 luglio-27 ottobre 1301)* (Genoa, 1982), 232, 235.

48 Morgan, "Claims Commission."

- The local merchants handled the trade between the western shore of Anatolia and the main hubs of the international trade routes.

The Byzantine merchants seem to be absent in the commercial world of the era but we can say that their activity was limited rather than non-existent.<sup>49</sup> As Oikonomides puts it, the Byzantine merchants were more involved in regional trade.<sup>50</sup> We also know that merchants from Monemvasia were quite active in trade through the privileges provided by Michael VIII and Andronikos II. Those merchants were in Venetian ports in Crete, in Anaia and even in Caffa in the Black Sea. We can say that there was not a sole monopoly of the Venetian and Genoese merchants.<sup>51</sup> Although we do not have the contracts of the Byzantine notaries, we do know that merchants like Alexis of Anaia or Drakontopulos were active in trade at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries.<sup>52</sup> It is generally accepted that the Byzantine merchants were more involved in the regional and short and medium-distance trade while long-distance trade was in the hands of the Italians.

Fairs were among the important economic activities of the period. From the historical documents we know that a certain Venetian, Alberto Stella, took his commodities to Anaia from Negroponte, then took the land route to go to the Belongi fair. But on the road he was attacked, his goods were seized and he was imprisoned.<sup>53</sup>

The harbors continued to function after the Turkish occupation. For instance in Pegolotti's *Pratica della mercatura*, Phokaia, Smyrna, Ephesos (together with Scala Nova), Anaia and Miletos are mentioned.

Concerning the commodities being traded, although there are records of trade in wheat, western Anatolia was not comparable to Thrace and Black Sea.<sup>54</sup> But there are records that the Genoese merchants bought wheat in Phokaia and also wheat was sold to the Seljuks by the Nicaean Empire.<sup>55</sup>

During the Nicaean Empire period, the level of agricultural production increased, resulting in a surplus in cereals, wine, oil and livestock. We can even talk about export of wheat while the case for oil is not clear. Laiou, on the basis of the documents, confidently states that there was an extensive production for the market in the region.<sup>56</sup> One of the priorities of the Nicaean rulers was to re-regulate the lands.<sup>57</sup> According to Hendy, those

49 A. E. Laiou-Thomadakis, "The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System, Thirteenth- Fifteenth Centuries," *DOP* 34/35 (1980/81): 188.

50 N. Oikonomides, "Entrepreneurs," in *The Byzantines*, ed. G. Cavallo (Chicago-London, 1997), 167.

51 Laiou-Thomadakis, "The Byzantine Economy," 206; K-P. Matschke, "Commerce, Trade, Markets, and Money, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries," in *EHB* 2:790.

52 Maltezos, "Ελληνες και Ιταλοί," 259.

53 Matschke, "Commerce, Trade, Markets," 780-81; Morgan "Claims Commission," 432, 438.

54 P. Spufford, *Power and Profit: The Merchant in Medieval Europe* (London, 2006), 29; Laiou-Thomadakis, "The Byzantine Economy," 183-84.

55 A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900-1200* (Cambridge, 1989), 139.

56 A. E. Laiou, "The Agrarian Economy, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries," in *EHB* 1:321.

57 D. Jacoby, "Thirteenth-Century Commercial Exchange in the Aegean: Continuity and Change," in *Change in*

rulers chose Nymphaion as their winter palace in order to protect the fertile Hermus and the Maeander valleys from Turkish attacks.<sup>58</sup>

The slave trade was of some importance and the Cretan notarial documents of the era show that Anaia was a major slave-trade center at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries.<sup>59</sup> Among other commodities traded were alum, horses and cereals. The monopoly of the Zaccaria family in the alum trade came to an end especially when alum from Kotiaion (Kütahya) was shipped from Altoluogo (Ephesos) and Palatia (Miletos).<sup>60</sup>

Hendy makes an interesting comment on the relation of the two rivals (the Byzantines and the Turks) as Muslim nomads were moving to highlands in the summer time while the Byzantine farmers could harvest and do seeding, and in the winter time once the nomads came back to the valley, the Byzantine farmers moved back to safe locations. Actually having the animals grazing on the fields could have helped the crop leaving the roots in soil while eating the rest. In this way the roots could produce multiple shoots, thus increasing the crop.<sup>61</sup>

In the documents of the Venetian Claims Commission of 1278, 257 incidents are mentioned that took place between 1268 and 1277. Of those, 170 involved piratical activity at sea, while thirty-nine were robberies on land, seven were looting of the shipwrecks and forty were commercial exactions. Although not all the incidents have records of the starting point and/or destination, there is a sufficient number to give a picture of the commercial network and the commodities traded in the Aegean Sea during the period.<sup>62</sup>

Among the harbors in the records we find that *Stromula* was mentioned twice,<sup>63</sup> *Anaia* five times,<sup>64</sup> and *Alter Locus* (Altoluogo?) only once.<sup>65</sup> These records show also another important aspect of the trade in the Aegean Sea in the second half of the thirteenth century; namely, the extensive number of short and medium-distance trade.

From a simple statistical view of the records, we can easily say that cereals, textiles (both products and the raw material) and salt were the main commodities of trade. It is possible to think that the salt came from the salt-pans in Phokaia, Adramyttion, Smyrna and the Maeander area, but we lack documentation.

*the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium; Proceedings*, ed. A. Ödekan, E. Akyürek and N. Necipoğlu (Istanbul, 2010), 193.

58 M. F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c. 300–1450* (Cambridge, 1985), 116–17.

59 Maltezos, “Ελληνες και Ιταλοί,” 269; S. A. Epstein, *Purity Lost: Transgressing Boundaries in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000–1400* (Baltimore, 2006), 55.

60 F. Thiriet, “Les relations entre Crète et les émirats turcs d’Asie Mineure au XIVe siècle (vers 1348–1360),” in *Actes du XIIe Congrès international d’Etudes byzantines, Ohrid 10–16 Septembre 1961* (Belgrade, 1964), 213–14.

61 Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy*, 116–17.

62 Morgan, “Claims Commission.”

63 Morgan, “Claims Commission,” 427, record 16, 434, n. 219.

64 Morgan, “Claims Commission,” 431, record 141. Here the name of the harbor is written as Starea and Morgan wrote this could be Anaia (?); n. 146, n. 174; Morgan “Claims Commission,” 435, n. 241 and 244.

65 Morgan, “Claims Commission,” 432, n. 174.

After western Anatolia passed under the domination of the different Turkish emirates, the ports continued their function, as confirmed both graphically by the portolan charts as well as by historical documents. For instance, the Venetian authorities of Crete gave permission not only for the export of grain but also its importation during times of great necessity. Among the main suppliers of grain were the Turkish emirates of western Anatolia. During the summer of 1334, fourteen permits were given to import grain from the Turkish emirates of Asia Minor to Crete. In 1335, the Cretan authorities called everyone who was interested to take a loan from the Public Treasury to transport wheat and barley from Asia Minor (*partes Turchie*) and sell it in the central square of Candia.<sup>66</sup>

According to Pegolotti, Altoluogo (Theologos-Ephesos) was an important grain (*grano*) export center in which Anaia and Palatia were also involved. Wheat was exported from Phokaia as well. While Altoluogo was the exit point for the Cayster (Küçük Menderes) plain, Anaia and Palatia had the same function for the Maeander plain. Smyrna was involved with its immediate hinterland. According to the records of the Lembos Monastery, in the thirteenth century grain was one of the major commodities together with wine and oil.<sup>67</sup>

Anaia seems to have been an important center for the slave trade. Among the ethnicities of the slaves there were Tatars, Cumans, Turks, Bulgars, Alans and Russians as well as Greeks. A merchant from Candia, Stefano Mazamurdi, came to Anaia in 1300 where he sold Greek and Turkish slaves. In 1301 the Venetian Johannes Zane sold a Greek (*genere grecorum*) slave. From another document, we learn that Paltaleon de Spiga from Candia sold two Greek slaves together with their families in 1304.<sup>68</sup>

In the campaigns against the Turks in 1294 and 1295, Alexios Philanthropenos took so many Turkish slaves that it was said that a slave sold for less than a sheep.<sup>69</sup> Although it is not mentioned where those slaves were sold, this could have happened in the harbors of western Anatolia, considering their geographical proximity.

Alum was one of the most important commodities of western Anatolia. Due to its quality it dominated the textile industry of western Europe as raw material in color fixing.<sup>70</sup> For instance, under the very strict regulations of the textile guild in Bruges, alum of Phokaia was priced the highest for its quality.<sup>71</sup> As we have already mentioned,

66 C. Gasparis, “The Trade of Agricultural Products in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Regional Sea Routes from Thirteenth to Fifteenth Century,” in *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert)*, ed. E. Kislinger, J. Koder, A. Külzer (Vienna, 2010), 97, n. 22 and 23.

67 Ahrweiler, “L’histoire et géographie,” 18; Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy*, 49.

68 Maltezos, “Ελληνες και Ιταλοί,” 257.

69 M. Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204–1453* (Philadelphia, 1997), 74.

70 Lopez, “Market Expansion,” 457.

71 E. Briys and D. J. de ter Beerst, “The Zaccaria Deal: Contract and Options to Fund a Genoese Shipment of Alum from Bruges in 1298,” in *XIV. International Economic History Congress, Helsinki 21–25 August 2006*, <http://www.helsinki.fi/iehc2006/papers3/BriysJoos.pdf>, accessed on 31.05.2007, 50.

this trade remained under the control of Genoese Zaccaria family for a long period. Although some scholars state that Benedetto Zaccaria took Phokaia in 1275 based on the information provided by the Byzantine historian Pachymeres, Balard claims that the date should be earlier since Benedetto Zaccaria conducted the alum trade in Phokaia in 1268.<sup>72</sup>

Although archaeological excavations and shipwrecks attest to trade in ceramics along with the other commodities, historical documents are silent on this matter. An interesting example comes from Acre where finds of Byzantine ceramics show close resemblance to those found in Anaia.<sup>73</sup> There is one Pisan notarial document from 1269 stating that Chiani de Sala, the son of Oddo, took twenty-five *denaria pisana* from the notary Rodulfinos, the son of Albertinus, with a *compagnia maris* to trade in Anaia and Acre.<sup>74</sup>

Wine must have been an important commodity of trade but again its commerce is not documented. The Lembos Monastery records show that there was vine cultivation in the region of Smyrna. Between Nymphaiaon and Smyrna there were plenty of vineyards.<sup>75</sup> The Cumans serving in the Byzantine army who settled in the Smyrna region were called “wine-loving” (*genos philoinon*).<sup>76</sup> In the Venetian Claims Commission documents Anaia is also mentioned twice for the wine trade, in 1273-1274 and 1274-1275.<sup>77</sup>

While archaeological finds provide significant information, historical documents are not really helpful concerning the role of the western Anatolian shores in the Mediterranean trade dominated by the Italian maritime republics. For instance, the notarial record from that period is silent on this matter, which does not match the importance of the city names marked in red on the maps.

The capital city of Constantinople was the main hub where goods from all over the world were gathered and exchanged. There were other geographical locations in the imperial territories that also came into the spotlight. In the light of historical documents and the researches, the prominent centers of the international trade network of the era were primarily located on the Greek mainland, the Aegean islands, the northern shores of the Aegean including Thessalonike, the northern shores of the Sea of Marmara, and the northern shores of the Black Sea, where the Italians were able to venture from the thirteenth century onwards.

The fourteenth century witnessed the end of Byzantine and the beginning of Turkish rule in western Anatolia; yet, in the context of the contemporary portolan maps, the

ports listed above retained their significance and continued being important commercial centers frequented by Western merchants. The commercial potential of these harbor towns must have played a large role in this continuity. Arguments on the commercial potential and the position of the western Anatolian harbor towns unavoidably rely on Italian documents, because of the predominantly Latin character of commercial activity in this period. Future research in the archives and finds from archaeological excavations will shed more light on the role of the western Anatolian harbor towns in the regional and international trade network in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

72 M. Balard, “Remarques sur les esclaves à Gênes dans la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle,” *Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions et des Beaux-Arts* 80.2 (1968): 165.

73 L. Doğer, “On İkinci ve On Üçüncü Yüzyıllarda Bizans Sırlı Seramik Sanatında Form ve Üslup Değişimlerine Ait Bazı Gözlemler,” in *Change in the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. Ödekan, Akyürek, Necipoğlu, 516; Z. Mercangöz, “Emporion ve Kommerkion Olarak Anaia’nın Değişken Tarihsel Yazgısı,” *ibid.*, 290, n. 56.

74 Otten-Froux, “Documents inédits,” 167 and n. 2.

75 E. Doğer, “İzmir’in Eski Bağları, Eski Şarapları,” *Tepekule Tarih, Yerel Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2 (2000): 68.

76 Ahrweiler, “L’histoire et géographie,” 27.

77 Morgan, “Claims Commission,” 435; Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade*, 75, n.15 and 16.

# Byzantine Lydia: Some Remarks on Communication Routes and Settlement Places

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## The Lydian Landscape

Lydia is one of the famous and well-known cultural landscapes in western Anatolia (modern Turkey). The earliest traces of settlement in the Hermus River Valley belong to the Palaeolithic Age.<sup>1</sup> Since the Bronze Age there was a Luwian population which in the fourteenth century BCE came under the influence of the Hittites.<sup>2</sup> The archaeological evidence is partly unclear, its interpretation is difficult, and the written sources are often influenced by mythology; therefore scholars have different theories about the history of the following centuries. One theory is that after the collapse of the Hittite Empire in the twelfth century BCE, at the beginning of the Early Iron Age a Lydian speaking population from northwestern parts of Anatolia took possession of the region around Mount Tmōlos (Boz dağ) and subjugated the Luwian tribes living there.<sup>3</sup> This population, sometimes called pre-Lydian, was possibly identical to the Maeonians mentioned in the Iliad attributed to Homer (2,864–66, 3,401, and 18,291). At this point, in the twelfth century BCE the Early Lydian period started which goes through the late eighth century BCE; during that time the Greeks began establishing colonies in western Asia Minor.<sup>4</sup> When

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1 C. H. Roosevelt, "Lydia Before the Lydians," in *The Lydians and Their World*, ed. N. D. Cahill (Istanbul, 2010), 37–73, esp. 38 fig. 1, 40–43.

2 *The Luwians*, ed. H. C. Melchert (Leiden, 2003); I. Yakubovich, "Luwian and the Luwians," in *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia*, ed. S. R. Steadman and G. McMahon (Oxford, 2011), 534–47.

3 H. C. Melchert, "Lydian Language and Inscriptions," in *The Lydians and Their World*, ed. Cahill, 267–72, esp. 269; Roosevelt, "Lydia Before the Lydians," 56–60; R. Beekes, "Luwians and Lydians," *Kadmos* 42 (2003): 47–49.

4 C. H. Roosevelt, *The Archaeology of Lydia, from Gyges to Alexander* (Cambridge-New York, 2009), 13–22.



the Middle Lydian period started in the early seventh century BCE, the Luwians and Maeonians were unified in one Lydian population. The name “Lydia” is first mentioned in Assyrian documents around the year 664 BCE (in the form “*Luddu*”); there is historically accurate evidence relating to King Gygēs (around 668–644 BCE) of the Mermnad dynasty, who was in contact with the Assyrian Empire and with Egypt, and who also attacked several Greek cities on the eastern shore of the Aegean.<sup>5</sup> In later times, towards the end of the seventh century BCE, Lydia ruled large parts of the Aegean coast and of western Asia Minor.<sup>6</sup> The last Mermnad king was Croesus (560–546 BCE); after his defeat and the conquest of his capital Sardis (Sart) by the Achaemenids in 547 BCE the Late Lydian period started which saw Lydia as a Persian satrapy named *Sparda*. In 334 BCE, after the battle at the river Granikos, Lydia became part of the empire of Alexander the Great, but Hellenization began slowly and only in a few regions.<sup>7</sup>

With the testament of king Attalus III of Pergamon in 133 BCE and after the suppression of the rebellion of Aristonicus in 129 BCE, most parts of Lydia came under Roman rule.<sup>8</sup> The few places that remained autonomous became part of the Roman province of *Asia* in 85 BCE, after the treaty with king Mithridatēs VI of Pontus (about 120–63 BCE).<sup>9</sup> But there were only vague ideas about the precise boundaries of Lydia within this sprawling province: Strandza mountains (63 BCE – after CE 23) complained about the entwined, interlocked areas between the Catacecaumene (to the northeast of Alaşehir) and the Taurus, whose affiliation to Phrygia, Caria, Lydia or Mysia could not be determined (13,4,12). Pliny the Elder (CE 23–79) gave a rough description of Lydia: the area was bordered by Phrygia to the east, by Mysia to the north, by Caria to the south; in the west it extended above Ionia. In its center there were the capital Sardis, Mount Tmōlos, the Gygaean Lake (today Marmara Gölü) and the plains on the river Hermus (Gediz çayı), which he falsely called Maeander (*Natural History* V 30,110).<sup>10</sup>

5 J. G. Pedley, *Sardis in the Age of Croesus* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1968), 38–50; C. H. Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens in der Antike*, 2nd rev. ed. (Munich, 2010), 152–53; G. K. Sams, “Anatolia: The First Millennium B.C.E. in Historical Context,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia*, ed. Steadman and McMahon, 604–22, esp. 611–14.

6 M. Kerschner, “The Lydians and their Ionian and Aiolian Neighbours,” in *The Lydians and Their World*, ed. Cahill, 247–65; Pedley, *Sardis*, 51–57; Roosevelt, *Archaeology of Lydia*, 22–26.

7 Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens*, 185–234; Pedley, *Sardis*, 79–99; Roosevelt, *Archaeology of Lydia*, 26–31; Sams, “Anatolia: The First Millennium B.C.E.,” 614–17; M. Sartre, *L’Asie Mineure et l’Anatolie d’Alexandre à Dioclétien: IVe siècle av. J.-C. – IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.* (Paris, 1995).

8 D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N. J., 1950), 1: 22–33, 147–58; Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens*, 320–29; F. Daubner, *Bellum Asiaticum. Der Krieg der Römer gegen Aristonikos von Pergamon und die Einrichtung der Provinz Asia* (Munich, 2006).

9 Magie, *Roman Rule*, 209–31; Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens*, 341–50.

10 Concerning the landscapes of Lydia see C. Foss and G. M. A. Hanfmann, “Regional Setting and Urban Development,” in *A Survey of Sardis and the Major Monuments Outside the City Walls*, ed. G. M. A. Hanfmann and J. C. Waldbaum (Cambridge, MA, 1975), 17–34; Roosevelt, *Archaeology of Lydia*, 34–58. Some interesting details concerning the Lydian boundaries can be found in K. Buresch, *Aus Lydien. Epigraphisch-geographische Reisefrüchte* Hg. von O. Ribbeck. Mit einer von H. Kiepert gezeichneten Karte (Leipzig, 1898; repr. Hildesheim-New York, 1977), 141. According to C. Naour however, Mysia (!) stretched out to the mountains in the north of the Cogamus valley: “Inscriptions du Moyen Hermos,” *ZPapEpig* 44 (1982): 11–44, esp. 12 n. 5.

Only with the reorganization of the Roman provinces under the emperor Diocletian (284–305), around the year 293 or 297, or possibly a little later as the result of a longer process, does the geographical extent of Lydia become clear again: thanks mainly to the *Laterculus Veronensis*, a list of Roman provinces from summer 314,<sup>11</sup> and the *Synekdēmos* of Hieroklēs, a sixth-century list of 64 provinces and 923 cities, being a revision of a secular administrative document from the mid-fifth century,<sup>12</sup> a region of about 16,000 square kilometers can be determined (Fig. 1 and 2). Its centers were the old capital Sardis, Thyateira (Akhisar) in the northwest and Philadelphia (Alaşehir) in the southeast (Fig. 3, 4 and 5).<sup>13</sup> In the ecclesiastical hierarchy, this system existed throughout the Middle Ages, in secular administration it persisted up to the late seventh century, when in the aftermath of the Arab conquests of parts of the Byzantine Empire it was replaced by the new theme system. Here most of Lydia became part of Thrakēsion, one of the four original themes, only small areas in the northeast belonged to Opsikion.<sup>14</sup> Over the next centuries these administrative units often changed their borders; the exact geographical extent is difficult to determine.

## The State of Research

Since the late nineteenth century several scholars made contributions to the scientific study of ancient and medieval Lydia: among epigraphers Karl Buresch (d. 1896), Joseph Keil (d. 1963) and Anton Premerstein (d. 1935) have to be mentioned,<sup>15</sup> furthermore Louis Robert (d. 1985) and Christian Naour (d. 1982),<sup>16</sup> Peter Herrmann (d. 2002), Hasan Malay,

11 T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, Mass. –London, 1982), 201–8; T. Mommsen, “Verzeichniss (sic!) der römischen Provinzen, aufgesetzt um 297. Mit einem Anhang von K. Müllenhoff,” *Abhandlungen der Königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin*, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1862, 489–538; O. Seeck, *Notitia dignitatum, accedunt Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae et laterculi prouinciarum* (Berlin, 1876), 247–51; C. Zuckerman, “Sur la Liste de Vérone et la province de Grande Arménie, la division de l’Empire et la date de création des Diocèses,” *TM* 14 (2002): 617–37, esp. 622–28, 636–37.

12 *Le Synekdemōs d’Hiéroklēs*, ed. E. Honigsmann (Brussels, 1939), 1–6; A. Külzer, “Hieroklēs (Geog.),” in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Natural Scientists. The Greek Tradition and its Many Heirs*, ed. P. T. Keyser and G. L. Irby-Massie (London-New York, 2008), 392–93.

13 See J. Koder, “The Urban Character of the Early Byzantine Empire: Some Reflections on a Settlement Geographical Approach to the Topic,” in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Major Papers* (New Rochelle, N.Y., 1986), 155–87, esp. 183; “Lydien,” *RAC* 23 (2010): 739–62.

14 See the map by T. Riplinger, “Asia Minor. The Byzantine Empire (7–9 Century AD),” *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients* (TAVO) B VI 08 (Wiesbaden, 1989); R.-J. Lilie, “‘Thrakien’ und ‘Thrakiesion’. Zur byzantinischen Provinzorganisation am Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts. Mit zwei Karten,” *JÖB* 26 (1977): 7–47; B. Blysidu, E. Kountoura Galakē, S. Lampakēs, T. Loungēs and A. Sabbidēs, *Η Μικρά Ασία των Θεμάτων. Έρευνες πάνω στην ποσοπογραφία των βυζαντινών θεμάτων της Μικράς Ασίας (7ος–11ος αι.)* (Athens, 1998), 163–234, 391–424.

15 Buresch, *Aus Lydien*; idem, “Zur lydischen Epigraphik und Geographie,” *AM* 19 (1894): 102–32; J. Keil and A. v. Premerstein, *Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Äolis*, *DenkWien* 53.2 (Vienna, 1910); idem, *Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien*, *DenkWien* 54.2 (Vienna, 1911); idem, *Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien und den angrenzenden Gebieten Ioniens*, *DenkWien* 57.1 (Vienna, 1915).

16 L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes. Recherches sur les inscriptions grecques de l’Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1937); idem, *Villes d’Asie Mineure. Études des géographie ancienne*, 2nd rev. ed. (Paris, 1962); idem, *Noms indigènes*

and Georg Petzl.<sup>17</sup> Among the geographers Alfred Philippson (d. 1953) was important: especially in his anthology *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien*, published in five volumes between 1910 and 1915, he gave valuable geological and hydrographical descriptions, but also essential observations on settlements, archaeological remains and local roads.<sup>18</sup> Lydia in late antiquity receives excellent treatment in the writings of Stephen Mitchell;<sup>19</sup> the Byzantine period was essentially dealt with by Clive Foss, who wrote numerous articles and books on Lydian fortresses and villages, on single settlement sites and smaller areas.<sup>20</sup> Among the archaeologists who worked in Lydia, George Hanfmann (d. 1986), Axel Filges, and Christopher Roosevelt deserve mention.<sup>21</sup> The Vienna research project *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* started its work in western Asia Minor in 2009, with the intention to investigate in particular the region of the former Byzantine provinces of *Asia* and *Lydia* from the point of historical geography. The following remarks will present initial thoughts and considerations.

### Roads and Communication Routes: Some Methodological Considerations

A good introduction to the study of a historical landscape is the analysis of the local road system: roads are the lifelines of a region, they open up and divide a landscape, they connect settlements and people, they give access to the centers of administration, commerce and communication, they allow the movement of commodities and armies, but also the exchange of ideas and messages.<sup>22</sup>

*dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine. Première partie* (Paris, 1963), as well as numerous articles in different periodicals. – Naour, “Inscriptions du Moyen Hermos,” 11–44; idem, “Nouvelles inscriptions du Moyen Hermos,” *EpAnat* 2 (1983): 107–41; idem, “Documents du Moyen Hermos,” *Trav.Rech.Turquie* 2 (1984): 21–78; idem, “Nouveaux documents du Moyen Hermos,” *EpAnat* 5 (1985): 37–76.

17 For example, see the following books: P. Herrmann, *Tituli Lydiae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti. Regio septentrionalis ad orientem vergens*. TAM 5.1 (Vienna, 1981); idem, *Tituli Lydiae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti. Regio septentrionalis ad occidentem vergens*. TAM 5.2 (Vienna, 1989); G. Petzl, *Tituli Lydiae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti. Philadelpheia et Ager Philadelphenus*. TAM 5.3 (Vienna, 2007); P. Herrmann, *Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordostlydien*, DenkWien 80 (Vienna, 1962); P. Herrmann and H. Malay, *New Documents from Lydia. With 103 figures and a map*. ETAM 24. DenkWien 340 (Vienna, 2007); H. Malay, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum*. ETAM 19. DenkWien 237 (Vienna, 1994); idem, *Researches in Lydia, Mysia and Aiolis. With 246 figures and a map*. ETAM 23. DenkWien 279 (Vienna, 1999); G. Petzl, *Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens*. *EpAnat* 22 (Bonn, 1994).

18 A. Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen im westlichen Kleinasien*, 5 vols., *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen*, Ergänzungshefte 167, 172, 177, 180, 183 (Gotha 1910, 1911, 1913, 1914, 1915).

19 Especially in his important books: S. Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor. I. The Celts and the Impact of Roman Rule; II. The Rise of the Church* (Oxford, 1993) and idem, *A History of the Later Roman Empire, A D 284–641. The Transformation of the Ancient World* (Malden, MA–Oxford, 2007).

20 See his essays collected in C. Foss, *History and Archaeology of Byzantine Asia Minor* (Aldershot, Hampshire, 1990) and in idem, *Cities, Fortresses and Villages of Byzantine Asia Minor* (Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, 1996); furthermore the important book idem, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass-London, 1976).

21 For example, G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times. Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 1958–1975* (Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1983); Blaundos, *Berichte zur Erforschung einer Kleinstadt im lydisch-phrygischen Grenzgebiet*, ed. A. Filges (Tübingen, 2006); Roosevelt, *Archaeology of Lydia*.

22 First references: K. Belke, “Communications: Roads and Bridges,” in *OHBS* 295–308; D. H. French, “The

Today the road network of ancient and medieval Asia Minor is visible only at a few points in its material remains. Road sections with original pavement are preserved sometimes only sporadically, sometimes in sections spanning over several hundred meters. Old bridges occasionally indicate former river crossings; they can show that the course of a river was different in the past than today and that the character of a landscape has changed. In academic literature these archaeological remains which clearly mark a concrete point in a landscape are called “fixed points” or “pass-through points.” In between the roads proceeded in a not exactly determinable way; one talks of “transport zones.” Within the “transport zones” computer programs like the *Digital Elevation Model* can determine a so-called *Least-cost Path*: this means the way which could be used with the least effort. The calculated routes can provide important hints for the localization of toponyms which were previously known only by name. Furthermore, the models offer a good orientation for archaeological surveys in the specific area.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, one should not use the computer models without conscientious scrutiny. They must be carefully analyzed, because 1. The models are mostly based on the present state of the landscape, which may have changed significantly from the past; 2. The political circumstances of the past such as general accessibility, passage options, and presence of enemies are often ignored. Therefore, when analyzing the “transport zones” and thinking about the possible course of an ancient road, one must first reconstruct the geographical situation of the past. This means the reconstruction of former river courses and coast lines, of former waterholes and oases in arid areas, of swamps, deserts and salt lakes that impeded the traffic.<sup>24</sup> One must remember that some mountains and ranges of hills divided landscapes in former times, and could only be passed at a few places; this may not be recognizable today due to remodeling of the landscape. The Cilician Gates or Gülek Boğazı may serve as a very good example: the pass was an extremely important military and commercial artery, channeling traffic for centuries, but was simply dismantled and made redundant in the 1970s.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to the archaeological and geographical testimonies, written sources, of course, provide important information for the reconstruction of historical landscapes. Inscriptions deliver toponyms; they sometimes even give localizations; they record the

Roman Road-system of Asia Minor,” *ANRW* II 7.2 (1980): 698–729; *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert)*, ed. E. Kislinger, J. Koder and A. Külzer, DenkWien 388 (Vienna, 2010).

23 See M. Popović and J. J. Jubanski, “On the Function of ‘Least-Cost Path’ Calculations within the Project *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* (TIB) of the Austrian Academy of Sciences: a Case Study on the Route Melnik-Zlatolist (Bulgaria),” *AnzWien* 145.2 (2010): 55–87; V. Gaffney and H. Gaffney, “Modelling Routes and Communications,” in *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege*, ed. Kislinger, Koder and Külzer, 79–91.

24 See A. Külzer, “Von Assos nach Pergamon und Ephesos: Betrachtungen zu den Straßen Westkleinasiens in römischer und byzantinischer Zeit,” *Asia Minor Studien* 78 (2016): 185–204.

25 F. Hild, “Verkehrswege zu Lande: Die Wege der Kreuzfahrer des Ersten und Zweiten Kreuzzuges in Kleinasien,” in *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege*, ed. Kislinger, Koder and Külzer, 105–25, esp. 108–9, 118–19 fig. 6–8; F. Hild and M. Restle, *Kappadokien (Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebasteia und Lykandos)*, *TIB* 2 (Vienna, 1981), 124, 263–64; F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, *TIB* 5 (Vienna, 1990), 132, 387.

construction and inevitable repairs of roads and bridges. Milestones from antiquity up to the sixth century CE attest to different road connections, intersections and single road conjunctions; but their interpretation is not always easy because they can be displaced over some distances.<sup>26</sup> Medieval documents with their often very accurate descriptions of smaller landscapes are not so important for Lydia, but itineraries have a high information value: preserved as a labeled map like the famous *Tabula Peutingeriana* or as simple texts, they allow us to plot single routes by their mentions of different stations and landmarks.<sup>27</sup>

Furthermore, historiography, hagiography, and the accounts of crusaders or travelers provide important information about different roads and stages in Asia Minor. But regardless of the specific literary genre, the road conditions are rarely described. The reconstruction of the route between these “fixed points” or “pass-through points” is always left to the imagination of the modern historian or geographer. The accounts of European travelers from the eighteenth, nineteenth or early twentieth centuries are very useful, because the roads they described were often identical with those of late antiquity and the Middle Ages; it was not until the 1970s that complete new roadways were created in western Anatolia. However, the network of ancient roads cannot be accurately determined. There is no absolute certainty! This explains the numerous variations in the depiction of paths and routes in the current manuals and atlases like the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*,<sup>28</sup> the *Digital Map of the Roman Empire* by the Pelagios-Project<sup>29</sup> or the *Historischer Atlas der antiken Welt*.<sup>30</sup>

26 See the interesting books by D. H. French, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor, Fasc. 1: The Pilgrim's Road*, BAR Int. Ser. 105 (Oxford, 1981); idem, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor. Fasc. 2: An Interim Catalogue of Milestones*, 2 vols. BAR Int. Ser. 392, I-II (Oxford, 1988); idem, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor. Vol. 3: Milestones, fasc. 3.1 Republican*, BIAA, Electronic Monograph 1 (2012); and idem, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor. Vol. 3 Milestones, fasc. 3.5 Asia*, BIAA, Electronic Monograph 5 (2014).

27 L. Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana* (Rimini, 1983); *Itineraria Romana. Römische Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana dargestellt* von K. Miller (Stuttgart, 1916; repr. Rome, 1964); *Tabula Peutingeriana. Codex Vindobonensis 324. Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat. Kommentar* von E. Weber (Graz, 1976); M. Rathmann, “Die Tabula Peutingeriana und die antike Kartographie,” *Periplus* 23 (2013): 92–120; R. J. A. Talbert, *Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered* (Cambridge, 2010); E. Weber, “Ein neues Buch und das Datierungsproblem der Tabula Peutingeriana,” *Tyche* 27 (2012): 209–216; furthermore, see O. Cuntz, ed., *Itinerarium Burdigalense, ad fidem editionum P. Geyer et O. Cuntz. Itineraria et alia geographica I*, CCSL 175 (Turnhout, 1965), 1–26.

28 *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, edited by R. J. A. Talbert in collaboration with R. S. Bagnall, J. McK. Camp II e. a. Atlas, 2 vols. Map-by-map-directory (Princeton, N. J.- Oxford, 2000), esp. maps 56 and 62.

29 <http://pelagios.dme.ait.ac.at/maps/greco-roman/> (10 December 2013).

30 *Historischer Atlas der antiken Welt*, DNP, Supplemente 3, ed. A.-M. Wittke, E. Olshausen, R. Szedlek and M. Landfester (Stuttgart, 2007), 194–99.

## Settlement Sites, Communication Routes and Side Roads: Some Remarks on the Lifelines of Roman and Byzantine Lydia

One of the main communication routes that needs to be addressed here is the well-known road that led from the Dardanelles and the Troad to Adramytion (Edremit) and Pergamon (Bergama), that reached Lydian territory shortly behind Germē in what is today Soma, to lead afterwards in a predominantly northwestern-southeastern direction to the middle Maeander valley in Phrygia. The road is mentioned in the *Itinerarium Antonini* from the late third century and in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, composed one century later.<sup>31</sup> Due to its geographical orientation this road will be referred to below, according to the habits of *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, as A1; it connected the three main settlement centers of Lydia, namely Thyateira, Sardis and Philadelphia. About eight kilometers north of Thyateira, a little to the west of the small village of Pityaia, still existing in the Byzantine period (three kilometers east-northeast of the modern village Süleymanlı), the road met another one, which led southwards from Cyzicus on the Propontis coast, skirting Hadrianotherae (Balıkesir) and the former bishop's see of Stratonicea (Siledik), which already belonged to Lydia.<sup>32</sup> Not far from Thyateira, maybe ten kilometers to the south at the level of the modern village Kennez (Pınarcık), which marks an ancient settlement place, with a nearby Byzantine fortress at Yılcık kale, there was an intersection: a road, already depicted in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, led to the southwest, connecting Hierocaesarea (a bishop's see close to the modern villages of Beyoba and Sazoba; in antiquity the place was famous for its cult of the goddess Anaïtis, in Persian Anahita) (Fig. 6), Tyannollus (an ancient village near Arpalı, today Lütfiye) and Hyrcanis (a bishop's see near modern Halitpaşa, still existing in the twelfth century); afterwards the road crossed the boundary between the provinces of *Lydia* and of *Asia* and led to Smyrna (İzmir) on the Aegean coast.<sup>33</sup>

The main route was oriented to the southeast; just beyond modern Gölarmara, whose archaeological remains show it to have been an important town in Byzantine times (maybe, as Louis Robert suggested, identical with Maibōz//a//, a toponym mentioned in an inscription from the first century CE),<sup>34</sup> the road divided and went around the Gygaean Lake (Fig. 7) on both sides. The fork on the western shore led southwards (in the village of Tekelioğlu on the south bank of the lake a milestone was found which dates between 313 and 317),<sup>35</sup> crossed the river Hermus on a Roman bridge and west of Sardis reached the western offshoot of the ancient Persian royal road, which went down to Ephesos.

31 Cuntz, *Imperatoris Antonini Augusti itineraria*, 50, 334,1–337,2; Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Segment VIII/2–5; Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, 697–99, 715–16.

32 *Barrington Atlas*, map 56; Magie, *Roman Rule*, 798–99; Philippson, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 1:63–66; K. Belke, *Bithynien und Helléspontos*, TIB 13 (Vienna, forthcoming) Route D6.

33 Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Segment VIII/4; Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, 718

34 L. Robert, *Documents d'Asie Mineure* (Athens–Paris, 1987), 333–35, 351–53, 445; Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 184; Keil and Premerstein, *Bericht*, 1:61.

35 French, *Roman Roads*, Fasc. 2, 1:251 no. 695.

The fork on the eastern shore of the Gygaean Lake proceeded along the foothills of Keçi dağı to Satala (Adala, today Karataş), where another Roman bridge made the crossing of the river Hermus possible (Fig. 8).<sup>36</sup> Here was a direct connection to the second main communication route in Lydia, the west-east road C1 in the direction of the Phrygian towns Temenothyrae (Uşak) and Trajanopolis (near Çarık and Ortaköy, twelve kilometers east of Uşak). We will talk about this road later. The A1 passed Sardis and proceeded to the east; at the level of today's Durasallı, most probably the place of the ancient village of Thymbrara, which is identical with Thybarna mentioned by Stephen of Byzantium (319–20), there was an intersection: one fork led to the north in the direction of Satala, the other fork to the southeast; this road ran along the river Cogamus (Alaşehir çay) to the important town of Philadelphia and further to Tripolis, modern Yenice, the last significant settlement place in Lydia; afterwards it crossed the Phrygian border and proceeded to the settlements of Hierapolis (Pamukkale) and Laodikeia (Eskihisar).<sup>37</sup>

Hereinafter I will give some short comments on two side roads of this important communication route. The first is not mentioned in any common atlas or manual. At the level of modern Yeniköy, the former Hasankıranı, on the eastern shore of the Gygaean Lake, in ancient times the place of the *kōmē* Arill/a//, which in the second century CE got the right to have a rural market once a year,<sup>38</sup> a northeasterly road led up the Keçi dağı to the former episcopal see of Daldis (which is today Nardı kale) at a distance of seven kilometers. Here one can find impressive archaeological remains from ancient and Byzantine times; a local milestone testifies to a connection to Sardis.<sup>39</sup> Up to the middle Byzantine period this place was an important local market center. There was a connection to Chárax or Characópolis near the modern village of Karayakub, six kilometers to the north; small remains from the Laskarid period can still be found there. The village existed in Hellenistic times, but there is no trace from the middle Byzantine period: so maybe the place was not permanently occupied but repopulated.<sup>40</sup> The road ran in a northeastern direction through the mountains to Gördes, the Byzantine episcopal see of Iulia Gordus; the city was even in the fourteenth century under the rule of the Saruḥanoğlu an important administrative center. Many archaeological remains from ancient and from Byzantine times are to be found there; among them two milestones from the fourth century CE.<sup>41</sup> It is obvious that local centers, in particular episcopal sees, were not isolated in the mountains (like the handbooks present them), but were connected by roads to

the networks of communication. Therefore, it seems to be reasonable to assume the existence of a road leading to the north, which is documented in the nineteenth century, already in former periods. This road passed by the ancient settlement sites near Dutluca (the former Tutluca) and, three kilometers further to the northwest, near the village of Kihra (Çiçekli). This was the former *katoikia* of Hyssa, a place with several archaeological remains and some inscriptions.<sup>42</sup> The road proceeded northwards to Sındırgı, already inhabited in Hellenistic times, and the river Macestus (Simav çay), where it met the important road from modern Bigadiç to Synaus (Simav), both Byzantine market centers.<sup>43</sup> This newly presented road was an eastern side road of the well-known A1; it opened up the hinterland of several Lydian settlement places, which existed in (late) antiquity, but partly also in the middle and late Byzantine periods.

The second side road left the A1 shortly after Philadelphia: it led to the east, and then it turned northeast into the interior of Phrygia. In contrast to the aforementioned road this one, now called C2, is depicted in common atlases but inaccurately. The road existed in late antiquity; it is depicted in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.<sup>44</sup> It passed through the old settlement sites of Clanudda in Lydia and Aludda in Phrygia and proceeded to Acmonia (Ahat); but Blaundus, an episcopal see northeast of the modern village of Sülümenli, (Fig. 10) still existing in the twelfth century, was not affected at all –contrary to what is shown in all the common manuals and atlases.<sup>45</sup> Blaundus was situated on a plateau; it was connected with C2 by an access road, several kilometers long.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, the town was not mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* for good reason. In all likelihood, the location of Clanudda is near the modern village of Kışla, ten kilometers northwest of Ulubey, where remains of walls and ceramic fragments can be found from antiquity up to the Byzantine period.<sup>47</sup> The place of Aludda was possibly near Hacim, a place with Roman sarcophagi, a necropolis, and numerous architectural fragments up to the middle Byzantine period.<sup>48</sup> In fact, the road C2 ran several kilometers further to the north, but south of the modern village Çızıkdım, which is always depicted in modern manuals. This is a misunderstanding that must be corrected; the village has been wrongly identified with Bey Şehir, an important ancient and Byzantine settlement site, several times mentioned by European travelers of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The correct modern name of Bey Şehir is Çırpıcılar, four kilometers northwest of Çızıkdım, seventeen kilometers northwest of Ulubey.<sup>49</sup> This village deserves to be mentioned in the academic literature.

36 *Barrington Atlas*, map 56; Magie, *Roman Rule*, 786–87; Marek, *Geschichte Kleinasiens*, 209–11.

37 *Barrington Atlas*, maps 56, 62, and 65.

38 Malay, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, 152–56, no. 523.

39 Herrmann, *Tituli Lydiae*, TAM V/1, 202–3 no. 618; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:180, 206; Keil and Premerstein, *Bericht*, 1:64–68; C. Foss, “Sites and Strongholds of Northern Lydia,” *AnatSt* 37 (1987): 81–101, esp. 93–94 [= idem, *History and Archaeology*, no. XI].

40 Foss, “Sites and Strongholds,” 92–93.

41 P. Herrmann, *Zur Geschichte der Stadt Iulia Gordos in Lydien (mit drei Abbildungen auf zwei Tafeln)*, *AnzWien* 107,6 (Vienna, 1970); idem, *Tituli Lydiae*, TAM V/1, 227–48 nos. 687–757; G. Petzl, “Epigraphische Funde aus Lydien,” *EpAnat* 15 (1990): 49–72, esp. 54–56 nos. 10–11; Foss, “Sites and Strongholds,” 82, 91, 100; Robert, *Villes*, 98, 267.

42 Herrmann, *Tituli Lydiae*, TAM V/1, 248–49; Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 139.

43 Belke, *Bithynien und Hellēspontos*, TIB 13, Route C8.

44 Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Segment VIII/3–4; Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, 720.

45 Misrepresented in *Barrington Atlas*, map 62, in <http://pelagios.dme.ait.ac.at/maps/greco-roman/> (10 December 2013), and in *Historischer Atlas der antiken Welt*, 197.

46 See also Filges, *Blaundos*, 316.

47 Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 202–3; Keil and Premerstein, *Bericht*, 3:50.

48 K. Belke and N. Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, TIB 7 (Vienna, 1990), 182, 265, map TIB 7, 29<sup>20</sup> 38<sup>20</sup>.

49 Harita Genel Müdürlüğü Alaşehir, Ankara 1943, 1:200.000 Ij27; Keil and Premerstein, *Bericht*, 3:49 and map; misidentified by Belke and Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, TIB 7, 225; falsely presented also in *Barrington*

Now let us discuss the abovementioned west-east route C1. After crossing the Hermus river on a Roman bridge near Satala the road led through the region of Catacecaumene with its extinct volcanoes and solidified lava flows (Fig. 9).<sup>50</sup> The first major road station was in Maeonia (Menye, today Gökçeören), an ancient place, still existing in Hellenistic times, and a bishop's see in the middle of the fifth century. The name recalls the pre-Lyidian population mentioned at the beginning of this article; it refers also to a landscape that stretched beyond the Gygaean Lake to the west, and which was used by Stephen of Byzantium as a synonym for Lydia (426).<sup>51</sup> From Maeonia the road first proceeded in an easterly direction to Collyda (Gölde, today İncesu), then turned south to the village of Kula. Both places were subordinated to the metropolis of Laodikeia in 1384, but ten years later they came under the custody of the metropolitan of Philadelphia. Still at the beginning of the twentieth century Collyda, a place founded in Hellenistic times, had an extraordinary number of churches and chapels.<sup>52</sup> In Kula, which seems to be a Byzantine foundation, many inscriptions were found; among them is a milestone dating from 299 to 302, and reused between 323 and 326, that confirms the existence of a road to Silandus (near today's Karaselendi).<sup>53</sup> Therefore, this place was also connected with C1 by an access road; like Iulia Gordus, the town was not isolated in the mountains in late antiquity and Byzantine times. Quite the opposite, similar to the conditions of the nineteenth century, the road which connected Silandus to the south may also have continued to the north. Most probably the road followed the course of the Selendi çay (in the village of Tepeeynihan about twenty kilometers to the north-northeast an inscription was found which was removed from Silandus), and in the area of Synaus it met the abovementioned road along the river Macestus. Bypassing the sulphurous mineral springs of Thermai Thēseōs (Şehitli), which are still in use today, where one can find a lot of Roman spolia and small remains of a bridge,<sup>54</sup> the C1 proceeded to Tabala (near today's Burgaz, about three kilometers north of Yurtbaşı). In the eleventh century, this settlement was relocated to a more defensible mountain site; nevertheless, in 1269 it was captured and destroyed by the Turks.<sup>55</sup>

At Tabala the landscape of Catacecaumene ends. This region was densely populated particularly in those sections north of the road C1, in the wider catchment area of the river Hermus. Inscriptions from late antiquity show the names and the existence

of several villages, for example the Nisyreōn *katoikia* (two kilometers east of Saraçlar)<sup>56</sup> or the Iazēnōn *katoikia* (in the area of Ayazviran).<sup>57</sup> The episcopal see of Settae, today Sidas kale, three kilometers south of İcikler, was very important. The place has significant archaeological remains; several inscriptions from the second and third century CE onwards present Settae as an important center of textile production, wool, linen and flax were processed there.<sup>58</sup> Owing to the city's clerical and economic importance, there was obviously a connection to the road C1; most probably this road proceeded to the north in the direction of modern Demirci and beyond through the Simav Dağları to the ancient road along the river Macestus. Most likely the road passed the *katoikia* Ariandos near today's Alağaç, documented through several inscriptions from late antiquity; the road is mentioned in a report by Josef Keil and Anton Premerstein dedicated to their survey in Lydia in the year 1908.<sup>59</sup>

From Tabala the road C1 led eastward through the much more thinly populated area of the so-called Mokadēnē<sup>60</sup> to the former episcopal see of Bagē or Bagis (modern Güre), some thirty kilometers away. Already in 325 the city was represented at the first ecumenical council in Nicaea by Polliōn Bareōs. Numerous architectural remains and inscriptions, both from antiquity and Byzantine times, can be found there.<sup>61</sup> Bypassing to the south the small village of Lyendos (Aktaş)<sup>62</sup> which still existed in the middle Byzantine period and belonged to Lydia rather than to Phrygia, the road led less than twenty-five kilometers to the market center of Temenothyrae. Pausanias (about CE 115–180) assigned the city to Lydia (1, 35, 7), but in the *Notitiae episcopatum* and in the text of Hieroklēs it was part of Phrygia.<sup>63</sup> From there the road proceeded to the interior of Phrygia.

The Synaxarion of Constantinople (*Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*), probably formed in the tenth century, mentions in an entry on the date May 26 the priest Therapōn from Sardis, who in the days of the emperor Valerian (253–260) was abducted to the Phrygian cities of Synaus and Ancyra (in former days Kilise Köy, today Boğaz Köy, twenty kilometers northeast of Demirci). Certainly for this purpose the often mentioned road along the river Macestus was used. On the banks of the river Astelēs, most likely

<sup>50</sup> Atlas, map 62.

<sup>51</sup> Robert, *Villes*, 287–313; Philippson, *Reisen*, 4:7–19.

<sup>52</sup> Herrmann, *Tituli Lydiae*, TAM V/1, 164–85 nos. 514–73; idem, *Ergebnisse*, 4–12.

<sup>53</sup> Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 139; Keil and Premerstein, *Bericht*, 2:92–98; Philippson, *Reisen*, 4:13.

<sup>54</sup> French, *Roman Roads*, Fasc. 2, 1:254–55 nos. 704; Herrmann, *Tituli Lydiae*, TAM V/1, 80–102 no. 234–316; Philippson, *Reisen*, 4:3, 15, 16.

<sup>55</sup> Malay, *Researches*, 153–54 nos. 180; Naour, "Nouveaux documents du Moyen Hermos," 68–72 no. 21–24; Philippson, *Reisen*, 4:14.

<sup>56</sup> Georges Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler, trans. V. Laurent, CFHB 24/2 (Paris, 1984), 404–5; C. Foss, "Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia," *JÖB* 28 (1979): 297–320, esp. 302–4; Herrmann, *Ergebnisse*, 21; Keil and Premerstein, *Bericht*, 2:120.

<sup>57</sup> Herrmann, *Tituli Lydiae*, TAM V/1, 132–36 nos. 425–38; idem, *Ergebnisse*, 28–29, 40; Keil and Premerstein, *Bericht*, 2:100–2 no. 199–201.

<sup>58</sup> Herrmann, *Tituli Lydiae*, TAM V/1, 139–55 nos. 446–86a; Hermann and Malay, *New Documents*, 79–80; Keil and Premerstein, *Bericht*, 2:93, 102–8 nos. 202–9.

<sup>59</sup> Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 185; Keil and Premerstein, *Bericht*, 2:108; Herrmann, *Ergebnisse*, 13; Malay, *Researches*, 170–74 nos. 206–12.

<sup>60</sup> Herrmann, *Tituli Lydiae*, TAM V/1, 47 no. 148.

<sup>61</sup> Herrmann, *Tituli Lydiae*, TAM V/1, 1; Magie, *Roman Rule*, 1022; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:161, 176, 180.

<sup>62</sup> Herrmann, *Tituli Lydiae*, TAM V/1, 12–17; Keil and Premerstein, *Bericht*, 2:124–28; Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, 200–1; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:176, 180–81, 2:39.

<sup>63</sup> Herrmann, *Tituli Lydiae*, TAM V/1, 2–11; Belke and Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, TIB 7, 329; Keil and Premerstein, *Bericht*, 2:129–33.

<sup>64</sup> Belke and Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, TIB 7, 406; J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1981), 26, 211, 225, 238, 257, 280, 301, 320, 359; *Le Synekdemōs d'Hieroklēs*, ed. Honigmann, 668, 14.

the modern Derbent deresi, an eastern tributary of the river Hermus, which was crossed by the road in question thirty-six kilometers southeast of Synaus, the priest was badly mistreated. He was then taken to Satala, more or less along the river Hermus, where he suffered martyrdom.<sup>64</sup> For this latter part of the journey undoubtedly the road C1 was used. Concerning the connection of the two communication roads, the mention of the river Astelēs can lead to the assumption, that this was on a side road along the river Hermus (in this part called Murat çayı) which met C1 at the level of Bagē. In summary, by analyzing the data given by old settlement sites, by places where late antique inscriptions were found, by modern travel accounts and by geographical realities, it was possible to present at least four side routes in northeastern Lydia, in a landscape that common manuals and atlases present as completely undeveloped and inaccessible.

In the Roman and Byzantine periods Lydia was marked, especially in the areas east of the main communication road A1, by villages and smaller settlements. Christianity spread much more slowly here than in the western province of *Asia*; for example, there were numerous pagan religious inscriptions (*Beichtinschriften*) composed along the river Hermus between the first and the third century CE, in comparison to only a few Christian inscriptions.<sup>65</sup> The number of episcopal sees, normally central places and of course centers of local communication, is marginal. On the other hand, they were equally distributed in the region, and they existed already in the fourth century (Bagis) or in the fifth (for example, Daldis, Sette, Silandus). Because of its fertile soil Lydia is often associated with agriculture. Its numerous mineral resources like sulfur, cinnabar, iron, lead and precious metals contributed to the flourishing of various crafts. Since antiquity its textile industry is well documented by inscriptions.<sup>66</sup> But rich production activity and trade do not fit well with the common picture of an underdeveloped region. The paper presented here could show that Lydia even in its eastern parts was not as inaccessible as academic literature likes to present it. Future research will surely contribute to a much deeper knowledge of the local networks of communication and will help to understand historical reality in a better way.

<sup>64</sup> *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano*, ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902), 710–12; Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis*, 31, 117.

<sup>65</sup> See Petzl, *Beichtinschriften*; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:191–95.

<sup>66</sup> Foss and Hanfmann, “Regional Setting and Urban Development,” 20–22; Roosevelt, *Archaeology of Lydia*, 46–58.



Fig. 1 Byzantine Lydia (QGIS 2.12.3).<sup>67</sup>



Fig. 2 Byzantine Lydia, eastern part (QGIS 2.12.3).

<sup>67</sup> Cordial thanks to Dr. Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Vienna, who kindly introduced me to the QGIS-program.



Fig. 3 Sardis, Acropolis, view from the Artemis Temple (Photo: A. Külzer, 2013).



Fig. 5 Philadelphia, city wall (Photo: A. Külzer, 2013).



Fig. 4 Thyateira, so-called Basilica (Photo: A. Külzer, 2013).



Fig. 6 Hierocaesarea, settlement site (Photo: A. Külzer, 2013).



Fig. 7 Gygaean Lake, western shores (Photo: A. Külzer, 2013).



Fig. 8 Satala and Hermus river (Photo: A. Külzer, 2013).



Fig. 9 Catacecaumene, east of Kula (Photo: A. Külzer, 2013).



Fig. 10 Blaundus (Photo: A. Külzer, 2013).



# Caravanserais and Commerce\*

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In the late twelfth century, the fair (*panegyris*) of Michael the Archangel at Chonai (Honaz) in southwestern Asia Minor attracted people from far and wide, even “barbarian Ikonians,” to quote one Byzantine source. The Seljuk caravanserai network did not extend far in this direction at this time: how did people get from Ikonion (Konya), the capital of the Seljuk sultanate, to Byzantine Chonai? And what would a merchant coming from Konya sell there?

This paper investigates the caravanserai network built by and under the Seljuk sultanate in order to examine routes linking the Byzantine Empire (and the Empire of Nicaea, its successor in western Anatolia between 1204 and 1261), to Konya, the Seljuk capital, located at the edge of the central Anatolian plain. Who built caravanserais? What goods were transported through them? And what is their intersection with commerce, pilgrimage, state control, and private enterprise?

The first securely dateable Seljuk caravanserai is the Öresun Han, dated by a recently discovered inscription to 584/1188. In it a son of the Seljuk sultan Kılıç Arslan II, Sultanşah, claims credit for the building.<sup>1</sup> The following year, the German armies of

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1 A. Baş, “Öresun (Tepesi Delik) Hanı’nda Temizlik ve Restorasyon Çalışmaları,” in *XIII. Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Kazıları ve Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildirileri, 14–16 Ekim 2009*, ed. K. Pektaş et al. (Istanbul, 2010), 69–84. On the basis of the photograph of the inscription given in fig. 2 of this article, the following Arabic text and English translation can be proposed:

1- (f) *ayyam dawlat al-sultan al-mu’azzam*

2- *Qilij Arslan bin Mas’ud amara binshahu (sic) waladhu*

3- *Al-Malik Sultanshah sana arba’ thamanin wa khamsa mi’a.*

([In] the days of the reign of the great sultan Qilij Arslan, son of Mas’ud, his son the prince (*malik*) Sultanshah ordered its construction [in the] year 584.) O. Pancaroğlu, “The House of Mengüjek in Divriği: Constructions of Dynastic Identity in the Late Twelfth Century,” in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval*

Frederick I Barbarossa would pass first through the Byzantine and then, in 1190, the Seljuk realms, following the Afyon-Akşehir route on their way to the Seljuk capital, which they sacked and burned before heading south and east to territories controlled by Armenian barons in Cilicia. The Öresun Han lay to the east of the route of the German armies, closer to Aksaray (Map 1).

As the Öresun Han inscription demonstrates, Seljuk caravanserais were built by members of the ruling elite, the largest ones by the sultan himself. However, caravanserais were built with the patrons' own money, and often as part of larger constructional projects, tied together by the institution of *waqf* (modern Turkish *vakıf*), or charitable foundation. As a result, to talk of a state policy of building caravanserais is to entertain a conceptualization of the pre-modern state with few if any hard and fast lines between the policy of the state and the members of its elite. That said, the mechanisms of both decision-making and implementation are obscure. Were construction projects like caravanserais coordinated by the ruling sultan? Was there a state building corps? The construction of fortifications, commanded by the sultan, but with the cost of individual towers covered by individual emirs (and commemorated with inscriptions bearing their names), a widespread practice in medieval Islam, took place in early thirteenth-century Konya, at the same time as the first seemingly coordinated building campaign of caravanserais. I think that parallels can be drawn between the two.<sup>2</sup>

Beginning approximately a decade after the construction of the Öresun Han, Seljuk emirs began to build caravanserais on one of the two roads connecting Konya not with the central east-west trunk road of the sultanate, which ran between Konya and Kayseri, and on which the Öresun Han lay, but with Byzantine territory to the west of Konya. This route runs between Konya and Beyşehir, and on it, three different emirs built a caravanserai each within a decade (Map 2). These are the Altun Aba Han, built sometime before 1201–1202,<sup>3</sup> the Kızılören Han, dated by inscription to 1207–1208, and the Kuruçeşme or Kandemir Han, dateable by inscription to sometime between 1207 and 1211. The first of these caravanserais, and the closest to Konya, dates to the period prior to the second reign of sultan Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev I (1205–1211), while the second and third were constructed during his reign.<sup>4</sup> These buildings demonstrate a sustained effort

to connect the Seljuk capital to areas of southwestern Anatolia that were Byzantine until 1207, and under Seljuk governance afterwards. In addition to projecting Seljuk control westwards towards Honaz and through it to the Aegean coast, the building of these caravanserais should also be connected with the routes that linked inland Anatolia to the main port on its Mediterranean coast, Antalya. Indeed, in 1206, the year after he regained the throne at Konya, sultan Gıyaseddin besieged Antalya. Remains of a caravanserai between Konya and Seydişehir have been plausibly linked by Ali Baş to an inscription found reused in a nearby fountain. While there are problems with the published reading of the inscription, it demonstrates that this sultan built a caravanserai on an alternate road from Konya to Antalya.<sup>5</sup>

Unsuccessful in 1206, the following year Seljuk armies conquered Antalya and then, reported historian Bar Hebraeus, Honaz.<sup>6</sup> With the fall of Constantinople in 1204 to the forces of the Fourth Crusade, Antalya had been seized by a Tuscan who had been in Byzantine service, one Aldobrandini, whose defense of the port city against the Seljuks was aided by troops sent by the Lusignans of Cyprus.<sup>7</sup>

Until its foundation inscription was recovered, the Öresun Han was often dated to the late thirteenth century, at a time, after the Seljuk state became a vassal of the Mongols, when standardized plans typical of the main period of caravanserai construction gave way to more variation. Specifically, its assignment to a later period was due to planometric similarities to the Taş Han caravanserai in the town of Çay, dated by inscription to 1278–1279 (about which more later). In both periods, Seljuk building apparatus was not functioning as it did in the reign of sultan Alaeddin Keykubad I (1219–1237) and the early part of the reign of his son, Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev II (1237–1246). Unlike the Obruk Han, which is also likely of early date and also lies on the major Seljuk trunk road, the Öresun Han cannot be connected to the design of earlier caravanserais of twelfth-century Syria. Until its recent restoration, it was in ruinous condition, and without a portal, so nothing can be said about this major locus of architectural interest. Planometrically, it appears to be an early attempt to combine circulation, storage, stabling, and ventilation in a tripartite design expressed in simpler ways in later decades, when, in addition, a courtyard, which the Öresun Han does not have, was standard.

*Middle East*, ed. A. C. S. Peacock and S. N. Yıldız (London, 2013), 39–42, reinforces the conventional dating to the late 12th century of a nearby caravanserai (which is without foundation inscription), the Alay Han, through her reading of the craftsman's signature there. If this is the case, the Alay Han portal would be the first to have *muqarnas* vaulting.

2 R. Duran, *Selçuklu Devri Konya Yapı Kitabeleri (İnşa ve Ta'mir)* (Ankara, 2001), 33, for an emiral tower inscription from the walls of Konya citadel dated 600/1203–1204.

3 So dated because it is mentioned in the 1201–1202 *vakfiye* of Altun Aba, see O. Turan, "Şemseddin Altun Aba, Vakfiyesi ve Hayatı," *Bellekten* 11 (1947): 197–233.

4 Noting that the name of Altun Aba was not applied to this caravanserai until later, K. Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1961), 1:31, posits that instead of Altun Aba's, this might be the structure built by the Tabrizi merchant Bakhtiyar, preferring to identify Altun Aba's caravanserai with a ruined caravanserai on the Konya-Akşehir road, the Argıt Han, 32–33. While planometrically and proportionally the Argıt Han does belong with the early group of caravanserais built by Seljuk emirs,

Erdmann does not explain how a Tabrizi merchant might have gained access to the architect and workforce of the Seljuk state. The same question could be asked of the Hekim Han caravanserai (see footnote 12), but it would have to remain unanswered, since the building as it stands is largely an Ottoman rebuild. However, the inscription shows that while Seljuk inscriptional norms were understood and followed, there was considerable room for latitude, and there is no question that the inscription of the Hekim Han was neither composed nor executed by those in the employ of elite patrons.

5 A. Baş, "Bilinmeyen bir Selçuklu Kervansarayı: Yıkık Han," in *I. Uluslararası Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyeti Kongresi* (Konya, 2001), 93–99.

6 B. Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj*, vol. 1, trans. E. Wallis Budge (Oxford, 1932), 362.

7 S. Redford and G. Leiser, *Victory Inscribed: The Seljuk Fethiname on the Citadel Walls of Antalya, Turkey* (Istanbul, 2008), 90–91.

The three caravanserais on the Konya-Beyşehir road all possess similar (if not identical) plan and size, one reflecting what would soon be the most common Seljuk caravanserai plan, with two additive units: open and closed spaces entered axially and sequentially through a single portal. Eleventh- and early twelfth-century caravanserais built in Iran and Central Asia are organized in a similar fashion, the major difference being that both spaces were open.

All three reemploy significant amounts of masonry and other architectural elements from earlier Byzantine and Roman structures.<sup>8</sup> As far as can be ascertained, all had different kinds of blocky, two-story entrance façades. These entrances share a feature with twelfth- and thirteenth-century Syrian architecture, a double arched entrance, with the lower, flatter arch spanning the actual entrance, and the upper arch acting as both a frame and a relieving arch.<sup>9</sup> As was the case in Ayyubid Syria, the entrances of these early Rum Seljuk caravanserais were undecorated.

The death of sultan Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev I in 1211 set off a two year succession struggle between his sons İzzeddin Keykavus (1211-1219) and Alaeddin Keykubad. Taking advantage of this conflict, the inhabitants of Antalya rose up against the Seljuk garrison there and maintained their independence until İzzeddin reconquered the city early in 1216.

The first caravanserai of his reign, the Emdir Han, was built northwest of Antalya. The Emdir Han is significant in many ways. First of all, it does not lie on the route leading through the main pass north of Antalya, the one that led to intersection with the Beyşehir road through Burdur and Eğirdir. Instead, it was located near the beginning of the route that went northwest through the mountain pass to the Elmalı plateau, and several days' travel on horseback beyond it, to Honaz itself.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, the Emdir Han has lost its inscription, but we know from a muddled copy made before it was lost that the caravanserai was built by İzzeddin himself, and not one of his emirs. It is certainly

capacious enough to be considered the first Sultan Han, those large caravanserais built by İzzeddin's brother and successor in later decades at prominent locations. The Emdir Han is also the first dated Seljuk caravanserai with a decorated portal: it has a *muqarnas* vault above the entrance, and bands of geometric ornament to either side, and also arching above the *muqarnas*. I have proposed elsewhere that the Emdir Han must have been built immediately after the conquest of the city, quickly, almost entirely with spoliated blocks from the ruins of the Hellenistic and Roman town of Eudoxia, in whose midst it lies, being completed in August 1216. The building of this caravanserai ushered in a new era, putting the "serai" (palace) into "caravanserai," in terms of size, solidity of construction, and also the ostentatious decorative portal, a feature that so dominates almost all later Seljuk caravanserais. Despite the Emdir Han's lack of resemblance to the caravanserais on the Konya-Beyşehir road, the arch of its portal replicates that of earlier caravanserais, with the upper arch, its structural purpose obviated by the *muqarnas* vaulting, recalled in the form of a band of geometric ornament. Surely, the Emdir Han was intended as both a monument to the conquest of Antalya (and likely built at least in part using wealth gained by its conquest), and a testament to the faith of the sultan in the riches that would accrue to his state as a result not only of the Seljuk opening to the Mediterranean with the conquest of Antalya, but also to the Black Sea, with the conquest of the port of Sinop, which he had taken in 1214.<sup>11</sup>

In many fields of scholarship, it proves hard to reconcile different bodies of evidence, and medieval caravanserais are no exception to this generalization. While massive, stone-built caravanserais built by members of the Seljuk elite still stand in the Anatolian countryside today, contemporaneous historical sources are largely silent concerning their use. By contrast, surviving endowment documents (Arabic *waqfiyya*, modern Turkish *vakfiye*) from Seljuk Anatolia mention a multitude of caravanserais, next to none of which survive, in cities, built not by the elite, but by merchants and manufacturers.<sup>12</sup> The Hekim Han caravanserai, built north of Malatya by Syriac archdeacon and doctor Abu Salim seems to be an anomaly—all other Seljuk caravanserais that have survived with their inscriptions intact can be tied to sultans themselves, the royal household, or the circle of Seljuk emirs.<sup>13</sup>

8 Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, 1:29–32 for the Altun Aba caravanserai, 33–36 for the Kuruçeşme caravanserai, and 45–49 for the Kızılören caravanserai. These caravanserais are also analyzed and classified in the second volume of the book, Erdmann and Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, 2:34–38.

9 The main, tower entrance to the citadel of Sinop, built in 1216 by the Aleppan architect Abu Ali, is a more or less contemporaneous example from military architecture that secures the Syrian connection, but the design of these caravanserai entrances, for all that the caravanserais themselves are different planometrically from those of Syria, demonstrates Syrian architectural practice in Seljuk Anatolia before Abu Ali arrived there. For an elevation of the Lonca Kapısı, see S. Redford, *Legends of Authority: The 1215 Seljuk Inscriptions of Sinop Citadel, Turkey* (Istanbul, 2014), fig. 37.

10 R. Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), 62, presents conflicting evidence, stating (twice) that the Emdir Han is located on the road from Antalya northwest through the mountains to Elmalı, but also that it connected with the northern road to Burdur via Kırkgöz Han: "Emdir is the first of a chain of Hans on the Seljuk road leading from Antalia northward across the mountains. The present highway passes west of Emdir Han and runs straight from Antalia towards the mountain pass, but the old Seljuk road gained the foot of the mountains as soon as possible and continued via Emdir Han to Kırk Göz Han. Emdir Han is now situated on the road to Almalı." Kırkgöz Han was built some thirty years later than Emdir Han, and was built at the same approximate time as several other caravanserais on this road. Both caravanserais are an easy day's travel from Antalya—if the Emdir Han had really connected with the main northern road, and not the northwest road to the Elmalı plateau, building the Kırkgöz Han would not have been necessary.

11 S. Redford, "Some Problems of Anatolian Seljuk Inscriptions from Antalya and Alanya," in *Bizans ve Çevre Kültürler: Yıldız Ötügen Armağanı*, ed. S. Doğan (Istanbul, 2010), 308 for the Emdir Han, its date, and a proposal of its building time. See Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, 1:175–79 for this building. On p. 178 he notes that the size of this caravanserai is only surpassed by those of the two Sultan Hans.

12 The exception to this is the Karatay caravanserai, whose *vakfiye* has come down to us, see O. Turan, "Celaleddin Karatay, Vakıfları ve Vakfiyeleri," *Belleten* 47 (1948): 17–138; Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, 1:164–67, identified one possible Seljuk era urban caravanserai in Kayseri, which he dates to the mid-13th century.

13 Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, 1:63–67; C. Bektaş, *Selçuklu Kervansarayları. Korunmaları, Kullanmaları Üzerine bir Öneri* (Istanbul, 1999), 130–31. The three languages of the inscription are Arabic, Syriac, and Armenian. Since Syriac was the language of the founder, and Arabic the inscriptional language of the ruling dynasty, the employment of Armenian here underlines its importance as a regional and commercial language.

In addition to city caravanserais identified with non-elite individuals, or with the manufacture or sale of particular goods, or activities like those of fullers and tanners, three different Seljuk foundation documents from the later thirteenth century mention three different commercial buildings (called in the texts *khan*,<sup>14</sup> another word for caravanserai) not listed as belonging to a particular individual, or used for a particular kind of merchandise, but used for a particular ethnic group, Armenians. Two of these Armenian caravanserais (or caravanserais for Armenians) were located in Konya, and one in Sivas. The 1280 Gök Medrese *vakfiye* mentions an Armenian *khan* in Sivas that had thirteen rooms. The 1281 *vakfiye* of the İnce Minareli Medrese in Konya mentions an Armenian *khan* there that had ten rooms on two stories. And the 1272 *vakfiye* of Nur al-Din, son of Jaja, mentions another outside Konya's southern Larende gate that had sixteen rooms.<sup>15</sup> *Vakfiyes* mention these buildings because they were revenue-generating parts of Islamic foundations owned by Muslims. Other, perhaps most, Armenian caravanserais must have been owned by Christian Armenian merchants themselves, and so are invisible in these documents. Given the widespread incidence of merchant groups organized by city or ethnicity around the medieval Mediterranean, whether Italian, Spanish, Jewish, or other, it is not surprising that at least some commercial activity in Seljuk realms was organized along ethnic lines.

As mentioned above, foundation documents mention many urban caravanserais or *khans*, but these are usually named after the owner, or by the kind of good sold, or material processed, therein. Nur al-Din, son of Jaja, was the emir of Kırşehir, a town southeast of Ankara, and like Konya, at the edge of the central Anatolian plateau. His *vakfiye* gives the fullest picture of commercial life of a town in thirteenth-century Seljuk Anatolia. In Kırşehir, in addition to commercial structures devoted to the manufacture and/or sale of specific types of goods, there was commercial architecture associated with a second social group. In addition to Armenians, as noted above for Sivas and Konya, in Kırşehir there were markets of or for Türkmen, nomadic Turkic peoples. There was also an Armenian market in Kırşehir (*suq al-Arminin*, *suq al-Aramina*) whose shops constituted part of the emir's foundation. (The document mentions only one shop in this market that sold a specific product: *bayt-al shawa*, kebab!) In the Türkmen bazaar (*suq Turkman bazar*) in Kırşehir, there were three shops and the entirety of a *khan* that were owned by the emir's foundation as well. In addition, an earlier foundation document, the 1218 *vakfiye* of the hospital of Seljuk sultan İzzeddin Keykavus at Sivas, endows it with, among many other properties, thirty stores in the Türkmen market in a suburb of Ereğli, another town on the edge of the central Anatolian plateau, and, perhaps significantly,

on the road from Konya to the Cilician plain through the Cilician Gates pass through the Taurus Mountains.<sup>16</sup>

Armenian and other local merchant communities are likely candidates to serve as the partners of the western European merchants who were resident in Konya and other Anatolian cities over the course of the thirteenth century. The Türkmen bazaar and caravanserai in Kırşehir must have sold products produced or animals raised by Türkmen nomadic tribes in the region. None are specified here, but other sources mention the sale of carpets and wool caps. Other products must have included felt, hides, and other animal products and byproducts like cheese and yogurt.<sup>17</sup> In addition, the Türkmen tribes must have served, as they did in later centuries, as the source for the large numbers of camels and other beasts of burden used by these caravans.<sup>18</sup>

Three incidents from this time period give us a sense of the international connections of Armenian trade networks, in addition to what must have been peaceable (as implied in the sketch of commercial life in Kırşehir given by the *vakfiye* above) as well as antagonistic (as in the examples given below) commercial relations between Armenians (merchants and rulers) and Türkmen (merchants and nomads). The Armenian Cilician chronicler Smbat the Constable notes that in 1257 Hetum I, king of Armenian Cilicia, raided across the Taurus Mountains that normally constituted the divide between his kingdom and the Seljuks. Armenian forces, penetrating deep into Seljuk territory on the Anatolian plateau, hauled off booty of sheep, goats, mules, slaves, and gold. Although Smbat does not discuss the motivation for the raid, the nature of the booty, and the area of the raid, lead one to think that Türkmen tribes were the target; the chronicles of the time are replete with clashes between Armenian forces and Türkmen nomads in the Taurus Mountains, the Cilician Plain, and even the Amuq Plain north and east of Antioch.<sup>19</sup> Nearly twenty years later, in 1276, the chronicler Bar Hebraeus mentioned an instance of the opposite phenomenon in more or less the same location: a Türkmen attack on a caravan of Christian merchants traveling from the Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia to the Anatolian plateau (and therefore likely containing many Armenian merchants) at Ereğli/Herakleia (and therefore with Konya as a likely destination):

14 Modern Turkish, *han*.

15 S. Bayram and A. H. Karabacak, "Sahib Ata Fahrü'd-Din Ali'nin Konya, İmaret ve Sivas Gökmedrese Vakfiyeleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 13 (1981): 40 and 57; A. Temir, *Kırşehir Emiri Caca Oğlu Nur el-Din'in 1272 Tarihli Arapça-Moğolca Vakfiyesi*, 2nd ed. (Ankara, 1989; 1st ed. 1959), 44 and 116; S. Kuçur, "Selçuklu Şehir Tarihi Açısından Sivas Gök Medrese (Sahibiye Medresesi) Vakfiyesi," in *Anadolu Selçuklu Şehirleri ve Uygurluğu Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Konya, 2009), 342–43.

16 Temir, *Kırşehir Emiri*, 31 for the two Armenian references, 33 and 36 for the Türkmen references, and R. Yinanç, "Kayseri ve Sivas Darüşşifaları'nın Vakıfları," *Bellekten* 48 (1984): 303 for the Türkmen market in Ereğli.

17 C. Cahen, "Le commerce anatolien au début du XIIIe siècle," in *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Age dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), 99 for wool caps; idem, "Ibn Sa'id sur l'Asie Mineure seldjuqide," *AÜDTCF Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 6 (1968): 44 for carpets [both repr. in C. Cahen, *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus* (London, 1974), nos. XII and VII].

18 H. İnalcık, "Harir. ii.-The Ottoman Empire," *EF*<sup>2</sup> (consulted online), mentions that during the Ottoman Empire the pack animals for caravans were rented from Türkmen tribes, and cites a late 15th-century document giving the cost of renting a horse for the roundtrip from Tabriz to Bursa at 400 *akçes*. For the contemporaneous Türkmen trade in horses, see below.

19 *La chronique attribuée au Connétable Smbat*, trans. G. Dédéyan (Paris, 1980), 100.

And in those days when the great caravan of Christian merchants was going from CILICIA to BETH RHOMAYE [Rum=the Anatolian plateau], three hundred horsemen of the TURKOMANS fell upon them, and they killed about eighty of the most famous Christian merchants in the neighborhood of the city of HERAKLEIA, and they carried off the property which they had with them. Now with one of the merchants who belonged to the family of ISA, the son of HADIRI, there were one hundred and twenty thousand Tyrian *dinars*. And nothing escaped from the caravan except four Arab camels.<sup>20</sup>

Finally, Mamluk historian Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir reports that around the year 1273 (and likely previously), Armenians attacked a caravan of Türkmen merchants as they passed through the Anti-Taurus Mountains east of Cilicia, driving horses and mules that they were bringing from Anatolia (*Rum*) to sell to the Mamluks, foes of the Armenians and their Mongol allies.<sup>21</sup>

Especially after the Armenian Cilician alliance with the Mongols towards mid-century, the rise of commerce in Cilicia is well known, with scores of documents in Genoese and Venetian archives detailing transactions, and merchant manuals describing goods to be found at each port. Most commercial transactions occurred at the major port of the Kingdom at Ayas/Lajazzo/Yumurtalık. However, the landward side of this business is not well-known at all, although tantalizing details, like the pricing of silk cloth and raw silk by the camel load, give us hints about both the means as well as the volume of trade.<sup>22</sup> The 1272 Nur al-Din *vakfiye*, and the documented presence of commercial buildings catering specifically to Armenians in two major cities of Seljuk Anatolia in the second half of the thirteenth century, Konya and Sivas, help us better to understand overland connections that must have utilized the Seljuk caravanserai network, whether individual caravanserais be built by members of the ruling class or merchants.

With information from these later decades in mind, let us return to the Konya region and the early thirteenth century, and focus on the 1201-1202 foundation document for a *madrassa* built in the Seljuk capital of Konya by a Seljuk emir named Shams al-Din Altun Aba. As stated above, it is through the mention in this *vakfiye* of a caravanserai built by him that we assign a date to the otherwise inscriptionless caravanserai known today as the Altun Aba Han. The only non-Anatolian merchants mentioned in this document that were resident in Konya at the turn of the twelfth/thirteenth century were from the city of Tabriz in northwestern Iran. A merchant from Tabriz, one Abd al-Jabbar al-Tabrizi, is mentioned as owning a *masjid* (small mosque); his son, Khwaja Abu'l Fadl, had a *masjid* as well, although given his title, he may have been the preacher at the same *masjid* mentioned in connection with his father. One Malikdaq (?), son of Mahmud al-Tabrizi, owned a garden

20 Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 454.

21 Ibn Abd al-Zahir, *al-Rawd al-Zahir fi Sirat al-Malik al-Zahir*, ed. Abd al-Aziz al-Khuwaytir (Riyadh, 1976), 432.

22 D. Jacoby, "Genoa Silk Trade and Silk Manufacture in the Mediterranean Region (ca. 1100-1300)," in *Tessuti, oreficerie, miniature in Liguria, XIII-XV secolo*, ed. A. R. Calderoni Masetti et al. (Bordighera, 1999), 25-26 [repr. in D. Jacoby, *Commercial Exchange across the Mediterranean: Byzantium, the Crusader Levant, Egypt and Italy* (Aldershot, 2005), no. XI]. There were rates for a camel load of silk cloth, and a similar load with raw silk.

in Konya. And finally, of the most direct relevance to the subject of this paper, another Tabrizi merchant resident in Konya at the time, Al-Haj Bakhtiyar bin Abdallah al-Tabrizi al-Tajir (the merchant), is recorded as the owner of a caravanserai not in Konya at all, but on the road leading from Konya to Gargarum, the name of modern Beyşehir at the time. This mention adds an Iranian merchant to the list of builders of caravanserais.<sup>23</sup>

So far, in addition to the Seljuk ruling class, we have seen local manufacturers, (ethnically or professionally based) merchants, and foreign merchants as builders of caravanserais. And yet categories of class, profession, and ethnic or regional origin are difficult to maintain. The Altun Aba *vakfiye* mentions a caravanserai in Konya that belonged to a Christian woman with an Arabic name who was the daughter of a Christian Seljuk emir, one Bar Muni. What is more, this woman, Zumra (or Dhimra) Khatun, is called a *saigha*, a jeweler or goldsmith. In this one person, elite, local, and professional categories are combined. Elsewhere in this document we encounter former members of the sultan's household likewise engaged in professional activity.<sup>24</sup>

We know from his patronymic that Altun Aba himself was an emir of slave origin, and therefore a convert to Islam. The foundation document of his *madrassa* is best known for its provision for the feeding, clothing, and instruction in the rudiments of Islamic religion of other converts to Islam, the only such overt mention of institutionalized, funded support for converts to Islam known from Seljuk Anatolia. The source of the money for this support was a portion of rental income from a *khan* in Konya.<sup>25</sup>

A third case combining caravanserai building associated with an owner with mixed identity concerns the Dokuzun Han, a caravanserai located about twenty-five kilometers northwest of Konya and the first stop on the Konya-Akşehir-Afyon road. The Dokuzun Han is dated by inscription to July of 1210.<sup>26</sup> This inscription also mentions the patron: an emir of the Seljuk state, one al-Hajj Ibrahim son of Abu Bakr (and the earliest naming of an architect of a Seljuk caravanserai). Both his status as an emir and his name and patronymic identify al-Hajj Ibrahim as a Muslim whose father was a Muslim, so, on the face of it, there seems to be no case of mixed identity at all. However, the inscription

23 Turan, "Şemseddin Altun Aba," 234 for Abd al-Jabbar, 227 for his son, 225 for Malikdaq, and 232 for the caravanserai. The injection of private capital into an essentially state enterprise, the building of caravanserais between towns and cities, could be seen as lying behind one of the unsolved puzzles of the study of Seljuk caravanserais. To wit: a scant 400 meters from the Kızılören Han on the Beyşehir road lies another inscriptionless caravanserai. This nameless caravanserai is certainly Seljuk, but is not of the early 13th-century emirial type embodied by the other caravanserais on this route. There must be a temporal element to the explanation of their proximity, but could another explanation, one that includes the difference in their plan and size, be connected to private construction schemes? For a discussion of this structure and another explanation for its function, see A. T. Yavuz, "Anadolu Selçuklu Dönemi Hanları ve Posta-Menzil-Derbent Teşkilatları," in *Prof. Doğan Kuban'a Armağan*, ed. Z. Ahunbay (Istanbul, 1996), 30-32.

24 Turan, "Şemseddin Altun Aba," 232, "Khan Dhūmra Khatun bint al-Amir Bar Muli al-Qunawiyya" (the caravanserai of Zumra Hatun daughter of Amir Bar Muli (sic)) and 233, "Zumra Khatun bint al-Amir Bar Muni al-Qunawiyya al-Rumiyya al-Masihiyya al-Sa'igha" (Zumra Hatun, daughter of Amir Bar Muni, [these last three adjectives, being in the feminine, refer to Zumra:] the Rum, the Christian, the Jeweler.)

25 Turan, "Şemseddin Altun Aba," 234.

26 Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, 1:36-39; Bektaş, *Selçuklu Kervansarayları*, 84-85.

informs us, in Persian-influenced Arabic, that he is the emir of the *Ikdishan* (a plural of *Ikdish*). The term *Ikdish* meant half-breed (in modern Turkish, *iğdiş* has a different meaning). The common interpretation of this term is that it refers to a Seljuk military corps constituted of men born of unions between Muslim men and Christian women (although because the term is also used for equids in contemporaneous sources, it possibly refers to a role along those lines for this emir). The Dokuzun Han was built after the unity of the Seljuk state had been reestablished by sultan Gıyaseddin Keyhusrev I, who returned from Constantinople to Konya in 1205 with his Byzantine bride and high-ranking Byzantine father-in-law, Manuel Maurozomes, subsequently setting the latter up as Seljuk governor of Honaz.<sup>27</sup> A year after the construction of the Dokuzun Han, Gıyaseddin was to die at the hands of troops of the founder of the Empire of Nicaea, Theodore Laskaris, as he tried unsuccessfully to promote former Byzantine emperor Alexios III Angelos, who accompanied him, at the expense of Laskaris, Alexios' son-in-law. While the battle took place north of Denizli/Honaz, and so the Seljuk army likely did not take the Akşehir road in 1211, the use of caravanserais as way stations for armies as well as caravanserais must be counted as a factor in their construction, as hinted at in al-Hajj Ibrahim's title.

The Dokuzun Han caravanserai is a rare example of an overlap between the architectural and written records. The 1272 Nur al-Din *vakfiye* mentions a caravanserai that belonged to the head of the *iğdiş* (*Ikdish Bashi*) in İskilip, a town in present-day Çorum province.<sup>28</sup> In plan, material, and proportion, the Dokuzun Han conforms to the early type of caravanserai being built on the Konya-Beyşehir road at this time. Its location at a bridgehead reminds us that building caravanserais went hand in hand with bridge construction and/or repair.

Altun Aba's *vakfiye* mentions that the villages in the region of his caravanserai were populated by *kuffar*, infidels, certainly Christians. It must be that another reason for Seljuk construction of caravanserais was to extend state control into the countryside and incorporate rural regions that were still largely or completely Christian, like those to the west of Konya, more firmly into the Seljuk state. This Islamification of the countryside can also be seen in the construction of the tomb of Seyyid Battal Gazi, an Arab warrior reputed to have died fighting the Byzantines centuries earlier, in the countryside south of the city of Eskişehir. When tracking the expansion of the Seljuk caravanserai network to the west, one is struck by the fact that one of the seemingly earliest caravanserais is located at the far northwesternmost reaches of the Seljuk state, 150 meters away from the tomb of this early Arab Islamic warrior, which, along with other related structures at the site, was said to have been constructed by the mother of the Seljuk sultan Alaeddin

27 Different sources tell different versions of Manuel Maurozomes and his interest in this region, which may have predated the Seljuk conquest, for a brief discussion see K. Hopwood, "Nicaea and her Eastern Neighbours," in *The Ottoman Empire: Myths, Realities, and 'Black Holes'*, ed. E. Kermeli and O. Özel (Istanbul, 2006), 42. The inscriptions of Sinop tell us that there is a new emir of Honaz by 1215, see Redford, *Legends of Authority*, inscription 17.

28 Temir, *Kırşehir Emiri*, 56.

Keykubad I.<sup>29</sup> Writing about a period at the end of the twelfth century, the traveler al-Harawi (d. 1216) mentioned the grave of Battal Ghazi, which he said lay on the boundary between Seljuk and Byzantine territories.<sup>30</sup> Although we have no documentation for this practice in the Seljuk era, by the sixteenth century, the annual pilgrimage to the shrine of Seyyid Battal Gazi coincided with a fair.<sup>31</sup>

The origins of the Seyyid Battal Gazi caravanserai cannot be verified by inscriptional evidence, but the period of the first construction of the shrine is rendered more plausible by the presence of a thirteenth-century shrine building near it, and another border shrine and caravanserai, built beginning in 1216 at the site of one of the caves that was a candidate for the cave of the Seven Sleepers, the Eshab-i Kehf, west of Elbistan, in a part of the Seljuk sultanate close to the Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia, and a source of interest to Muslims and Christians alike over the centuries.<sup>32</sup> The shrines of Seyyid Battal Gazi and Eshab-i Kehf were built on sites with Christian remains. We do not know about the nature of the so-called "Christian castle" that is said to have existed at Seyyid Battal Gazi, but Eshab-i Kehf seems to have been built at a pre-existent Christian pilgrimage site. These two examples display rationales for the construction of caravanserais more complicated than simple military or commercial ones, recalling the mixture of pilgrimage and commerce found at Byzantine fairs, even though, to my knowledge, there was no direct Byzantine parallel to the practice of building of caravanserais or inns at the sites of Byzantine fairs. These caravanserais also seem to serve as sorts of boundary markers, in conjunction with Islamic shrines.

The Altun Aba *vakfiye* furnishes us with information about the economic life of Konya in the very first years of the thirteenth century. Much of it is not unexpected: dry-farmed crops and fruits from irrigated orchards and vineyards. Water channels were used to fill ice houses as well as irrigate fields, orchards, and gardens. Other aspects of the landscape included forests, mills, waterwheels, and groves used for cutting firewood. In town, there were jeweler/goldsmiths, perfumer-druggists, tanners, and makers of boots, thread, saddles, caps and other headgear, soap, and brass objects. Linseed oil, candles, carpets, mats, firewood, and books are also mentioned, naturally in connection with the *madrasa*.

29 Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, 1:151–52. He dates the caravanserai in relation to the 1207 inscription on the tomb.

30 Abi'l-Hasan 'Ali bin Abi Bakr al-Harawi, *Kitab al-Isharat ila Marifat al-Ziyarat*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine (Damascus, 1953), 58, "*qabr Abi Muhammad al-Battal 'ala ra's tall fi hadd tukhum al-bilad*."

31 Z. Yürekli, *Architecture and Hagiography in the Ottoman Empire: The Politics of Bektashi Shrines in the Classical Age* (Farnham, 2012), 42–43 for the annual festival and fair, 54 for the "Christian castle," 55–56 for the tradition. From the *Battalname* epic concerning the mother of Alaeddin Keykubad building the shrine, and her own tomb there, on 81–85 Yürekli examines the inscriptional and architectural evidence for the building allegedly housing this tomb and postulates that it may have been originally built as a *madrasa* in the 13th century.

32 Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, 1:187–88; Bektaş, *Selçuklu Kervansarayları*, 128–29. See also O. Pancaroğlu, "Caves, Borderlands and Configurations of Sacred Topography in Medieval Anatolia," *Mésogeios* 25–26 (2005): 249–81. Not the caravanserai, but another structure, called a *ribat*, built at the top of the site, has a highly decorated portal whose *muqarnas* and other design elements recall that of the Evdir Han.

With the exception of jewelry and gold, the only clue to a trade in luxury goods comes from the presence in Konya of those merchants from Tabriz, no doubt at least partially engaged in the trade in silk cloth and raw silk from the southern shores of the Caspian, a trade that is well-known from Ottoman Bursa, where it was also conducted by Armenian and Iranian merchants.<sup>33</sup> In addition to trade in silk, Seljuk domains also produced silk cloth, perhaps in Konya itself, given the demand for it from the Seljuk court. Although silk is not mentioned in the Altun Aba *vakfiye*, another document from the 1230s helps bridge the gap. As we have seen, the Konya-Beyşehir road led west, towards the Aegean region, but was also at that time the main route between Konya and Antalya, so merchants like the Tabrizis resident in Konya could have easily been involved in exporting silk both westward towards Byzantine/Laskarid realms as well as southward to Antalya. David Jacoby cites a document dated 1236 in which Lusignan King Henry I of Cyprus grants merchants from Marseilles, Montpellier, and other Provençal cities reduced transit fees for silk fabrics and raw silk from the Levant, but also from the Seljuk sultanate, undoubtedly Antalya, the major Seljuk port on the Mediterranean.<sup>34</sup>

The only definitive overlap between Byzantine and Seljuk economic spheres in this region comes from the brief mention, with which I began this paper, of Muslims from Konya attending the fair of the Archangel Michael at Chonai in the late twelfth century, and presumably conducting business there. Since, in the scramble surrounding the fall of Constantinople in 1204, Chonai/Honaz passed to the Seljuks around 1207, and the first governor was the sultan's father-in-law Theodore Maurozomes, can we not at least hypothesize that this fair continued into the Seljuk period? To my mind, even though no caravanserais were built west of Beyşehir at this time, the expansion of the network of caravanserais, not only along the main trunk road between Konya and Kayseri, but also west from Konya, especially on the Beyşehir road, by merchants and emirs alike, is evidence of commercial connections specifically with the Chonai region both before and after the Seljuk expansion here. While the building of the Dokuzun Han and another contemporaneous caravanserai, the Argit Han, show a contemporary interest in the Konya-Akşehir-Afyon road, and there is a Seljuk inscription on the Altıgöz bridge in Afyon that could be as early as 1209, corroborating the use of this road as well in the first two decades of the thirteenth century<sup>35</sup>, the major route between Byzantines and Seljuks in these decades seems to have been the Konya-Beyşehir-Honaz one. Of course, roads lead both ways, so since both roads led to Konya, which always lay at the western edge of the Seljuk sultanate, one can equally emphasize the ease of access to the Seljuk capital from Laskarid domains, for which we have ample documentation on the level of political asylum and other high level contact.

33 İnalçık, "Harir."

34 D. Jacoby, "Silk Crosses the Mediterranean," in *Le vie del Mediterraneo: Idee, uomini, oggetti (secoli XI-XVI)*, ed. G. Airaldi (Genoa, 1997), 65, n. 75 [repr. in D. Jacoby, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2001), no. X]: "de la terre del sultan de Come d'autre part de la mer" (...) "de chacune rote de soie(...)et de draps de soie."

35 C. Çulpan, *Türk Taş Köprüleri* (Ankara, 1975), 58–59.

The 1272 Nur al-Din *vakfiye* furnishes one clue about the silk trade at the very northwestern edge of the Seljuk realms, in Eskişehir, not far from the shrine of Seyyid Battal Gazi, and therefore certainly involving trade with the Byzantines, despite the collapsing eastern frontier of the newly restored Byzantine Empire at this time. In Eskişehir, the endower owned a caravanserai with a market that sold all manner of cloth. Three general categories are given: *al-bazz*, *al-khazz*, and *al-qazz*; cloth made of linen and/or cotton, silk cloth (this term is also sometimes used for cloth made of a mixture of silk and wool), and raw silk, or cocoons.<sup>36</sup> The presence of trade in textiles that included raw silk and woven silk at Eskişehir bespeaks, among other things, the passage of silk to Byzantine territories through Seljuk ones. The Gök Medrese *vakfiye*, which dates to a few scant years after this, mentions a Muslim silk merchant (*qazzaz*) named Rajab.<sup>37</sup>

Before concluding, I would like to cast a brief look at the building of caravanserais further west in Seljuk realms after the middle of the thirteenth century, specifically two caravanserais contemporaneous with the later *vakfiyes* discussed above (Fig. 2). These I will not dwell on extensively, as this phenomenon, interesting in itself, has, in my opinion, less to do with trade than with the establishment of separate zones of relative autonomy in the period of Seljuk vassalage to the Mongols in the later 1240s and 1250s, and before the Seljuk-Laskarid/Byzantine border crumbled. The Seljuk vizier Fahreddin Ali Sahib Ata carved out a mini-state on the western borders of the sultanate, building his grandiose Sahip Ata Han in 1249–1250 on the Konya-Akşehir-Afyon road, in the style and on the scale of a sultanic caravanserai.<sup>38</sup> In the same neighborhood, closer to Afyon, another late Seljuk emir, Ebu'l Mucahit Yusuf, built a caravanserai (mentioned at the beginning of this article) and adjacent *madrasa*, tomb, and *hammam* in the middle of the town of Çay almost thirty years later in 1278–1279.<sup>39</sup> Although we know little about him, this emir, while still citing the name of the ruling Seljuk sultan, seems also to be building himself a power base in a town by constructing this building complex. While both caravanserais lie on the Afyon road, emphasizing its growing prominence (and shrinking Byzantine power), to my mind they constitute statements of sovereignty more than evidence of growing commercial interest.

In this paper, I have attempted to relate Seljuk caravanserai building strategies to specific events surrounding the last years of the reign of Gıyaseddin Keyhusrev I, and demonstrate the importance of the Konya-Beyşehir-Honaz road then. I have also tried to outline the commercial life of Konya at a time when the Seljuk golden age was just beginning, and document a multiplicity and complexity of participations in that commercial life, including the presence of Iranian as well as local merchants, and those who crossed boundaries between religions, cultures, and languages. The Altun Aba *vakfiye*

36 Temir, *Kuşehir Emiri*, 61–62, "Al-khan alladhi fihi suq al-bazz w'al-khazz (corrected from al-hazz) wa'l-qazz." This rhyming list has the ring of a rote way of listing items usually traded together.

37 Bayram and Karabacak, "Sahib Ata," 56.

38 Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, 1:143–46.

39 Ibid., 1:147–50.

does not mention Armenian caravanserais, which are only recorded in later documents from the 1270s. Still, these later documents do mention Konya as a focus of Armenian mercantile activity, an activity that historically combined with Iranian trade in raw and manufactured silk. In his article “Silk Crosses the Mediterranean,” David Jacoby notes that the surge of raw silk exported from Iran to Italy, which occurred beginning in the late twelfth century, coincided with the building of caravanserais in Seljuk Anatolia, and, as we have seen, documents the export of raw and woven silk from Seljuk lands to the western Mediterranean via Cyprus.<sup>40</sup> The presence of a well-established Tabrizi mercantile community in Konya, owning land and buildings, with grown children, at the very beginning of the thirteenth century seems to provide support for a connection with the silk trade, and also the building by one of these merchants of a caravanserai on the route that led westward from Konya. In addition to import and export, Konya likely served as a center for silk production itself. But is it also not possible to tie these facts in particular, and the import of raw silk through Seljuk Anatolia from east to west in general, to another factor, the presence of a silk industry in the Empire of Nicaea? In several articles, David Jacoby has devoted considerable effort to exploring the thriving silk industry in the former western lands of the Byzantine Empire since the Fourth Crusade under Frankish control, especially at Thebes, but also the Peloponnese, and the intimate involvement of Genoese merchants in silk manufacturing and export there.<sup>41</sup> He has also unearthed ample textual evidence for extensive silk production and weaving in the territories of the Empire of Nicaea. One production center for high quality silk that continued into at least the middle of the fourteenth century was Alaşehir (Philadelphia), to the north of Honaz.<sup>42</sup> Like other silk production centers in the Mediterranean basin, can we not think of silk-weaving centers in Nicaean domains also participating in the silken web woven from the east, or, to think of the rattle of sacks of silk cocoons emanating from the same direction? In this case, caravans using the Tabrizi caravanserai on the Konya-Beyşehir road (as well as the ones built by the Seljuks after it) would have gone west to Honaz (Chonai) as well as southwest to Antalya.



Map 1. Anatolia showing towns, cities, and caravanserais mentioned in the text. Map by Ben Claasz Cockson.



Map 2. Konya region showing caravanserais and towns mentioned in the text. Map by Ben Claasz Cockson.

<sup>40</sup> Jacoby, “Silk Crosses the Mediterranean,” 75–76.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.; Jacoby, “Genoa Silk Trade and Silk Manufacture.”

<sup>42</sup> D. Jacoby, “Rural Exploitation in Western Asia Minor and the Mediterranean: Aspects of Interaction in the Thirteenth Century,” in *AUREUS: Volume Dedicated to Professor Evangelos K. Chrysos*, ed. T. G. Kolias and †K. G. Pitsakis (Athens, 2014), 243–56. I am grateful to Prof. David Jacoby for sending me a copy of this paper before its publication. For the reference to production at Alaşehir/Philadelphia, see İnalçık, “Harir.”



# Trade and Textile Industry in the State of Nicaea through the *Romance of Livistros and Rodamne* (Thirteenth Century)

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A significant number of sources from the thirteenth century refer to the presence of Latin/Italian textiles in Nicaean markets. At least one, arguably produced in the state of Nicaea in the thirteenth century, comes to us from a work of fiction whose mentions of textiles seem to reflect real contemporary conditions. The source in question is the Byzantine romance about Livistros, a rich Latin king of an imaginary land called Livandros, and Rodamne, the daughter of *basileus* Chrysos. The story of Livistros and Rodamne is narrated by the Armenian prince Klitovos, Livistros' friend, who describes their adventures as they search for Livistros' beloved.<sup>1</sup> Since Manuel Manoussacas' 1994 article, the previously proposed fifteenth-century dating of the text is no longer held.<sup>2</sup> The two remaining arguments vie between thirteenth-century Nicaea and fourteenth-century Constantinople, with Panagiotis Agapitos and Tina Lendari being the proponents of these arguments respectively.<sup>3</sup> I find Agapitos' arguments, especially the reference in *Livistros and Rodamne* (=LR) to the shield-raising ceremony, which is known from historical sources to have been revived for the first time under the Nicaeans, more convincing,

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<sup>1</sup> *Ἀφήγησις Λιβίστρου καὶ Ροδάμνης. Κριτική ἔκδοσις τῆς διασκευῆς «ἄλφα»*, ed. P. A. Agapitos (Athens, 2006). Hereafter, LR.

<sup>2</sup> Manoussacas convincingly argues for a *terminus ante quem* of 1403-1411 based on the work of the Cretan poet Leonardos Dellaportas, the earliest attested author who quotes from LR. M. Manoussacas "Le terminus ante quem pour la composition du roman Libistros et Rhodamné," *JÖB* 44 (1994): 298-306. His argument proves that the text was written before the 15th century.

<sup>3</sup> For Agapitos' argument and discussion of the dating of the romance, see LR, 49-55 and P. A. Agapitos, "Genre, Structure and Poetics in the Byzantine Vernacular Romances of Love," *SOsl* 79 (2004): 7-54, 90-101 (bibliography). For Lendari's argument, see *Ἀφήγησις Λιβίστρου καὶ Ροδάμνης (Livistros and Rodamne): The Vatican Version. Critical Edition with Introduction, Commentary and Index-Glossary*, ed. T. Lendari (Athens, 2007), 65-71.

even though not conclusive.<sup>4</sup> More importantly, I find important parallels between the romance and the hard evidence that comes from historical and archaeological sources to support the argument that LR illuminates trade in general, textile trade in particular, within the context of Nicaea and the protectionist policies implemented there during part of the reign of John III Vatatzes (1222-1254).

LR's abundant references to Egyptian kings and "Saracen" magicians, alongside Latin kings (the main character, no less!) or Frankish customs, are important signifiers of its thirteenth-century context. The eastern and western connections in LR are visible in terms of the social interactions as well as the economic relations established with the outside world. This is parallel to what we know about trade in Nicaea, especially about textile trade: both Egyptian/Syrian and Italian textiles were easily available to the Nicaean citizens who were able to afford them. This, too, is true of the world imagined by the anonymous author of LR. For example, a letter (*pittakion*) Livistros sends to Rodamne, which contains a song about a youth courting a beautiful woman, makes interesting allusions to courtly dress codes. In the song, the horse the woman rides is covered in purple silk, "burning like fire." The rider wears a beautiful "Latin" dress and a golden purple Frankish mantle called *soukania* over it that glistens with many colors as it sways on the ground. She also has a parrot (indigenous to India) in one of her hands that speaks.<sup>5</sup>

4 Agapitos refers to the parallels between the descriptions of the ceremonial ritual (proclamation of an emperor by raising on a shield) in LR and those that date from the reigns of Theodore II Laskaris and Michael VIII Palaiologos. He argues that this ceremony was revived first under the Nicaeans. Secondly, he argues that 13th-century Nicaea is already known to have nurtured an environment where romances were quite popular, as eight of the most important romances of the Komnenian and pre-Komnenian period were written under the Nicaeans. Thirdly, the *realia* in the text best fit the context of the Nicaean state. See LR, 52-55. Lendari argues that the shield-raising ceremony is first mentioned in the Palaiologan texts "and can therefore be equally used for a later as well as an earlier dating": Αφήγησις Λιβίστρου, ed. Lendari, 68. She does not deem Agapitos' second argument convincing and does not engage with his third argument. I do not find her first argument against Agapitos convincing, as an important portion of historical texts and documents on the Nicaean state and emperors come from authors who wrote under the Palaiologan emperors. The two authors who mention the shield-raising ceremony, Akropolites and Gregoras, are primary sources for the 13th century and the fact that they both present the shield-raising ceremony as first taking place under Theodore II Laskaris in 1254 is, in my view, a piece of hard evidence in favor of a Nicaean setting rather than a Constantinopolitan one.

5 LR, lines 2308-10: "Λατίνικα τὰ ρούχα της ἦτασιν τῆς ὠραίας, ἐπάνω χρυσοκόκκινον ἐφόρει σουκανία, μακρῆα εἰς γῆν ἐσύρτεον λαμπροχρωματισμένη." Agapitos writes that *soukania* is a type of Frankish dress for women with exaggerated wide arms and cuffs worn above the main dress; *ibid.*, 492. The word is likely derived from the French "soutane" which is the source also for the Italian "sottana" and the English "skirt." See W. Rothwell, "From Latin to Anglo-French and Middle English: The Role of the Multilingual Gloss," *MLR* 88.3 (1993): 593; G. S. Lane, "Word for Clothing in the Principal Indo-European Languages," *Language* 7.3 (1931): 27. The closest Indo-European equivalent of *soukania*, for which the only attested reference comes from LR in the TLG (<http://www.tlg.uci.edu/>), are "suknja" in Serbo-Croatian and "suknia" in Polish; see Lane, *op.cit.*, 27. Both Rothwell and Lane argue that the Italian word is borrowed from the French and not vice-versa. Maurice Leloir (quoted in the *Trésor de la langue Française*, vol. 15 (Paris, 1992), 390, available also online: <http://atilf.atilf.fr/>), without giving a reference, writes that "soutane" was a long button-down dress worn by both sexes between the 12th and the 14th centuries. After the 14th century, it was worn by physicians, and finally, from the 16th century on, by priests alone. M. Leloir, *Dictionnaire du costume et ses accessoires* (Paris, 1951), 390. The earliest Italian references to "sottana," according to S. Battaglia, *Grande dizionario*

The same text refers to scarlets brought in by a merchant from Babylon, who trades in all kinds of luxury "stuff," as Livistros finds out when he goes out of his palace with his lover.<sup>6</sup> Given that Babylon corresponds to the eastern part of Greater Syria, roughly modern Iraq, in contemporary texts,<sup>7</sup> it is significant that this Syrian/Iraqi/Babylonian merchant not only sells Western scarlets but also gold brocade garments (*chamouchas*), alongside purple silk, gold, pearl and precious stones, arguably, in the state of Nicaea.<sup>8</sup>

If the romance is any guide, then, luxury clothes were imported from Egypt, Syria, Italy and the West to the state of Nicaea. The silk-producing areas across the Aegean should not be excluded either. The Frankish coverlet (*syndon phrangike*) mentioned in the

*della lingua Italiana*, vol. 19 (Torino, 1998), 562-63, are from the late-15th and 16th centuries, which confirms Rothwell and Lane's arguments regarding the term's French origins. Of the five manuscripts of LR, the Naples manuscript has *μαντίλιον* (from *μαντέλλιον*, a cloak or mantle, not to be confused with *μανδήλιον*, napkin) instead of *σουκανία*, which both the Paris (mid-15th century) and the Leiden (16th century) copies have; LR, 345. The 15th-century Vatican manuscript does not use this word at all; see Αφήγησις Λιβίστρου, ed. Lendari, 199 (text), 377 (commentary). Neither Agapitos nor Lendari comments on the contents of the Escorial manuscript. Parrots are native to the tropical and subtropical southern parts of the four continents. They were imported into Europe from India and Africa before 1492, and from South America, Australia and New Zealand after. In Western medieval literature parrots are associated with the exotic and luxury, of the kind that would accompany emperors, kings and popes. One example, among many, comes from the *Ecbasis captivi* (11th century), a Christian fable, in which the parrot is one of the king's (i.e. lion's) boastful birds; see J. M. Ziolkowski, *Talking Animals. Medieval Latin Beast Poetry, 750-1150* (Philadelphia, 1993), 153, 186-89. The merchant classes began owning parrots in London in the 16th century, and many parrots were raised in England then, while some were still imported from the tropics in that century; see B. T. Boehrer, *Parrot Culture: Our 2500-Year-Long Fascination with the World's Most Talkative Bird* (Philadelphia, 2004), 23-49, 56-57.

6 LR, lines 2664-68: "μὲ εἶπε, "πράγματα, χρυσάφιν καὶ λιθάριν, / μαργαριτάρων καὶ βλαττίν, σαρκλάτα, χαμουχάδες" / Ἔχεις λιθάριν;" εἶπα τον, "πραγματευτά, νὰ ἐπάρω;" / Ἔχω πολλὰ παρᾶξενον καὶ δάον τῆς κυράς μου..." Livistros is certainly interested in the most exotic of the precious stones which the merchant claims to carry.

7 Neophytos the Recluse (late 12th/early 13th century): "Καὶ ὁ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Βαβυλωνίῳ καὶ Περσίδι αἰχμάλωτος λαός," Th. Detorakes, "Ἐρμηνεία τοῦ ψαλτῆρος," in Ἄγιου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Συγγράμματα, vol. 4, ed. I. Karabidopoulos, C. Oikonomou, D. G. Tsames, and N. Zacharopoulos (Paphos, 2001), 531-59, Psalm 119, line 9; 13th-century chronographer Joel: "ὄν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος [Alexander the Great] χειρωσάμενος παρέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων καὶ Πάρθων καὶ Βαβυλωνίων χώραν καὶ τὰ Ἰνδικὰ πάντα μέρη," *Ioelis chronographia compendiaria*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1836), 7.

8 LR, lines 2664-68, see note 6 above. According to Erich Trapp (*LBG* 4:755), (κ)χαμουχάς is a Persian word (*kemhā*) designating a gold brocade garment. Lisa Monnas seems correct in claiming that the word comes from Fujian "kim hua" (golden flowers): L. Monnas, "The Price of Camacas Purchased for the English Court during the Fourteenth Century," in *La seta in Europa, secc. XIII-XX*, ed. S. Cavaciocchi (Prato, 1993), 742. The reference to this type of luxury garment in LR is one of the first attestations of this term which remained in use from the 13th through the 15th century. The term appears eleven times in the TLG. *Achilleis* (14th century), *Romance of Belisarios* (14th century), George Sphrantzes (15th century, repeated in the so-called Pseudo-Sphrantzes, the 16th-century expanded version of this work by Makarios Melissenos) are others: *Zwei mitteltgriechische Prosa-Fassungen des Alexanderromans*, ed. V. L. Konstantinopulos and A. C. Lolos, 2 vols (Königstein, 1983), 2:126.5; *Ἱστορία τοῦ Βελισαρίου*, ed. W. F. Bakker and A. F. van Gemert (Athens, 1988), 414, 617; *Georgios Sphrantzes. Memorii 1401-1477*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1966), 13.4. *Chamouchas* is very often mentioned in the same context together with *chadion* and purple silk (*blattion*). The fact that the *chamouchas* in LR is sold by a Syrian merchant does not necessarily mean that it was made in Syria. Nor can the possible Persian origin of the word be proof that it was made in Iran; Sphrantzes refers to green "chamouchas from Lucca": *Georgios Sphrantzes. Memorii*, ed. Grecu, 19.4.

testament of Maximos Planites from Smyrna dating from the middle of the thirteenth century,<sup>9</sup> and the “Latin” garments (*soukrania* and *roucha*) might just as well have come directly from their immediate neighbors. This is partially indicated by Theodore II Laskaris’ important definition of “the land of the Hellenes” as a region which lies literally at the center of the world where different crafts or industries (*technai*) from all ends of the known world are gathered.<sup>10</sup>

Not only were all kinds of merchandise and crafts available in Nicaea, there was a lively textile industry in the state of Nicaea as well. This is indicated in a passage in Theodore Metochites’ oration on Nicaea. Metochites wrote that the city served as a shelter not only for Constantinopolitan refugees, but it also harbored the Constantinopolitan crafts or industries (*technai*) after the capital’s capture in 1204. Even though David Jacoby and Angeliki Laiou disagreed over the correct interpretation of the paragraph,<sup>11</sup> in view of what we can deduce about the Nicaean textile industry, in agreement with Jacoby, I believe that it is more than simply a rhetorical trope when Metochites specified that Nicaea “not only provides all of the [empire’s] needs, but also adorns the [whole] empire by the art of weaving, which is at its best here alone.”<sup>12</sup> While Metochites does not explicitly mention silk weaving, the reference to excellence implies high value textiles, of whatever material.

Extolling the age of plenty under the Nicaean emperors, Theodore Skoutariotes, in a passage which refers specifically to Magnesia and echoes Theodore II’s thoughts about the centrality of Hellenic lands, writes that everything was available in Magnesia then, and things unavailable locally were brought in from distant lands, be it “Egypt or India or elsewhere.”<sup>13</sup> The parrot mentioned in LR could have come only from India in the thirteenth century; readers and listeners of this romance were likely familiar

9 MM 4:74-75.

10 *Θεοδώρου Β’ Λαοσκάρεως περί χριστιανικῆς θεολογίας λόγοι*, ed. C.Th. Krikonis (Thessaloniki, 1988), 85-155; Oration 7, lines 78-96: “Μέσον γὰρ πάντων τῶν περὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς ὑπάρχει λαὸς καὶ τοῦτο γινώσκον, ὅτι γε τῷ τῆς μεσότητος τρόπῳ, τὸ τῆς τέχνης σποράδιον ἀρχήθεν νοηθέν, ἐν τούτῳ συνήθροισται καὶ αἰεὶ συναθροίζεται. Ἐξ ὧν δὴ μικρῶν τεχνιδρίων μεγίστη ἀνεγίγγεται ἐπιστήμη. Ἔχει μὲν τοι γὰρ καὶ οἰκοθεν ὡς πάντες οἱ λαοί, τὸ ἐφευρετικόν, ἀλλ’ ἔχει δὴ τὴν τῆς μεσότητος ἐμπορίαν ἀσύλληπτον θησαυρὸν ἴδιον, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ μέσον αἱ τῶν ἄκρων ὁρμαὶ συνάγονται, εἰ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡ κίνησις γίνεται, οἷον, τί ἄρα λέγω; Ἔστω τὰ στοιχεῖα παράδειγμα, τὸ ν: Βρετανία, τὸ δὲ ο: Ἄορnis καὶ πάλιν λ: Ἰβηρία μὲν μεγάλη, τὸ δὲ κ: Αἴγυπτος. Εἰ ἄρα ἡ τέχνη κινεῖται, ἐκινήθη ἡ γ ἐκ τῆς ν, διὰ τῆς α τῆς Ἑλληνίδος πρὸς τὴν Ἄορnis ο, ἡ ἐκ τῆς ο διὰ τῆς α ἕως τῆς Βρετανίας ν, καὶ πάλιν ἡ ἐκ τῆς λ Ἰβηρίας διὰ τῆς Ἑλληνίδος α ἕως τῆς κ, ἡ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κ διὰ τῆς Ἑλληνίδος α ἕως τῆς λ.”

11 D. Jacoby, “The Jews and the Silk Industry of Constantinople,” in idem, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2001), no. XI, 18-19; A. E. Laiou and C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* (New York, 2007), 190 n. 55: “D. Jacoby’s assertion that Nicaea produced silk textiles into the Palaiologan period ... is based on the forced interpretation of a text which speaks only of ‘the art of weaving ... at its finest.’”

12 Slightly different translation than C. Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine Capital and Its Praises* (Brookline, Mass., 1996), 190-93.

13 Theodore Skoutariotes, in *Gregorii Acropolitae opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1903), 1:33, lines 41-46: “...ἐν δὲ τῇ κατὰ Λυδῖαν Μαγνησίᾳ, ὅπου καὶ τὰ πλείω τῶν χρημάτων ἀπέθετο, τί τίς ἂν ἐξήτησεν ἀφ’ ὧν ἄνθρωποι χρῆζομεν, καὶ οὐχ εὐρῶν ἐκληρώσατο τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν, οὐ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις τόποις εὐρισκομένων ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα ἐνιαχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης, κατ’ Αἰγυπτὸν φημι καὶ Ἰνδῖαν καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ;”

with such exotic birds, which would have been brought to the state of Nicaea via long-distance trade. Here we find another parallel between the romance and contemporary attestations on trade by historical figures explicitly referring to the conditions within the state of Nicaea.

For perhaps the most significant evidence on the availability of foreign products, luxury textiles specifically, in the Nicaean state, we shall turn to Nikephoros Gregoras’ account of the reign of John III Vatatzes. Gregoras lists the rigorous measures this ruler took to fill his state’s coffers. First, when there was a famine (ca. 1244) in Seljuk Anatolia, the Seljuks emptied out all their wealth “in silver, gold and clothing” into Nicaean coffers in return for grain; Roman households were then filled with “barbarian” goods, and the imperial treasury was bursting with money.<sup>14</sup> The second measure Vatatzes took involved preserving the state’s wealth by not allowing the leading wealthy *archontes* (whom the lesser citizens, he implies, would have emulated) to buy clothing produced in Syria, “Assyria” (Mesopotamia, Iran?), and Italy, and by compelling them to purchase what was produced at home by local hands.<sup>15</sup> These two measures were targeted at increasing local revenue by protectionism, an economic policy pursued by Vatatzes. On the other hand, the second measure also indicates that Syrian, “Assyrian,” and Italian textiles must have been formerly flooding the Nicaean market and, what is more, they must have been quite appealing to the local *archontes* who could afford to buy them. The parallel between

14 Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, ed. L. Schopen, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1829), 1:43, lines 1-3: “καὶ ἐκενοῦτο σὺν ἀφθονίᾳ μακρὰ πᾶς ὁ τῶν Τούρκων πλοῦτος ἐς τὰς Ῥωμαίων δεξιὰς, ὅσος ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ, ὅσος ἐν ὑφάσμασι...;” lines 6-9: “καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τάχιστα οἱ Ῥωμαίων οἴκοι πλοῦτου βαρβαρικοῦ πλήρεις κατέστησαν, πολλῶ δὲ πλέον τὰ βασιλικά ταμεῖα ἤδη τῇ τῶν χρημάτων ἔβριθον δαψυλεῖα.” The passage implies that Turkish clothes were also sold in the Nicaean market.

15 Gregoras, ed. Schopen, 1:43, lines 17-24: “But there is something else. Because he saw Roman wealth being wasted in vain on garments imported from foreign people, as many as Babylonian and Assyrian silk craftsmanship produces in different forms and Italian hands weave beautifully, he issued a law [stipulating] that none of his subjects would use those garments (if anyone, whoever that person may be, would not wish to comply, he and his kin would be dishonored), but should use only the garments that the Roman soil produces and the Roman hands make. For the consumption of necessities remains unchanged, but that of things possible to consume [rather than necessary for survival] follows the tastes of those in power; and what is decided by those in power is law and honor for them. So there one could see that those things [the foreign garments] were ‘consigned to doom,’ the standard for nobility was confined to the clothes of the Romans, and wealth was flowing ‘from one home to another,’ as the common saying goes.” “ἔτερον δὲ, ἐπειδὴ εἶδεν τὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν πλοῦτον μάτην κενούμενον ἐς τὰ ἐξ ἀλλοδαπῶν ἐθνῶν ἐνδύματα, ὅσα τε ἐκ Σηρῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ Ἀσσύριων ταλασιουργία ποικίλως δημιουργοῦσι, καὶ ὅσα χεῖρες Ἰταλῶν εὐφυῶς ἐξυφαίνουσιν, ἐξήνεγκε δόγμα, μηδένα τῶν ὑπηκόων χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὴ βούλοιο, ὅστις ποτ’ ἄρ’ εἶη, αὐτὸς τε καὶ γένος ἄτιμος εἶναι· ἀλλ’ ἢ μόνους τοῖς ὅσα ἡ Ῥωμαίων γῆ γεωργεῖ καὶ αἱ Ῥωμαίων ἀσκοῦσι χεῖρες. τῶν γὰρ ἀναγκαίων ἡ χρῆσις ἐστὶν ἀμετάβλητος, τὰ δὲ ἐνδεχόμενα ταῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀκολουθοῦσιν ὀρέξεσι· καὶ τοῦτο νόμος αὐτοῖς καὶ τιμὴ, ὃ τοῖς ἀρχουσι δεδομένον ἐστίν· ὥστε κἀναυθὰ ἦν ἰδεῖν, ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἐν Καρὸς καταστάντα μοῖρα τοῦ λοιποῦ, τὸν δὲ τῆς εὐγενείας ὄρον ἐν τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐνδύμασι περικλεισθέντα, τὸν δὲ πλοῦτον οἰκοθεν οἴκαδε, τὸ θρυλούμενον, φερόμενον.” I would like to thank Prof. Angelov for clarifying the ambiguous proverb (“ἐν Καρὸς μοῖρα”) which goes back to Homer’s *Iliad*, and for his alternative translation of the paragraph. For the German translation (where the translation of the proverb and the general sense of the paragraph are comparable to the above translation) and commentary, see J. L. van Dieten, *Nikephoros Gregoras. Rhomäische Geschichte*, 5 vols. (Kapitel I-VII) (Stuttgart, 1973), 1:224, n. 66.

Gregoras' statement and the Babylonian merchant in LR is obvious. Vatatzes' laws are not only solid evidence for the growing consumerism in Nicaean society but also, since the emperor could compel the citizens to buy local garments, that garments were produced and available locally in Nicaea. It is also possible to argue that either the quality or the appeal (or both) of the foreign garments were higher because the citizens had to be legally compelled to buy clothing made in the state of Nicaea.<sup>16</sup>

In this context one should recall the passage from another fourteenth-century author, Pachymeres, who is another admirer of John III's strict policies and economic conservatism. Pachymeres writes how John III berated his son, whom he saw hunting in silk clothes embroidered in gold (σηρικὰ χρυσόσημα), for wasting the wealth of the Romans on naught.<sup>17</sup> Pachymeres does not specify where these silk clothes came from but, coupled with Gregoras' evidence, it is likely that the reference here is to locally-produced silks.

It seems then that in Nicaea the abundance of foreign textiles went hand in hand with protectionism of the local textile industry instigated by John III. It is certain that the Italians tried to establish long-standing trade relationships with Nicaea but there is very little conclusive evidence about these trade relations especially under the reign of John III.<sup>18</sup> Indirect evidence comes from a document in the state archives of Florence, dated 1245, which mentions two Pisan merchants who were in the vicinity of Adramyttion when Gregorio di San Gimignano of Florence "died in the territory of Vatatzes."<sup>19</sup> This suggests that not only the Pisans but also the Florentines were active in Nicaean territory during the reign of John III. Unfortunately, we are in the dark about the details of their activities. The remaining references to the Western presence in Nicaea

that I am aware of all date from after the reigns of John III and Theodore II. According to two documents from the Genoese archives, both dated to 1261, pope Alexander IV and his immediate successor Urban IV requested Michael VIII Palaiologos to release two merchants from Lucca captured near Adramyttion and to reconstitute the merchants' money using the Genoese *podesta* as an intermediary.<sup>20</sup> The second document issued by Urban IV describes the confiscated sum as a "great amount of money."<sup>21</sup> It may be conjectured that the two merchants would have used this money to purchase raw silk or silk items, as Adramyttion, Anaia, and Smyrna are later mentioned in relation to silk, especially raw silk, sales. We should also refer here to the Pisan manual of 1278, which mentions Anaia as a port of call that the Pisan merchants seem to have used frequently by this time for raw silk and grain exports from western Asia Minor.<sup>22</sup> One wonders how far back the Pisan commercial activities in Anaia went.<sup>23</sup> The 1278 document of Venetian claims on looted Venetian valuables also mentions silk.<sup>24</sup> In the 1280s, Smyrna and Philadelphia were selling raw silk to Lucca and Genoa at the very least.<sup>25</sup> The Genoese merchants Manuele Cigala and Lombardino Spinula sold "seta Smyrnis" to Lucchese merchants in 1288, according to the acts of the Genoese notary Enrico Guglielmo Rosso.<sup>26</sup> Before 1294 a Genoese merchant was robbed of two bundles of silk worth 460 *hyperpyra* in the vicinity of Adramyttion.<sup>27</sup> Even though most of the evidence comes from after the reign of John III, two points can be made: first, that raw silk was produced in the state of Nicaea and, second, judging by the cumulative evidence, raw silk exports were certainly carried out under the Palaiologoi. It is quite probable that John III did not allow raw silk exports and that his ban was discontinued by Michael Palaiologos.

16 This paragraph comes right after the section on the flow of Turkish wealth into Nicaea. Gregoras is clearly praising John III for keeping the wealth of the nation inside and allowing it to circulate from "door to door" in Nicaea.

17 Georges Pachymères, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler (Paris, 1984), 1:61, 63: "How good is your conscience toward the Romans that you are shedding their blood in pursuits that have no necessity whatsoever? For do you not know that these gold-embroidered silks are the blood of the Romans, and ought to be used in their service, as being [in fact] their own? Do you want to know when it is in their service? When we have to display their wealth to ambassadors from abroad. For the wealth of emperors is deemed to be the wealth of their subjects. For this reason the latter find it utterly abhorrent to be in servitude to others when they themselves are so well off. Do you not see how much you are at fault, using them for naught?" The translation is mine. "Τί καλὸν συνειδῶς ἐαυτῷ δρόσας Ῥωμαίους, ἔφη, τὰ ἐκείνων ἐκχέεις ἐν διατριβαῖς μηδὲν τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἐχούσας αἵματα· ἢ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδας, φησὶν, αἵματα εἶναι Ῥωμαίων τὰ χρυσόσημα ταῦτα καὶ σηρικὰ, οἷς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἔδει χρῆσθαι, ἐκείνων γε οὐσι; Ζητεῖς δὲ μαθεῖν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων πότε; Ὅτε δηλαδὴ ἐπιστάσι πρέσβεισιν ἐξ ἀλλοδαπῆς τὸν ἐκείνων πλοῦτον λαμπρευμονοῦντες δηλοῦν ἔχοιμεν· ὁ γὰρ βασιλέων πλοῦτος πλοῦτος τῶν ὑπῆρκων λογίζεται· παρ' ἣν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸ εἰς δουλείαν καθυπεύκειν ἐτέρους σφίσι οὕτως ἔχουσι καὶ λίαν ἀπόμοτον· οἷς σὺ διακενής χρώμενος, οὐ λογίζῃ τὸ πλημμελὲς ὀπίσον."

18 The 1219 agreement is the only surviving document containing direct information on trade between the Nicaean state and the Venetians. TT 2:205-207.

19 "mortuus apud Lendermite in Romania in terra Bacassari." R. Davidsohn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1908), 2 :295; C. Otten-Froux, "Documents inédits sur les Pisans en Roumanie aux XIIIe - XIVe siècles," in *Les Italiens à Byzance. Édition et présentation de documents*, ed. M. Ballard, A. Laiou, C. Otten-Froux (Paris, 1987), 159; D. Jacoby, "Rural Exploitation in Western Asia Minor and the Mediterranean: Aspects of Interaction in the Thirteenth Century," in *AUREUS: Volume Dedicated to Professor Evangelos K. Chrysos*, ed. T. G. Koliass and K. G. Pitsakis (Athens, 2014), 250.

20 *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, ed. S. Dellacasa, 9 vols. (Genoa, 1998), 1.4:478-80; on this and what follows, see Jacoby, "Rural Exploitation in Western Asia Minor," 250.

21 *I Libri Iurium*, ed. Dellacasa, 1.4:480.

22 TT 3:159-281. Another set of documents from 1277 mentions a Meneghello of Anaia, a pirate in the service of Michael VIII: G. Saint-Guillain, "The Lady and the Merchants: Byzantine and Latin Prosopographies in Dialogue in a Commercial Court Case Relating to Epiros," in *Liquid and Multiple: Individuals and Identities in the Thirteenth-Century Aegean*, ed. G. Saint-Guillain and D. Stathakopoulos (Paris, 2012), 195-234.

23 D. Jacoby, "The Pisan Commercial Manual of 1278 in the Mediterranean Context," in *Quel mar che la terra inghirlanda. In ricordo di Marco Tangheroni*, ed. F. Cardini and M. L. Ceccarelli Lemut (Pisa, 2007), 451-52, suggests that entries were progressively added into the manual over an extended period of time.

24 TT 3:159-281. Also see G. Morgan, "The Venetian Claims Commission of 1278," *BZ* 69.2 (1976): 411-38; V. G. Chentsova, "Venetian Trade in Greece and the Aegean according to the *Decisiones Piraticae* of 1278," in *Acts: XVIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, ed. I. Ševčenko and G. G. Litavrin (Shepherdstown, 1996), 1:114-21.

25 T. Bini, *I Lucchesi a Venezia. Alcuni studi sopra i secoli XIII e XIV* (Lucca, 1853), 48: mention by the notary Girardetto da Chiatri (1286) of *orsoio crudo* (which according to Bini is a type of "seta torta," raw silk, possibly stifled by heating, to prevent the chrysalis inside the cocoon from damaging the threads) from "Smirre;" reference in the acts of Tegrimo and Batolommeo Fulceri (1284) to "seta de smirro d'allara ad pondus Jannuense quam constitit in civitate Janue solidos triginta unum de Janua per libram" and to "seta de Smirro et de Filadelfi."

26 P. Racine, "Le marché Génois de la soie en 1288," in *RESEE* 8.3 (1970): 411 and 416 (table).

27 G. Bertolotto, "Nuova serie di documenti sulle relazioni di Genova con l'Impero Bizantino," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 28 (1897): 526-27.

We could consider alum production as another piece of supportive evidence. Anatolian—but not Phokaian—alum is first mentioned in an agreement between Cyprus and Provence in 1236, and Simon de Saint-Quentin's remarks from 1246 constitute the second mention in Western sources before William of Rubruck's reference to alum in 1255.<sup>28</sup> William leaves no doubt as to who the traders interested in the alum mines of the Seljuk settlement at Hisar were: "In Iconium I came across several Franks and a Genoese trader from Acre, Nicholas de Santo Siro, who with his partner, a Venetian called Bonifacio Molendino, exports all the alum from Turkia, with the result that the sultan may not sell it to anyone else and they demand a high price."<sup>29</sup> The Byzantines, under Michael VIII, gave the right to own and operate the alum mines in Phokaia to the Genoese brothers Benedetto and Manuele Zaccaria, who made huge profits out of their monopoly on Phokaian alum from 1275 onwards.<sup>30</sup> Even though Dominique Cardon claims that the date at which alum began to be manufactured in Phokaia is unfortunately not known because the mine is in an inaccessible military zone, it is certainly not unreasonable to surmise that this alum mine was operating under the Nicaeans.<sup>31</sup> According to Cardon, up until the discovery of the Spanish mines in the vicinity of Mazarrón near Cartagena in 1462, none of the known alum mines in the thirteenth century had the capacity to rival the Phokaian mine, except perhaps that in Seljuk Koloneia (modern Aksaray).<sup>32</sup> Even though we will not know the opening date of the Phokaian mine until archaeologists study the site, it is likely that the mine, if indeed it was operating under the Nicaeans, was not managed by the Genoese or the Venetians, who clearly had an interest in alum to meet the demand for mordant for their growing textile industries and traveled further east to Koloneia or Kotyaion to get their alum from the Seljuks instead of the Nicaeans.

28 C. Cahen, "L'alun avant Phocée. Un chapitre d'histoire économique islamo-chrétienne au temps de Croisades," in idem, *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus* (London, 1974), no. I, 443. D. Jacoby, "Production et commerce de l'alun oriental en Méditerranée, XIe-XVe siècles," in *L'alun de Méditerranée*, ed. P. Bogard, J. P. Brun and M. Picon (Aix-en-Provence, 2005), 233-36, argues that Phokaian alum was not produced in significant amounts before the 13th century and that Phokaian alum mines fell under Genoese control in 1264. Cf. M. Çolak, V. Thirion-Merle, F. Blondé, M. Picon, "Les régions productrices d'alun en Turquie aux époques antique médiévale et moderne: gisements, produits et transports," in *L'alun de Méditerranée*, ed. Bogard et al., 65 and M. Picon, "La préparation de l'alun à partir de l'alunite aux époques antique et médiévale," in *Arts du feu et productions artisanales. XXe Rencontres internationales d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Antibes: actes des rencontres, 21-22-23 Octobre 1999*, ed. P. Pétrequin et al. (Antibes, 2000), 519-30, who propose the possibility for Phokaian mines being active in Antiquity at the very least based on the alum exported alongside Phokaian wares. *Simon de Saint-Quentin. Histoire des Tatares*, ed. J. Richard (Paris, 1965), 97-98.

29 "Yconii inveni plures Francos et quemdam mercatorem Ianuensem de Acon, Nicholaum nomine de Sancto Siro, qui cum quodam socio suo veneto, nomine Bonefacio de Molendino, asportaverunt totum aluimum de Turquia, ita quod Soldanus nemini potest aliquid vendere nisi ipsis duobus." See *Sinica Franciscana*, ed. A. van den Wyngaert, 2 vols. (Florence, 1929), 1:328; *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, trans. P. Jackson (Indianapolis, 1990; repr. 2009), 273.

30 A. E. Laiou, "Alum," in *ODB* 1:72; E. Byrne, *Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), 65; E. A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300-1415)* (Venice, 1983), 167-68.

31 D. Cardon, *Natural Dyes. Sources, Tradition, Technology and Science* (London, 2007), 24.

32 For Koloneia, see Laiou, "Alum," 71.

Coupled with Gregoras' and Pachymeres' observations on John III's protective measures regarding the local textile industry, it is probable that the Nicaean rulers, especially John III, restricted not only the sale of raw silk but also of alum to Westerners. The mines were probably already active under the Nicaeans, serving the needs of their own textile industry. In this case too, then, Michael VIII's delegation of their control to the Genoese later in his reign represents a break with the protectionist Nicaean policy.

We should remember that the money in the possession of the two Lucchese merchants had been confiscated from them near Adramyttion before 1261. All the known and surviving documents from the reign of the Palaiologoi are official complaints made by Westerners about the theft of their goods, and not about state confiscation as in the case of the 1261 Genoese documents that concern the Lucchese merchants. Until further evidence to the contrary is found, we might assume that the Nicaean rulers, or likely just John III, banned raw silk and alum exports from their state.<sup>33</sup> Altogether the evidence allows us to argue that the Nicaeans aimed to protect their local textile industry.

In this paper, I discussed the remarkable development in the economic policy of the state of Nicaea, leading from a period when Italian and French goods were flooding the Nicaean market alongside Eastern goods, to John III's firm reaction against this. It seems that both Gregoras and Pachymeres perceived that John III's economic policies stood out among those of his predecessors and successors. This emperor seems to have been particularly protective of the local industries and restrictive of the consumption habits of his subjects. Elsewhere I have studied the traces of John III's policies that can also be observed in the archaeological record. Specifically, I have argued that the paucity, or the sheer absence, of foreign coins and Italian (proto-maiolica) ceramics in western Asia Minor may have been the result of John III's intentional policies, which were hailed as wise and pertinent by the historians of the fourteenth century.<sup>34</sup> LR, if it indeed belonged to the Nicaean context, highlights one of the three characteristics of the Nicaean economy in the thirteenth century: the abundance of foreign goods in Nicaea. The other aspect of the Nicaean economy, at least during part of the long reign of John III, was protectionism of local industries, especially the textile industry. For, there is little doubt that a textile industry worthy of protection existed under the Nicaeans. In short, the Nicaean economy was all of these three things at once: an open market for foreign goods as we see in LR, a producer of artisanal or industrial goods, and, temporarily under John III, a system regulated by protectionist policies which his successors would discontinue.

33 Jacoby, "Rural Exploitation in Western Asia Minor," 250-52, argues based on evidence on raw silk exports from Nicaea.

34 See E. G. Turnator, "Turning the Economic Tables in the Medieval Mediterranean: The Latin Crusader Empire and the Transformation of the Byzantine Economy, ca. 1100-1400" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2013); idem, "Coin Circulation in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries in Greece and Western Asia Minor," in *In Memoriam Angeliki Laiou*, ed. C. Kafadar and N. Necipoğlu, *JtuS* 36 (2011): 173-99.

# The Empire of Trebizond in The World-Trade System: Economy and Culture

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In 1306, the Genoese set fire to the suburbs of the city of Trebizond and the fire ravaged not only the suburbs but also the cargo and ships lying in the harbor, among which were twelve Genoese ships waiting to be loaded. The conflict was related to the *kommerkion*, the tax levied on goods traded in the city,<sup>1</sup> for which the Genoese demanded an exemption when trading in the Empire of Trebizond.<sup>2</sup> This episode, which the Trapezuntine chronicler Michael Panaretos called the “great war,” is symptomatic of the extent to which the Empire of Trebizond had become integrated into the world-trade system of the fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup> In the fourteenth century, the rulers of the Empire of Trebizond were unwilling to extend tax exemptions not only to the Genoese but also to the Venetians as the *kommerkion* constituted a significant portion of the treasury’s revenues. In fact, the Empire of Trebizond was an exception among Byzantine splinter states for being so heavily reliant on commerce.

Trebizond was on the Silk Road, which came from Tabriz by land and it was the most easterly port on the Black Sea. It had both Genoese and Venetian colonies. The Grand Komnenoi, rulers of Trebizond, carefully established political and marriage alliances with the Seljuks, the Palaiologoi, later with the Mongols, the Karamanids, and among others with the Ottomans prior to its fall to the forces of the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II in 1461. Trebizond was a late medieval state, small, yet prosperous and cosmopolitan.

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<sup>1</sup> W. Miller, *Trebizond: The Last Greek Empire of the Byzantine Era 1204-1461* (Chicago, 1964), 34-35; D. A. Zakythinos, *Le Chrysobulle d’Alexis III Comnène, empereur de Trébizonde, en faveur des Vénitiens* (Paris, 1932). Zakythinos argued that there were two different types of taxes that were levied: 1) the *kommerkion* which depended on the nature of the merchandise that was traded and the nationality of the merchants 2) the *dekati* (tenth), on the other hand, was a tax determined according to the bulk of the merchandise and whether it came by sea or by land.

<sup>2</sup> G. Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler, trans. V. Laurent, 5 vols. (Paris, 1999), 4:492-95; M. Panaretos, *Η Αυτοκρατορία της Τραπεζούντας: 1204-1461*, ed. I. Papadrianos (Thessalonike, 2004), 53.

<sup>3</sup> Panaretos, *Η Αυτοκρατορία*, 53.

This paper focuses on the role of the Empire of Trebizond in the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries as a crucial trading node in the Italian dominated part of the world-trade system over which it had minimum control. While this dependence provided for the wealth of this rather small state, the Italian economic dominance in Asia Minor exploited a politically fragmented geography wherein the Empire of Trebizond and other small states had a precarious existence. Further, I will devote some attention to the increasingly commercial and syncretic culture of the Empire of Trebizond and the manner in which this culture shaped the ambitions of its ruling elite and population.

The Empire of Trebizond laid hold only to the northeastern shores of Asia Minor. The population of the empire was around 200,000–250,000 according to Bryer's estimates.<sup>4</sup> Pero Tafur (d. ca. 1484), the Spanish traveler visiting Trebizond as well as Genoa, Rome, Venice, Constantinople, the eastern Mediterranean and the Holy Land in the early fifteenth century, wrote that the capital housed 4,000 people.<sup>5</sup> This low population figure was after the outbreak of the Black Death and probably reflects the ravages due to the plague. The Florentine chronicler, official, and banker Giovanni Villani recorded that one fifth of the Trapezuntine population died because of the plague in 1347.<sup>6</sup> As a useful comparison, one may look at population figures from the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the early sixteenth century, the population of the city of Trebizond is estimated to be between 6,000 and 6,500. Around 1520, the province had a total population between 215,000 and 270,000. In 1868, the city had a population of 34,000–34,500.<sup>7</sup> It is readily seen that the Empire of Trebizond was not an expansive land empire, which ruled over a sizable population. Instead, it was confined to a narrow strip of land on the coast and was cut off from the hinterland by the Pontic Alps. Trebizond's preeminence as an artistic center and its vibrant urban culture cannot be explained only by reference to wealth accumulated through the taxation of peasants as the Empire of Trebizond did not have the population and land to sustain an extensive court. The question of commerce, whether it was an integral element or only an insignificant constituent in a more traditional non-commerce based economy, is particularly prominent, as Trebizond's revenues from international and transit trade may provide an alternative explanation for its wealth.

The world-trade system, as it is called in modern historiography, was the outcome of medieval European economic and social expansion such as demographic boom, the increasing monetization of the European economy, and the rising importance of cities. One of the first significant events for the development of this system was the Crusade

of 1204, when the Venetians captured Constantinople and acquired increased access to the Black Sea that the Byzantines had been closely controlling and guarding. The grain originating from the Crimea had previously been traded only by Byzantine merchants but was now accessible to the Venetians.<sup>8</sup> Byzantine splinter states formed in former Byzantine territories after the fall of the capital, the Empire of Trebizond being among them.

The second significant breakpoint in the development of the world-trade system was the establishment of the *Pax Mongolica* in the thirteenth century. The Mongol Empire, the greatest land empire in terms of geographical extent, reached from the Pacific to Eastern Europe. As the Mongols were increasingly favorable to trade in the latter half of the thirteenth century, corridors of trade opened up to transport the goods of China, the Crimea, and India to Europe.

We find evidence for the importance of commerce in literature on Trebizond. Circa 1440, Bessarion, student of the Platonist philosopher George Gemistos Plethon, Cardinal of the Catholic Church and later titular Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, composed an encomium on his native-city Trebizond. According to Bessarion, Trebizond possessed a marketplace that could be found nowhere else in the world. In Trebizond, one could find many peoples conversing in many tongues and conducting business. They came from all the regions of the Pontos, Galatia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, the Euphrates, Albania, Iberia, and Colchis. Median (Persian) and Egyptian clothing, Chinese yarns of silk thread, woven garments from Cilicia, all could easily be bought and sold. Goods from the Crimea and from all the territories around Trebizond supplied the market. During religious holidays and especially the *panegyris* of Hagios Eugenios, people arrived by ship and by land to Trebizond. The people that came from the mainland brought live animals and sold them in Trebizond, buying other goods from other places. It was the marketplace of the world.<sup>9</sup> Bessarion depicts a highly active market where not only local merchants from Trebizond, but also merchants from other lands, and in particular from other Pontic cities, traded. Bessarion's description provides an impressionistic overview of commercial activity in Trebizond and the city emerges as an urban center. Writing in the fourteenth century, Andrew Libadenos (d. ca. 1361) also made reference to the abundance found in Trebizond's market.<sup>10</sup> These descriptions of Trebizond as a hub of commerce may be verified through analysis of other sources.

Commercial activity appears as a crucial element of social and economic life in the Empire of Trebizond. The sources illuminate to some degree the nature of the commercial class operating in Trebizond and the city's intimate connections to other cities in the Pontos and in the hinterland of Asia Minor. Commerce provides a suitable departure point to study Trebizond not only because Trebizond was a highly active port but also

4 A. Bryer, "Greeks and Türkmens: The Pontic Exception," *DOP* 29 (1975): 121 [repr. in A. Bryer, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos* (London, 1980), no. V].

5 Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures 1435–1439*, trans. M. Letts (Gorgias, 2007), 131.

6 Giovanni Villani, *Florentini Historia Universalis*, ed. L. A. Muratori, vol. 13 (Milan, R.I.S., 1728), 964. Villani wrote: "E alla Tana, e Tribisonda, e per tutti que' paesi, non rimase per la detta pestilenza de' cinque l'uno, e molte terre vi sobissarono, tra per pestilenza e per tremuoti grandissimi e folgori." Miller, *Trebizond: The Last Greek Empire*, 53; A. Bryer, "The *Tourkokratia* in the Pontos: Some Problems and Preliminary Conclusions," *Neo-Hellenika* 1 (1970): 37 [repr. in Bryer, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos*, no. XI].

7 Bryer, "The *Tourkokratia* in the Pontos," 38–39.

8 A. E. Laiou, "Monopoly and Privileged Free Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (8th–14th Century)," in *Chemins d'outre-mer*, ed. Coulon et al. (Paris, 2004), 511–26.

9 O. Lampsides, ed., "Εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα λόγος τοῦ Βησσαρίωνος," *Ἀρχαίον Πόντου* 39 (1984): 3–75. Bessarion describes Trebizond's marketplace: 36–37; 62–63.

10 A. Libadenos, "Περιήγησις," ed. O. Lampsides, *Ανδρόεου Λιβαδηνού βίος και ἔργα* (Athens, 1975), 61.

because commerce makes manifest the degree to which the Empire of Trebizond was integrated into the Mediterranean world at large. The identities of the merchants and their activities are representative of the city's cosmopolitan urbanism. In Genoese notarial sources, Armenian, Greek, Italian, and Muslim merchants are attested as having engaged in trade in Trebizond. The multi-ethnic makeup of the commercial class illustrates that the Empire of Trebizond was a geographical locus wherein integration, communication, and commerce took place. The existence of merchants from different ethnic backgrounds reinforces the impression that Trebizond was indeed the marketplace of the world.

Furthermore, the Empire of Trebizond does not appear to have been merely a port drawing together a diverse body of merchants for commercial purposes. What remains of Trapezuntine art and culture display signs of a deeper interaction between the empire and the regional ethnic elements. Georgian, Armenian, Seljuk, and Western influences on Trapezuntine art have been noted by scholars.<sup>11</sup>

### Sources: Literature, Archival Documents, and the Arts

The unique and brief chronicle of the Empire of Trebizond, composed by Michael Panaretos (ca. 1320–ca. 1390), offers no clues to the commercial success of Trebizond, although it sketches the political and marriage alliances, which certainly contributed to its longevity. In the absence of Greek or other notarial documents from Trebizond, which would illustrate commerce, I employ Genoese notarial documents from Caffa and Venetian documents related to Trebizond in addition to travel narratives to discuss economic activity.<sup>12</sup> The absence of Greek notarial documents from Trebizond does not necessarily reflect the absence of notaries in the city. In fact, the reference to Trapezuntine notaries in an almanac for the year 1336 illustrates that they were an integral part of urban life.<sup>13</sup> Whether these notaries were imperial secretaries or whether they were public officials registering transactions is less than clear: Libadenos, for example, was an imperial official and a notary in fourteenth-century Trebizond.

The ideology and culture of the Empire of Trebizond, the political aspirations of its ruling elite have led some to hail the city as the last bastion of Greek culture in Asia Minor. However, Panaretos presented the empire and its people as Romans rather than as Greeks.

Importantly, the emperors of Trebizond maintained a self-conscious Byzantine identity referring back to pre-1204 models and emphasized their direct descent from the eleventh and twelfth-century Komnenoi rulers of Constantinople. Further, the state apparatus was directly borrowed from middle Byzantine models and the Grand Komnenoi relied on Byzantine traditions of taxation, the *kommerkion*, cadaster surveys, and land tenure. They extensively used pre-1204 land management techniques, in particular the granting of *pronoia* to individuals and to monastic establishments, such as to the Monastery of the Theotokos of Soumela and the Monastery of St. John Prodromos of Vazelon in the Matzouka valley.

The frescoes of the Church of Hagia Sophia provide further proof that the Empire of Trebizond followed Byzantine traditions closely. Highly successful Byzantine frescoes depicting the complete cycle of the Twelve Great Feasts were commissioned to decorate the church.<sup>14</sup> The Empire of Trebizond also had a scriptorium for Greek manuscript production and it is telling that the most extensively illuminated Byzantine manuscript was produced at this court.<sup>15</sup> This illuminated manuscript of the Alexander Romance, now in Venice (Venice Hellenic Institute Codex Gr.5), with over 250 miniatures served to reinforce the imperial ideology of the Grand Komnenoi and the choice of Alexander as subject matter was deliberate. The use of Alexander the Great as imperial symbol was already common under the Komnenoi in Constantinople before 1204, and Alexander was associated with Hellenic rule in eastern lands. Hence, Alexander also served as paradigm for the unique position of the rulers of Trebizond as Hellenic rulers in the East and Trapezuntine rulers were hailed as emulators of Alexander.<sup>16</sup> The surviving caption on the first folio of the *Venice Alexander Romance* corresponds to the ways in which the Grand Komnenoi boasted the title “the Grand Komnenoi, faithful in Christ the God, Emperors and Autocrats of all the East, Iberians, and all the extremities.”<sup>17</sup> At first, this grandiose title appears to be divorced from the historical circumstances. However, perhaps, this title did not refer to an extensive land empire in the classical Byzantine sense but rather it indicated the multi-ethnic urban culture of Trebizond which ruled over Georgian, Armenian, Greek, and Laz populations and whose market provided a venue for merchants from different ethnic backgrounds.

11 A. Eastmond, *Art and Identity in Thirteenth-Century Byzantium: Hagia Sophia and the Empire of Trebizond* (Aldershot, 2004); *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium*, ed. A. Eastmond (Aldershot, 2001); D. Talbot Rice, *The Church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond* (Edinburgh, 1968); T. Talbot Rice, “Decoration in Seljukid Style in the Church of St. Sophia of Trebizond,” in *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Asiens*, ed. O. Aslanapa (Istanbul, 1963), 87–120.

12 *Génois de Péra et de Caffa*; M. Balard, *Gênes et L’Outre-mer*, vol. 1: *Les Actes De Caffa du Notaire Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1289–1290* (Paris, 1970); F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, vol. 1: *1329–1399* (Paris, 1958); R. G. de Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403–1406*, trans. Guy Le Strange (London, 1928); A. A. Vasiliev, “Pero Tafur, a Spanish Traveller of the Fifteenth Century and his Visit to Constantinople, Trebizond, and Italy,” *Byzantion* 7 (1932): 75–122.

13 R. Mercier, *An Almanac for Trebizond for the Year 1336* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1994), 148.

14 A. Bryer and D. Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1985), 1:236; Eastmond, *Art and Identity*, 108–16.

15 N. Trahoulia, *The Venice Alexander Romance, Hellenic Institute Codex Gr.5: A Study of Alexander the Great as an Imperial Paradigm in Byzantine Art and Literature* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1997); eadem, “The Venice Alexander Romance: Pictorial Narrative and the Art of Telling Stories,” in *History as Literature in Byzantium*, ed. R. Macrides (Farnham, 2010), 145–69; D. Kastritsis, “The Trebizond Alexander Romance (Venice Hellenic Institute Codex Gr. 5): The Ottoman Fate of a Fourteenth-century Illustrated Byzantine Manuscript,” in *In Memoriam Angeliki Laiou*, ed. C. Kafadar and N. Necipoğlu, *JTuS* 36 (2011): 103–31.

16 Trahoulia, *Venice Alexander Romance*.

17 Trahoulia, *Venice Alexander Romance*. The emperors of Trebizond relinquished their claim to be “emperors of the Romans” after the marriage of John II Komnenos to Eudokia Palaiologina in 1282. Miller, *Trebizond: The Last Greek Empire*, 28–29.



Italian notarial and diplomatic sources, in particular Genoese notarial documents from Caffa and the Venetian archives, provide information on Trebizond's multi-ethnic and syncretic urbanism. However, the Italian documents record maritime trade and, particularly Italian commerce, even though the land routes to the Seljuk and post-Seljuk hinterland were just as important. Information concerning merchants operating on the land routes remains a desideratum and would possibly change the overall picture presented by the Italian sources. In the absence of such information, I selectively analyze the Italian archival material, focusing not only on the bulk of the documents, which record the Genoese and the Venetians but also on the fewer cases of the Greek, Armenian, and Muslim merchants.

### History and Diplomatic Relations

Panaretos identified the history of the Empire of Trebizond as the rule of the Grand Komnenoi, when he commenced the narrative with the departure of Alexios Komnenos from Constantinople and Alexios' subsequent elevation to independent rule in Trebizond shortly before the Latin conquest of Constantinople.<sup>18</sup> The main line of Komnenoi had been ousted from power in Constantinople since 1185 and Alexios, the grandson of Andronikos I Komnenos, was proclaimed as emperor in Trebizond in 1204.

In the coming centuries, the Trapezuntine rulers fashioned themselves after this imperial past, presenting themselves as the Grand Komnenoi. Nevertheless, the title did not reflect the relative position of the Empire of Trebizond among other Near Eastern states as the Empire of Trebizond remained under the suzerainty of one power or another throughout much of its history. The rulers of Trebizond recognized the supremacy of Constantinople in 1282 as a pre-condition for the marriage alliance of John II Komnenos to Eudokia Palaiologina.<sup>19</sup> A Mamluk manual, containing instructions on the composition of letters to heads of states, further illustrates the relative position of the Empire of Trebizond in the diplomatic hierarchy: the emperors of Trebizond were of similar rank with the rulers of Cilician Armenia and their status was inferior to those of Constantinople as well as Georgia.<sup>20</sup> In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Grand Komnenoi adapted to the rapidly changing political environment through establishing political and

<sup>18</sup> Panaretos, *Η Αυτοκρατορία*, 49.

<sup>19</sup> Pachymeres, *Relations*, 2:654–58; Miller, *Trebizond: The Last Greek Empire*, 31.

<sup>20</sup> R. Shukurov, "Between Peace and Hostility: Trebizond and the Pontic Turkish Periphery in the Fourteenth Century," *MHR* 9.1 (1994): 21–22. This manual was compiled in the late 14th/early 15th century. The information it contained came from another book compiled in 1340, which in turn utilized an even earlier source. Shukurov writes "It seems, however, that both the letter form and the commentary go back to an earlier date, to the period between 1254 and 1265. This is shown by the subheading of the excerpt 'Letters to the ruler of Sinope...before it was conquered by the Turcomans.' This specific mention of the Turcomans and not of the Seljuks who captured Sinope from the Trapezuntines in 1214, and probably in 1228, leads one to assume that it refers to the conquest of Sinope by Mu'in al-Din Parvana in 1265, when the Turcoman element in Anatolia was already in evidence."

marriage alliances with the Seljuks, Palaiologan Constantinople, Mongols, Genoa, Venice and later the Anatolian principalities.

In particular, the claim of the Grand Komnenoi to be the true heirs of the Byzantine Empire was despised by the Palaiologoi. Pachymeres, writing in the early fourteenth century, referred to the emperors of Trebizond as the "leader of the Laz"<sup>21</sup> and was quick to point out that the Trapezuntines aspired to imperial dignity but had none, being merely barbarians.<sup>22</sup> In contrast, the famous fifteenth-century theologian and philosopher Bessarion found it appropriate to endow his native Trebizond with Hellenic identity, creating a seamless narrative wherein the citizens, since the founding of the city as a Greek colony in antiquity, had cherished the Greek language, Greek customs, and the very notion of freedom from despotic rule which was a cornerstone of classical Greek political philosophy. Bessarion, who converted to Catholicism and was twice considered for the papacy, wrote of Trebizond as "our city," evaluating its identity, history, and culture in binary opposition with various barbarians.<sup>23</sup> The various different models for evaluating Trebizond's cultural heritage bear testimony to the uniqueness of the land and its synthesis of "East" and "West" going beyond the established paradigm. The fourteenth-century historian al-Umari (1300–1384), relying on a Genoese informant, captured Trebizond's urban syncretism and pointed out that the city resembled the neighboring Turkish principalities, albeit being Christian and Greek-speaking.<sup>24</sup>

### Relations with the Italians

The sources for the Empire of Trebizond proliferate after the latter half of the thirteenth century when the Genoese and later the Venetians increasingly dominated the Black Sea commerce. The Empire of Trebizond became connected to the Italian world-trade system in the late thirteenth century and the city emerged as a commercial market in the sources. Building activity from this period also illustrates Trebizond's increasing wealth as the greater majority of the churches, which were built under the Grand Komnenoi and which can be securely dated, are either from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries or were renovated during this period.<sup>25</sup>

The rising power of the Mongols, the establishment of trade routes going to Asia through the Black Sea, and the involvement of the Italians in the Black Sea all date from the second half of the thirteenth century and appear interconnected. Importantly, the

<sup>21</sup> Pachymeres, *Relations*, 4:492–95.

<sup>22</sup> Pachymeres, *Relations*, 2:652–55.

<sup>23</sup> Bessarion, "Εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα."

<sup>24</sup> Bryer, "Greeks and Türkmens," 128.

<sup>25</sup> Bryer and Winfield, *The Byzantine Monuments*, 204–50: "a probable date in the period 1250–70 (at its widest) for the rebuilding of the main church of the Hagia Sophia; a certain rebuilding of St. Eugenios in 1340–49; a probable rebuilding of the Chrysokephalos at the same time; and the dates 1421 and 1424 for the small chapel and the main part of the larger church at Kaymakli, respectively. If our identification of 'Santa Croce' is correct, we may add the evidence that the church existed in 1367."

momentous destruction of Baghdad in 1258 by the Mongols diverted the trade routes to the north and especially to Trebizond.<sup>26</sup> Trebizond accepted the supremacy of the Ilkhans circa 1246, both accepting vassal status but also benefitting from the *Pax Mongolica* and developing into a regional power. As the port of Trebizond became a major outlet for goods coming from Central Asia, we find significant increase in the number of silver coins, aspers, which were issued in Trebizond. In fact, the aspers minted by Manuel I Grand Komnenos (1238–1263) became the standard for silver coins in Georgia and “Kirmanuel” became the generic name for money in that country.<sup>27</sup> Indeed the abundance of Trapezuntine coins from this period may be indicative of increased trade and consequent monetization of the economy.

Although Italian relations with the Mongols were not always amicable, the *Pax Mongolica* established political unity and guaranteed secure trade routes in the Crimea both of which were favorable to Italian commerce.<sup>28</sup> From the late thirteenth century onwards, the increased domination of the Black Sea trade by Genoa was secured by Genoese colonies in the Black Sea, the most important being Caffa, Pera, and Trebizond as well as a host of smaller trading post enclaves on the coastlands. Interestingly, the trading posts were on both Christian and Muslim territory. Notarial documents hint that there was a Genoese trading post in or near Sinope at the end of the thirteenth century since it was a destination for Genoese ships. According to Clavijo, Amasra, further west on the coast, was a Genoese colony surrounded by Muslim territory in the early fifteenth century.<sup>29</sup> Genoese heraldry and inscriptions found in Amasra confirm Clavijo’s observation,<sup>30</sup> and the Pontic town appears to have developed a Genoese colony after the Ottomans acquired it from a Turkish emir in 1393.

Similarly, the importance of Trebizond as a port tied it to the greater Black Sea. When Clavijo departed on an embassy to Timur in 1402, he used the sea route from Constantinople to Trebizond, traveling on a Genoese ship.<sup>31</sup> The sea route along the northern shores of Asia Minor was the preferred means of transportation to and from Trebizond. The Genoese ship S. Donato, on route to Samsun from Caffa in 1290, was rented out to Muslim merchants and was also carrying merchandise from Trebizond.<sup>32</sup> The Black Sea ports (Caffa, Sinope, Trebizond, Tana, Constantinople, Batoum, Samsun, Pera, Soldaia, Solgat) were linked by maritime routes as illustrated by the destinations of certain galleys departing from Caffa. In some cases, the traveling merchants decided on the destination port during the voyage. In a notarial document, the galley’s route was specified as Trebizond or Sinope or Samsun. In a more extreme case the galley could

port in Trebizond, or Constantinople, or Smyrna. It is clear that any one of these harbors could have been a suitable destination, albeit being ruled by different polities. Indeed, the Italian world-trade system in the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries relied on the absence of a powerful state in Asia Minor that would interfere with Venetian and Genoese extra-territorial privileges.

In return for recognizing the sovereignty and autonomy of the Empire of Trebizond, the Genoese and the Venetians demanded a regime favorable to their commerce, extra-territorial rights for their colonies, and moderation in commercial taxes.<sup>33</sup> The colonization of Trebizond did not become formal as on Crete or Cyprus where the Italians established political hegemony. Genoa was the first to establish a presence in Trebizond circa 1270 and Venetian merchants were also active in Trebizond from the last quarter of the thirteenth century onwards. Venice obtained a chrysobull from the Empire of Trebizond in 1319 and a second one in 1364, which accorded Venice the same privileges extended to Genoa.<sup>34</sup> In return, the Genoese and the Venetians paid duties on merchandise in Trebizond and recognized the authority of the emperor of Trebizond.

Nevertheless, Italian relations with the Empire of Trebizond were not always smooth and were frequently interrupted due to the *kommerkion* duty which the Genoese and Venetians were required to pay and also during the civil war (1330–1363).<sup>35</sup> In 1304 the Genoese acquired privileges, which exempted them from paying the *kommerkion* but the emperors of Trebizond did not relinquish their rights to collect commercial taxes and reintroduced them in 1306.<sup>36</sup> As late as 1364, Venetians were required to pay commercial taxes according to the chrysobull of Alexios III.<sup>37</sup> The direct trade relations between the emperor of Trebizond and Italian merchants illustrate the grudging favor of the Grand Komnenoi towards the Italians. In 1290 flour and salt were two items sold directly by Genoese merchants to the emperor of Trebizond.<sup>38</sup> However, Italian relations with the local population and the artisans remained problematic and antagonistic.<sup>39</sup>

In Genoese notarial documents Trebizond appears as one of the centers of Black Sea trade along with Tana, Caffa, and Pera. On the other hand, the ability of the Italians to dictate their terms, to set fire to the city when denied, the extra-territorial privileges granted to the Italians, the absence of trade routes established by Trapezuntine merchants all point in the same direction. Trebizond, in spite of its vibrant commercial activity and merchants, was integrated into a world-trade system that was run by the Italians. Its relative independence with respect to provisioning, its natural resources, namely alum (which was exported) and most importantly silver, halted complete dependence and disintegration.

26 Miller, *Trebizond: The Last Greek Empire*, 26.

27 O. Retowski, *Die Münzen der Komnenen von Trapezunt* (Braunschweig, 1974), 17–23.

28 M. Balard, “Gênes et la Mer Noire (XIIIe-XVe siècles),” *RH* 547 (1983): 32–37.

29 Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane*, 107.

30 W. Hasluck, “Genoese Heraldry and Inscriptions at Amastra,” *BSA* 17 (1911): 132–44.

31 Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane*, 94.

32 *Génois de Péra et de Caffa*, 279–80.

33 S. Karpov, “Grecs et Latins à Trébizonde (XIIIe-XVe siècle). Collaboration économique, rapports politiques,” in *État et colonisation au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance* (Lyon, 1989), 413–24.

34 Zakythinos, *Le Chrysobulle*.

35 Pachymeres, *Relations*, 4:492–95.

36 Karpov, “Grecs,” 418.

37 Zakythinos, *Le Chrysobulle*, 26–28.

38 Balard, *Gênes et l’Outre-mer*, 226–27.

39 Karpov, “Grecs,” 421–22.

## Economic Activity

The Genoese notarial documents are much more informative on the content of trade than on the identities of the merchants and record two distinct types of agreements with some overlaps: 1) financial agreements such as *commenda* and loan contracts; 2) agreements between merchants and shipowners or between merchants concerning the transportation and selling of goods and slaves. Although, the greater majority of the evidence deals with trade and transportation, contracts, which were of a more financial nature are also well represented.

Italian financial expertise was extensively employed in these notarial documents and there are references to *societas* and *commenda* contracts. In the *societas* agreements, partners pooled their capital and labor and shared both risks and profits.<sup>40</sup> In such cases, the active party traveled to Trebizond, traded with the expectation of gain, then returned to the Crimea where the profits were shared between the partners. The contract between Obertus de Gavio and Obertus de Plebe stipulated that the first party should contribute 800 aspers and the second 1,200 aspers. With this sum Obertus de Gavio traded in Trebizond, returned to Caffa, and the profits were shared.<sup>41</sup> Lanfranco Cicada's compact with d'Accelino Cicada illustrates the *commenda* contract when they agreed on a sum of 19,670 aspers *baricats* for business to be conducted in Trebizond when a quarter of the profits would be retained by the investing party.<sup>42</sup> In such partnerships both parties agreed to share profits and losses, that the duration of the agreement was for one voyage only, and that the lender was not liable to third parties.<sup>43</sup> In earlier *commenda* contracts, the lender gave specific instructions concerning the destination of the voyage as well as the types of goods to be bought.<sup>44</sup> By the end of the thirteenth century, the *commenda* agreement allowed much more maneuverability for the traveling party when, for example, Thomas de Domoculta, the traveling party, received 3,000 aspers from Andreiolo de Bartholomeo to trade either in Sinope or in Trebizond.<sup>45</sup>

Other types of financial agreements were loans that were extended to merchants traveling to Trebizond, which were expected to be paid back once in Trebizond, and the sum returned to Caffa. The notary Obertus de Bartholomeo received such a loan of 7,240 aspers, which he would repay in Trebizond.<sup>46</sup> Yet other loans were extended in *baricats*, but expected to be repaid in Trapezuntine currency upon arrival. The difference among

the sums, 1,000 aspers *baricats* as loan and 625 aspers *commenats* in return, was made up by the difference in exchange rates.<sup>47</sup> Italian bankers had developed these refined financial tools in the late Middle Ages, which were widely found across Europe.<sup>48</sup> In addition to increasing the volume of trade with Trebizond, these financial tools were also adopted by Greek, Armenian, and Muslim merchants in the Black Sea region. The Greek Nicholas Notaras' investments in various funds illustrate that Italian financial culture was diffusive: he was "owner of 100 sommi in the loans of Caffa, and of 300 sommi in the group of creditors called the *compera locorum 24 noviter imposita*..."<sup>49</sup>

As for human trafficking, the Crimea was an extensive market for slaves who were Circassian, Bulgarian, Laz, Hungarian, Abkhaz, Rus etc. These slaves were invariably Muslim when their religion was recorded but this is not to say that Christian slaves were not traded. Since the contracts documenting the sale of slaves were drawn up between two parties, no city names were mentioned and one finds that not only Italians but also Muslims and Greeks bought and sold slaves.<sup>50</sup> However, we also know that Greeks from Trebizond were involved in this trade when they joined the Genoese in carrying slaves to the southern shores of the Black Sea with their ships in 1411.<sup>51</sup>

Importantly, Trebizond was both an import and an export market for goods, the majority of which appear to be bulk trade (salt, fish from the Kuban river, barley, flour, leather, French cloth, hemp, millet) and not trade in precious materials as evidenced in Genoese notarial documents. The trade in hemp, an industrial raw material used to produce rough cloth, may signify that Trebizond engaged in cloth production. The import of salt and fish were most frequent and the Grand Komnenoi bought an order of salt and an order of flour from Jacobus de S. Remulo in 1290.<sup>52</sup> In fact, Trebizond was dependent on the salt from the Crimea and Tana in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>53</sup> Trebizond also frequently imported grain and was a net importer of this crucial commodity.<sup>54</sup> In this list of imported items, pieces of cloth appear to be the only luxury items for which Trebizond was a market.<sup>55</sup>

Trebizond was the western terminus for the Silk Road and a prominent port for transit trade but Genoese notarial documents do not indicate that the Pontic city took part in the trade of precious commodities. Similarly, these documents do not fully reflect

40 R. Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950–1350* (Cambridge, 1976), 74.

41 Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-mer*, 129.

42 *Génois de Péra et de Caffa*, 188. There were multiple types of silver coins in circulation in the eastern Mediterranean at this time. The asper *baricat* was silver money issued in Caffa in the later 13th century and named after Berke Khan (1257–1267), the first Muslim ruler of the Golden Horde. M. Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XIIe-début du XVe siècle)*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1978), 2:659.

43 Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution*, 75–77.

44 Ibid.

45 *Génois de Péra et de Caffa*, 252–53.

46 Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-mer*, 100.

47 Ibid., 89.

48 Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution*, 103–5.

49 M. Balard, "The Greeks of Crimea under Genoese Rule in the XIVth and XVth Centuries," *DOP* 49 (1995): 30.

50 Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-mer*, 215. The Greek Michael Chidonios from Sinope sold a Circassian slave to Daniel de Curia.

51 Balard, "The Greeks," 29.

52 Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-mer*, 226–27.

53 A. Bryer, "The Estates of the Empire of Trebizond. Evidence for their Resources, Products, Agriculture, Ownership and Location," *Αρχαίον Πόντου* 35 (1979): 384 [repr. in Bryer, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos*, no. VII].

54 Ibid., 382.

55 *Génois de Péra et de Caffa*, 138.

the full range of export items except for alum and perhaps muslin.<sup>56</sup> One also does not come across wine and olive oil, both of which were famous Trapezuntine exports.<sup>57</sup> How are we to explain these discrepancies and what is their significance? For the greater part, the Genoese documents recorded the activities of merchants based in the Crimea and who exported to Trebizond. On the other hand, Trapezuntine notarial documents, which are no longer extant, would have been reflective of transit trade specifically and the activities of Trapezuntine merchants more generally. Importantly, these missing archives would have remedied lacunae found in the Genoese documents such as the relatively small number of Greek and Armenian merchants conducting business in Trebizond.

### The Merchants and Shipowners

We find reference to Greek merchants in an almanac for Trebizond for the year 1336 with astrological predictions:

For the common people and the bazaar merchants speed of transactions and profit, especially for those who sell merchandise coming from the sea...There will be increase in purchases with a great demand for wheat, barley, and other similar commodities with a rise in prices and a landing <of merchandise> and there will be a greater scarcity among the Turks, the Arabs...<sup>58</sup>

Acting as intermediaries between those engaging in long-distance trade and the local population, the “bazaar merchants” bought and sold merchandise, which was transported to Trebizond by Italian and Greek ships. Although the Genoese and Venetian documents have a pronounced bias in recording the activities of Italian merchants, they also mention Armenian, Greek, and Muslim merchants.

The shipowners, on the other hand, were invariably Italian in these documents. However, it is well known that the Empire of Trebizond possessed varying sizes of boats, and graffiti, which allow us to visualize Black Sea ships, are found on the walls of Hagia Sophia.<sup>59</sup> Panaretos referred to six different types of boats: *katergon*, *barka/balka/barkopoula*, *karabion*, *griparion*, *paraskalmion*, and *xylarion*.<sup>60</sup> In the chrysobull from 1432 the same term, *griparion*, was used to refer to fishing boats.<sup>61</sup> Importantly, the Genoese

56 For the export of alum: *Génois de Péra et de Caffa*, 88 and Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-mer*, 329–30. The muslin valued at 2683 aspers *baricats* was going to be sold at Tana and the profits relayed to Trebizond. May this be a clue that the muslin was originating from Trebizond? Perhaps not, as trade was international. Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-mer*, 352.

57 Bryer, “Estates,” 377–80.

58 Mercier, *An Almanac for Trebizond*, 149.

59 A. Bryer, “Shipping in the Empire of Trebizond,” *Mariner's Mirror. Journal of the Society of Nautical Research* 52 (1966): 9 [repr. in Bryer, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos*, no. VIII].

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.; V. Laurent, “Deux chrysobulles inédits des empereurs de Trébizonde Alexis IV-Jean IV et David II,” *Αρχαίον Πόντου* 18 (1953): 266.

had set fire to the naval arsenal of the empire in 1311, implying that Trebizond did in fact have warships.<sup>62</sup> In the unpublished Caffa documents, Karpov has found references to Greeks from Trebizond who owned ships in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries and these shipowners were active in other ports as well (Sinope, Caffa, Samastro, Pera etc.).<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, the story of the Genoese pirate Megollo Lercari and his humiliation of the Trebizond navy, which was allied with a fleet from Sinope in 1311, illustrate that Trebizond was no match for the Genoese but was not entirely without maritime power either.<sup>64</sup>

Greeks and other local agents, such as a certain Osman and his associate Ibrahim Saadedin, functioned within a thoroughly Italian cultural framework. When these Muslim merchants rented the Genoese galley S. Antonio to carry fish from the river Kuban to Trebizond, the contract commenced with the common formula: “In nomine Domini amen.”<sup>65</sup> Thus, the Armenian, Greek, and Muslim merchants were integrated into the Italian trade system as economic actors and also into an Italian-dictated civilizational discourse.

One comes across few Trapezuntine Greeks in these documents and the notary Lamberto di Sambuceto recorded only three merchants who were from Trebizond in the 903 documents he composed between 1289 and 1290.<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, the hometowns of the Armenian and Greek merchants, who conducted business in Trebizond, were usually not recorded. In the thirteenth century, the majority of the local population of Caffa was Greek but in later centuries, Armenians became the predominant ethnicity as they made up two-thirds of the population in the fifteenth century.<sup>67</sup> Since some merchants from other cities were recorded with the name of their hometown, it can be assumed that the Greeks and Armenians, who were recorded without a hometown, were from the Crimea. The signifier “Greek” or “Armenian” was used to distinguish these merchants, such as a Simoni Erminio or the Armenians Metar, Imgicho and Oliadi who sold salt in Trebizond.<sup>68</sup> A Greek merchant, Vaxilio of Trebizond, was recorded without a signifier<sup>69</sup> but two other merchants from Trebizond were referred to as “Greeks.” In conclusion, there was not an established and systematic method for recording the ethnicity and hometown of the involved parties, which makes it hard to pinpoint the exact makeup of the merchant class operating in Trebizond. The Genoese from Constantinople traded in the city with Syrians<sup>70</sup> and confirmed Bessarion's description of Trebizond as the marketplace of the world. The 1336 almanac captured Trebizond's geographical horizons, which extended from Egypt to Amida, from Tabriz to Constantinople to Rome. While political alliances

62 G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce Génois* (Paris, 1929), 176.

63 S. P. Karpov, *L'Impero di Trebisonda, Venezia, Genova e Roma: 1204–1461* (Rome, 1986), 48.

64 Ibid.

65 *Génois de Péra et de Caffa*, 283–84.

66 Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-Mer*, docs. 430, 406, 407.

67 Balard, “The Greeks.”

68 *Génois de Péra et de Caffa*, 228; Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-mer*, 233.

69 Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-mer*, 161.

70 *Génois de Péra et de Caffa*, 75.

with various different states certainly contributed to this geographical positioning, the wide-range of ethnicities one finds in Trebizond's market was an important factor as well.

The Empire of Trebizond presents peculiarities. While it was not an extensive land empire and did not have a sizeable population, it was nevertheless a vibrant artistic center and an active cosmopolitan market. The fragmented political geography of Asia Minor in this period leads one to speculate that the Empire of Trebizond was not a unique case. Others, such as the Emirates of Aydın, Menteşe, Karasi, Germiyan, and the Karamanids, were similarly incorporated into the prevalent world-trade system in the eastern Mediterranean. Links between cultural patterns and commerce will emerge more clearly after in-depth study of small state politics and economies in the late medieval eastern Mediterranean.

## **Trabzon İmparatoru III. Aleksios'un Khrysoboulloslarına Göre Venediklilerin Trabzon Ticareti Hakkında Gözlemler**

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### **ABSTRACT**

#### **Observations on the Trade of the Venetians with the Empire of Trebizond (on the basis of the *chrysoboulloi logoi* of Alexios III, the emperor of Trebizond)**

After the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204, Alexios and David Komnenos, who were the grandsons of the Byzantine emperor Andronikos I Komnenos (1183-1185), took Trebizond with the assistance of their aunt Tamar, queen of Georgia, and established the Empire of Trebizond. At the beginning, the Empire of Trebizond sought to dominate the Black Sea littoral and to expand towards the West. However, the empire had to abandon these plans as soon as the Empire of Nicaea established an effective barrier in Paphlagonia and the Seljuks stopped the advance of the Komnenoi. After the conquest of Sinope by the Seljuks in 1214, the Empire of Trebizond tried to maintain its political and economic entity headed by a local dynasty. The arrival of the Mongols in the Near East profoundly changed the political equilibrium in the region.

Subsequent to the Mongol invasion, the Empire of Trebizond declared allegiance to them. The primary political goal of the emperors of Trebizond during the thirteenth century was the reconquest of Sinope, which would open the way towards Constantinople. Alexios III, the emperor of Trebizond (his real name was John, but he later adopted the name of his older brother who died young, or his grandfather, in honor of him), ascended the throne in December 1349. His political program suggested a revival of the empire. He was brought up in the imperial palace in Constantinople. He maintained close friendship with the Byzantine emperor John VI Kantakouzenos. Alexios III's reign was remarkable for the major changes in the economic policy of the Empire of Trebizond. From the end of the thirteenth century, the emperors of Trebizond tried to improve the commercial relations with the Venetians. With this, they granted various

trade privileges to the merchants of the Serenissima. This paper will examine the *chrysoboulloi logoi* which Alexios III granted to the Republic of Venice, focusing on those articles of the *logoi* which were similar to, or were based on, the trade agreement between Trebizond and Venice at the end of the thirteenth century.

Trabzon İmparatorluğu, Ortaçağ kaynaklarında Pontus Denizi, Ermeniye Denizi, Hazar Denizi, Suğdak Denizi, Sinop Denizi, Rus Denizi, Lâzik Denizi, Bahr-ı Buntus, Gürcü Denizi, Büyük Deniz olarak geçen Karadeniz<sup>1</sup> ve bu denizle bağlantılı Azak Denizi'nden (Maeotis Gölü) İstanbul'a ulaşan deniz yolunu kontrol edebilecek jeo-stratejik bir coğrafyada ve bu konumu itibarıyla ticari açıdan kritik bir bölgede kurulmuştur.<sup>2</sup> İmparatorluğun merkezi Trabzon, Tebriz üzerinden Orta Asya'ya uzanan doğu-batı ticaret yolu üzerinde eskiçağlardan beri önemli bir durak yeri idi.<sup>3</sup> Ticari önemi sebebiyle on birinci yüzyıldan itibaren yükselişe geçen dinamik İtalyan deniz cumhuriyetleri, bölge ile çok yakından ilgilenmeye başlamış ve özellikle Deşt-i Kıpçak diye nitelendirilen güney Rus bozkır sahasından elde edilen tahıl, köle, cariyeye, kereste, kürk ve bal gibi arkaik dönemden beri revaçta olan ticari ürünler ve bu ürünlerden elde edilen kâr Latin tüccarların dikkatlerini cezbetmiştir.<sup>4</sup> Bu açıdan on birinci yüzyıldan itibaren İtalyan tüccarlar tıpkı Akdeniz ticaretinde olduğu gibi kârlı Karadeniz ticaretine dahil olmak amacıyla sürekli olarak birbirleriyle rekabet içerisine girmişlerdir.

Dördüncü Haçlı Seferi'ni takip eden on yılda Bizans kentlerinin Latinler tarafından işgal edilmesi, imparatorluğu çeşitli parçalara bölmüştür. Eski Bizans topraklarını ele geçiren Latinler, buralarda yaklaşık iki asır yeni siyasi yapılar kurarken, bu dönemde meydana gelen siyasi ve bölgesel gelişmeler, derin ekonomik değişimleri de beraberinde getirmiştir.<sup>5</sup> Bu anlamda Nisan 1204'te Trabzon'da kurulan devlet, Bizans dünyasının mali ve idari merkezi olan Konstantinopolis'ten oldukça bağımsız bir gelişme göstermiştir.<sup>6</sup>

1 O. Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye* (İstanbul, 1993), 359, dn. 55.

2 Karadeniz coğrafyası sadece sahillerde kurulmuş tarihi liman kentlerinden ibaret değildir. Karadeniz'e su taşıyan Tuna, Dinyeper, Dinyester, Don, Çoruh, Kızılırmak, Yeşilirmak, Sakarya nehirleri, kolları ve bu nehirlerin su havzaları Karadeniz dünyasının gerçek coğrafi boyutlarını göstermektedir.

3 Eskiçağ'da Doğu Karadeniz bölgesinin önemi için bkz. O. Emir, "Eskiçağ'da Doğu Karadeniz Bölgesi'nin Jeopolitik Önemi," *Karadeniz İncelemeleri Dergisi* 13 (2012): 9-26.

4 9. yüzyıldan 13. yüzyılın başlarına kadar uzanan dönemde, İslam dünyası ile Kuzeydoğu Avrupa arasındaki geniş hacimli ticaretin bir güzergâhı olarak Karadeniz'in önemine vurgu için bkz. A. C. S. Peacock, "Black Sea Trade and the Islamic World down to the Mongol Period," *The Black Sea: Past, Present and Future*, ed. G. Erkut ve S. Mitchell (Londra-İstanbul, 2007), 65-72. Özellikle Karadeniz'in kuzeyinde bir Kıpçak şehri olan, Müslüman ve Avrupalı tüccarların doğudaki en önemli ticaret merkezi haline gelen Suğdak şehrinin nüfusunun 13. yüzyılın başlarında 308.000 kişi olduğu yönünde kaynaklarda bilgiler vardır: bkz. Turan, *Selçuklular Zamanında Türkiye*, 360, dn. 56. Konstantinopolis ticaretinde olduğu gibi, 11. yüzyıla kadar Trabzon şehrinde de Müslüman, Ermeni, Yahudi ve Süryani tüccarlar daha çok görülürken, bu yüzyıldan itibaren Latin tüccarlar kent ticaretinde ağırlık kazanmıştır.

5 D. Jacoby, "Changing Economic Patterns in Latin Romania: The Impact of the West," *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. A. E. Laiou ve R. P. Mottahedeh (Washington, D.C., 2001), 197.

6 Bizans imparatoru I. Manuel'in giriştiği büyük çaplı askeri seferler ve bunların başarısızlıkla sonuçlanması, devletin ekonomik gücünü önemli ölçüde zayıflatmıştır. 1204 yılındaki Dördüncü Haçlı Seferi, Bizans

Aslına bakılırsa Bizans'ın çöküş döneminde, hakim olduğu coğrafyada uluslararası çapta büyük ekonomik faaliyetlerden söz etmek oldukça güçtür. Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun parçalanmış siyasi yapısıyla beraber, özellikle Dördüncü Haçlı Seferi'nden sonra birbirinden bağımsız ekonomik sistemlerin de ortaya çıktığı görülmektedir. Bu dönemde Trabzon, İznik, Epir gibi devletçiklerin birbirleriyle ekonomik ilişki içerisinde olduğu kesindir. Hatta söz konusu kentlerle beraber Selanik ve Cenova'nın Konstantinopolis'in ticaretini elinden aldığı da düşünülmektedir.<sup>7</sup> Fakat on birinci yüzyıldan itibaren Bizans'ın parçalanması ve siyasi gücünü kaybetmesiyle beraber Akdeniz dünyasında doğan boşluktan istifade eden Venedik, Pisa ve Cenova gibi denizci İtalyan devletlerinin Levant ticaretinde ağırlık kazanmaya başladığını görmekteyiz. Başta Venedik olmak üzere bu denizci devletler, Bizans İmparatorluğu'ndan ticari imtiyazlar elde etmeye başlamışlardır.

1204 öncesi Karadeniz ve Akdeniz iki ayrı ticari bölge oluşturmaktaydı. Bu bölgelerin her biri kısmen farklı malların temin edildiği coğrafyalardı ve kendine has denizcilik koşullarına, ticaret biçimlerine ve denizcilik ağlarına sahipti. Bu anlamda 1204 öncesi, hem Karadeniz hem de Akdeniz ticaretinde İtalyanların varlığını gösterecek belge sayısı oldukça sınırlı olmakla beraber, bu kesin bir hüküm değildir.<sup>8</sup> Dördüncü Haçlı Seferi öncesine ait belgeler muhtemelen başkentin yağmalanması esnasında yok edilmiştir.

Venedik, Dördüncü Haçlı Seferi öncesinde Bizans'tan en geniş imtiyazlar elde eden ilk İtalyan deniz gücüdür.<sup>9</sup> Dördüncü Haçlı Seferi'nden sonra doğuya doğru genişleme politikası çerçevesinde, 1207 yılında Girit'i fethederek, Güney Messenia'daki iki liman olan Koron ve Modon'u işgal etmiş, kendi merkezi imparatorluğunun kuruluşunun temellerini atmıştır. Daha sonra Negroponte adasında Venedikliler ticari faaliyetlerini yürütebilecekleri bir mahalle elde etmişlerdir. Venediklilerin eski Roma arazisindeki genişlemesinin ikinci aşaması, Korfu, Negroponte adaları, Mora Yarımadası, Ege ve Karadeniz üzerinde hakimiyetini genişletmesiyle beraber 1380'li ve 1390'lı yıllarda meydana gelmiştir.<sup>10</sup>

Palaiologoslar döneminde imparatorluğun dış ticareti konusunda, Dördüncü Haçlı Seferinin ardından bölgedeki İtalyanların Bizans ekonomisine büyük zararlar verdikleri ve bütün ticari faaliyetleri ele geçirdikleri hususu artık çok kabul gören bir görüş değildir.<sup>11</sup>

imparatorlarının Venedik'in ticaretini sınırlaması sonucu meydana gelmiştir.

7 P. Magdalino, "Theodoros Metokhites, Khora ve Konstantinopolis," *Kariye Camii, Yeniden*, ed. H. A. Klein, R. G. Ousterhout ve B. Pitarakis (İstanbul, 2011), 162.

8 D. Jacoby, "Byzantium, the Italian Maritime Powers, and the Black Sea before 1204," *BZ* 100 (2007): 687.

9 Bizans İmparatorluğu'ndan İtalyan şehir devletlerine ilk ticari imtiyazların Venediklilere 1082 yılında verildiği kabul edilmesine rağmen, bu imtiyazların tarihlendirilmesi ile ilgili tartışmalar henüz bitmiş değildir: bkz. Jacoby, "Byzantium, the Italian Maritime Powers, and the Black Sea," 684, dn. 36. Cenovalılar ise üç İtalyan deniz cumhuriyeti içerisinde Bizans İmparatorluğu'ndan ticari ve mali imtiyazlar elde eden son millettir. Bizans imparatoru I. Manuel Komnenos tarafından 1155 yılında verilen bu imtiyazlar sayesinde, Cenovalılar yeri tam olarak tespit edilememiş Rhosia ve Matracha bölgeleri hariç olmak üzere Bizans topraklarında serbestçe ticaret yapma hakkı elde etmiştir: bkz. age., 677.

10 Jacoby, "Changing Economic Patterns," 197.

11 12. yüzyılda Bizans ekonomisi, İtalyanlara verilen ayrıcalıklara rağmen, büyük oranda tarıma ve tarımla birlikte birbirini besleyen kent ekonomisine dayanmaktaydı. Bu anlamda Bizans ekonomisi 12. yüzyılda

Bunun yerine Bizanslı tüccarların da, İtalyanlar kadar olmasa bile, Akdeniz ve Karadeniz ticaretinde rol oynamaya devam ettikleri artık kabul edilmektedir.<sup>12</sup> On üçüncü yüzyılın ortalarında (1253–1255) Karadeniz bölgesi hakkındaki gözlemlerinde Ruysbroeckli Willem Konstantinopolisli tüccarların Kırım'da ticaret yaptıklarını gözlemlemiştir:

Konstantinopolis'ten gelen tüccarlar Karadeniz'le Azak Denizi'nin birleřtiđi noktanın dođu yakasında bulunan Matrica (Matracha) şehrinde karaya çıkar ve çok miktarda mersin, tirsi, yayın ve diđer kuru-tulmuş balıklardan almak üzere, teknelerini Tanais (Don) Irmađı'na kadar gönderirler.<sup>13</sup>

Bizans İmparatorluğu açısından Karadeniz'in kuzeyinde gerek Bizanslı tüccarların faaliyetleri, gerekse imtiyazlar verilmek suretiyle İtalyan tüccarların Bizans coğrafyasına çekilmek istenmesindeki asıl gaye başkent Konstantinopolis'in ihtiyaçlarının temin edilmesiydi.

Trabzon İmparatorluğu'nun kurulduđu on üçüncü yüzyılın başlarında bütün Karadeniz ticaretinin varış noktası Konstantinopolis olmakla beraber,<sup>14</sup> Karadeniz etrafındaki limanlar ve şehirler, on birinci yüzyıldan itibaren İskenderiye gibi liman şehirlerinin ön plana çıkmasıyla birlikte, bu dönemde çok önemli cazibe merkezleri değildi. Çünkü batı ile dođu arasındaki asıl ticari yol Bağdat, Suriye-Filistin ve Mısır limanlarını takip etmekteydi.<sup>15</sup> Fakat 1291 yılında son Haçlı kalesi Akka'nın Memlükler tarafından fethedilmesinden sonra, Yakın Dođu ticaret yollarının güzergâhı da önemli bir deđişikliğe uğramış ve bu tarihten itibaren Karadeniz ticaret yolunun önemi daha da artmaya başlamıştır. Venedikliler Mısır tarafında kaybettikleri boşluğu bir dereceye kadar seyahatlerini Ayas, Trabzon veya Tana (Azak) istikametlerinde artırmak suretiyle doldurabilirlerdi. Marino Sanudo Torsello, İtalyan tüccarların yeni duruma kendilerini nasıl adapte ettiklerini řu şekilde ifade etmektedir:

Eđer tacirler ticaretleri sırasında engel veya zorlukla karşılaşacak olursa, özellikle deniz yolunda, kendilerine kazanç sağlayacak bir yolu aramada onlara hiçbir engel olamaz.<sup>16</sup>

hâlâ hakiki büyük bir güç olarak kabul edilmektedir: bkz. N. Oikonomides, "The Role of the Byzantine State in the Economy," *EHB* 3:1057.

12 N. Necipođlu, "Geç Bizans Döneminde İmparatorluk ve İmparatorluk İdeolojisi: Gelenek, Dönüşüm ve Yenilik," *Kariye Camii, Yeniden*, ed. Klein, Ousterhout ve Pitarakis, 273.

13 Ruysbroeckli Willem, *Mengü Han'ın Sarayına Yolculuk, 1253–1255*, ed. P. Jackson ve D. Morgan, çev. Z. Kılıç (İstanbul, 2010), 80.

14 D. Jacoby, "The Economy of Latin Constantinople, 1204–1261," *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences*, ed. A. E. Laiou (Paris, 2005), 195–214; D. Jacoby, "Les Latins dans les villes de Roumanie jusqu'en 1261: le versant méditerranéen des Balkans," *Byzance et le monde extérieur: Contacts, relations, échanges*, ed. M. Balard, E. Malamut ve J.-M. Spieser (Paris, 2005), 13–26.

15 Bu konuda geniş bilgi için bkz. S. P. Karpov, *İtalyanskije morskie respubliki i Ujuno Priçernomore* (Moskova, 1990), 63–64.

16 A. H. Lybyer, "Osmanlı Türkleri ve Dođu Ticaret Yolları," çev. N. Ülker, *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 3 (1987): 142–43. Marino Sanudo Torsello'nun *Secreta* adlı eserinin İngilizce tercümesi için bkz. Marino Sanudo Torsello, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross, Liber Secretorum Fidelum Crucis*, çev. P. Lock (Londra, 2011).

İskenderiye'de 1322 ve 1323 senelerinde bir Venedik ticaret kolonisi ile konsolosluk görülmüştür. Venedikli tüccarlar daha kötü şartlar altında olsa bile, şüphe yok ki, Levant ile doğrudan yaptıkları ticari faaliyetlerini devam ettiriyorlar ve mallarını Kıbrıs, Girit veyahut Küçük Ermenistan aracılığı ile daima batıya taşıyorlardı.<sup>17</sup>

Uluslararası ticaret ve bu ticaretten elde edilen kârlı vergi kazançları, Trabzon İmparatorluğu'nun kuruluşundan önce olduđu gibi Dördüncü Haçlı Seferinden sonra da, tarım yapmaya cođrafı koşulların müsaade etmediđi Trabzon kenti için büyük bir önem taşıyordu. İmparatorluğun ekonomisi, tipik bir Ortaçađ Yakın Dođu devletinde olduđu gibi, tarım ve ticaretten aldığı vergilere dayanması sebebiyle imparatorların Karadeniz ve hinterlandı ile olan ticaret yollarını kontrol etme ve denetleme arzusu imparatorluğun dış siyasetini de şekillendirmiştir.

On üçüncü yüzyılın sonlarından on dördüncü yüzyılın başlarına kadar, Ortaçađ Avrupası'nın ticari gelişimi zirveye ulaşmışsa da, yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren Batı Avrupa'nın ekonomik durumunda belirgin bir durgunluk yaşandıđı gözlenmektedir. Ortaçađ ticaret tarihi uzmanları bu patlamadan sonra yaşanan durgunluk dönemine geçiři iki sebeple izah etmeye çalışmışlardır: İlk olarak, İran, Türkistan ve Çin'de Mođol hakimiyetinin çökmesiyle, Akdeniz'e ya da Karadeniz'e sınırı olmayan Uzak Asya ülkeleri ile Avrupa arasındaki doğrudan ticari ilişkiler sona ermiştir. 1345 yılından sonra Avrupalı tüccarlar Uzak Asya'dan gelecek mallarının temini hususunda genelde Mısırlı ve Suriyeli Müslüman araçlara güvenmek zorunda kalmışlardır. İkinci olarak ise, 1347–1350 yıllarında baş gösteren veba salgını, Avrupa nüfusunun en az üçte birini yok etmiştir. 1350 ile 1360 arasında bir kez daha tekrar eden salgın, nüfus artışı engellemiştir. Böylece yaklaşık aynı zamanda Avrupalı tüccarlar, Uzak Asya topraklarına gitmekten imtina ederek kendi daralan iç pazarlarıyla yetinmek zorunda kalmışlardır.<sup>18</sup>

Venedik'in Trabzon İmparatorluğu'nun ticari hayatına dahil olmasında en belirleyici unsur, bu dönemde çeşitli ekonomik gelişmeler neticesinde Batı Avrupa'da yükselişe geçen şehir ve köylerin nüfusunun büyümesiyle birlikte özellikle tahıl ürünlerine ve tekstil endüstrisinin hammadelerine olan ihtiyacın artmasıdır. Venedikliler Batı Avrupa'da artan talebi karşılayabilmek için yeni alanlara yönelerek, ekonomik sistemlerdeki deđişimlerden yararlanıp büyük ticari kâr elde etmek istemişlerdir. Ayrıca Venediklilerin bölgeye gelişini ve Trabzon'un ticaretine dahil olmalarını sadece kâr elde etme kaygıları ile deđil, Cenovalılarla olan rekabetleriyle birlikte düşünmek gerekir. Buna ilaveten Trabzon kentinde bir ticari üs elde edebilmek Venedikliler'in doğuya açılmaları açısından son derece mühim bir husustu.

Meselenin bir diđer yönü ise, Batı Avrupa'nın artan talebini karşılamak amacıyla Venedikli tüccarların Trabzon İmparatorluğu topraklarına yönelmesi ve Büyük Komnenos imparatoru III. Aleksios'un Akdeniz'in önemli ticari gücü Venediklilere *khrysoboulloslar*<sup>19</sup>

17 W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen Âge*, c. 2 (Leipzig, 1886), 100–7, 361–62.

18 R. S. Lopez, "The Trade of Medieval Europe: The South," *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, c. 2, ed. M. Postan ve E. E. Rich (Cambridge, 1952), 338.

19 Aynı geleneklere sahip Bizans ve Trabzon imparatorluklarının yabancı devletlere, dini kuruluşlara,

vererek bu yeni konjonktürden istifade etmek istemiş olmasıdır. Yaklaşık kırk yıl gibi bir hükümlanlık sürerek Trabzon İmparatorluğu'nun en uzun süre tahtta kalan imparatoru olan III. Aleksios (1349–1390), Batı Avrupa ve Asya arasında değişmeye başlayan ekonomik dengelerden istifade ederek Trabzon'daki ticari hayatı canlandırmaya çalışmıştır. İmparatorun Venediklilere verdiği *khrysoboullos*lar ile başkent Trabzon, doğu-batı arasında cereyan eden ticari trafikten elde edilen vergi gelirleri sayesinde zenginliğe kavuşmuştur. Kentin gelirinin artması ile beraber, imparator kendisine karşı ciddi bir muhalefetin oluşmasını engellediği gibi, tahtta uzun süre kalmayı da başarmıştır. Diğer taraftan imparator III. Aleksios'un bu ticari imtiyazları vermesi, özellikle 1330'lu yıllardan itibaren imparatorluğun güneyinden sürekli olarak Trabzon'a karşı sefer düzenleyen Türkmenlerin, Trabzon İmparatorluğu'nun önemli vergi kaynağı olan arazilerini yağmalaması ile ilgili görülmektedir. Panaretos'un kaydettiğine göre, 1340 ile 1343 yılları arasında Akkoyunlu Türkmenleri Trabzon üzerine dört sefer gerçekleştirmişlerdir.<sup>20</sup> III. Aleksios'un imparator olmasından önceki zaman dilimine rastlayan bu dönem boyunca Trabzon'un güneyinde yer alan Maçka vadi boylarına yoğun bir Türkmen nüfusun geldiğine şahit oluyoruz. Bu yeni dinamik nüfus, bölgenin sınırlı tarım alanlarını ele geçirdiği gibi, Akkoyunlular zaman zaman Trabzon şehrinin surlarına kadar akınlar düzenlemiştir. Bütün bu gelişmeler neticesinde imparatorluğun tarıma dayalı vergi gelirlerinde önemli oranda azalma olduğuna şüphe yoktur. Daha önce de bahsettiğimiz gibi imparatorluğun en önemli gelir kaynağı tarım alanlarından alınan vergilere dayanırken yeni ortaya çıkan durum neticesinde III. Aleksios, imparatorluğun sınırlı arazilerden elde ettiği vergilerin de azalmasını ticaret ile dengelemeye çalışmış ve Cenova'nın bölgede tekelleştirme tehlikesine karşı iki devlet arasındaki rekabetten istifade etmek istemiştir.

Trabzon İmparatorluğu'nun yerli kaynaklarında<sup>21</sup> Venedik ile Trabzon arasında başlayan ticari münasebetler hususunda oldukça az bilgi kırıntıları bulunması sebebiyle<sup>22</sup> bu hususta daha çok İtalyan kaynaklarına güvenmek zorundayız.<sup>23</sup> Bugün elimizde 1082 yılı öncesine ait olan ve üzerinde Bizans imparatorunun imzası ile altın mührünü taşıyan

manastırlara, hatta imparatorluğun bazı yüksek memurlarına, daha ziyade bir takım imtiyazlar ihvan etmek üzere yazdıkları emirnamelelere, Yunancada "altın mührülü" anlamına gelen *khrysoboullos* adı verilir. Resmi ve hukuki bir vesika mahiyetinde olan bu emirnameleler, imparatorun altın mührü ile mührüldendiği için bu adı almışlardır.

20 1341 Ağustos'unda düzenlenen sefer Anthony Bryer tarafından atlanmıştır: bkz. A. Bryer, "Greeks and Türkmens: The Pontic Exception," *DOP* 29 (1975): 144.

21 Georgios Pakhymeres, Ioannes Kantakouzenos ve Nikephoros Gregoras gibi 14. yüzyıl Bizans tarihçilerindeki İtalya ve İtalyanların imajı için bkz. A. E. Laiou, "Italy and the Italians in the Political Geography of the Byzantines (14th Century)," *DOP* 49 (1995): 73. Fakat bahsettiğimiz bu üç kaynakta Cenova ve Venediklilerin Karadeniz ticareti ve Karadeniz algısı henüz çalışılmamıştır.

22 Venediklilerin başkent Konstantinopolis'teki ticari ayrıcalıkları üzerine birçok araştırma yapılmıştır. Bu konuda en belli başlı iki makale için bkz. D. Jacoby, "The Venetian Presence in the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261): The Challenge of Feudalism and the Byzantine Inheritance," *JÖB* 43 (1993): 168 [=ay., *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2001), no. VI]; J. Chrysostomides, "Venetian Commercial Privileges under the Palaeologi," *StVen* 12 (1970): 267–356.

23 Dördüncü Haçlı Seferi'nden sonra kaleme alınan Bizans kaynaklarında Anadolu'nun ekonomik tarihi hakkında oldukça sınırlı bilgi bulunmaktadır. Akropolites, Pakhymeres, Gregoras, Doukas, Kantakouzenos ve Khalkokondyles gibi son dönem Bizans tarih yazarları eserlerinde dönemin ekonomik faaliyetlerinden daha ziyade Bizans'ın iç ve dış siyasi olaylarına ağırlık vermişlerdir: bkz. K. Fleet, *Erken Osmanlı Döneminde Türk-Ceneviz Ticareti*, çev. Ö. Akpınar (İstanbul, 2009), 3.

tek bir *khrysoboullos* bulunmamaktadır. Ayrıca 1204 öncesi Konstantinopolis'te yazılan imtiyaz belgelerinden çok azı başkentten yaşadığı büyük felaketler sebebiyle günümüze ulaşabilmiştir. On birinci yüzyıldan sonrasına ait olanlar ise Vatikan arşivlerinde saklıdır. Neyse ki Trabzon İmparatorluğu'na ait birkaç belge günümüze ulaşabilmiştir. Bu açıdan Trabzon imparatoru III. Aleksios'un *khrysoboullos*larının muhafaza edilmiş olması ayrı bir öneme sahiptir. Bu belgeler Trabzon İmparatorluğu'nun ekonomik tarihi hakkında bilgi verdiği kadar, on dördüncü yüzyıl Levant ve bununla doğrudan bağlantılı Karadeniz ticaretini tespit etmemizde büyük öneme sahiptirler. Bu açıdan Venedikli tüccarlara sağlanan ticari imtiyazların yazılı olduğu *khrysoboullos*lar büyük önem kazanmaktadır. Aslında Trabzon imparatorlarından günümüze ulaşan *khrysoboullos*lar biraz da Karadeniz üzerinde yaşanan Venedik-Cenova rekabetinin ürünüdür. Özellikle 1261 yılında Konstantinopolis'in imparator VIII. Mikhael Palaiologos tarafından ele geçirilerek Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun başkenti olarak tekrar ihya edilmesinden sonra, Trabzon kenti vasıtasıyla gerçekleşen kârlı ticaret rekabeti ve bu iki unsuru birbirine karşı kullanmak isteyen II. Aleksios ve III. Aleksios İtalyanlara ticari imtiyazlar vermiştir.

**Tablo:**<sup>24</sup> Trabzon İmparatorlarının Venediklilere Verdiği İmtiyazlar:

Tarih	İmparator	Elçi	Dil	Arşiv
Temmuz 1319	II. Aleksios	Pantaleone Michiel	Latince	A.S.V., <i>Liber Pactorum</i> 4, ff. 156v-157r A.S.V., <i>Liber albus</i> , ff. 246v-248v <sup>1</sup>
Mart 1364	III. Aleksios	Guglielmo Michiel	Yunanca	Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, B.III.23 (Gr.B.75), ff. 20r-24v <sup>2</sup>
Eylül 1367	III. Aleksios	Andrea Querini	Veneto	A.S.V., <i>Commemoriali</i> 7, ff. 124v-125r <sup>3</sup>
Nisan 1376	III. Aleksios	Marco Giustinian	Veneto	A.S.V., <i>Commemoriali</i> 8, f. 191v <sup>4</sup>
1396	III. Manuel	Giacomo Gussoni	Veneto	A.S.V., <i>Commemoriali</i> 9, f. 16r <sup>5</sup>

#### **Khrysoboullosların Başlıca Edisyonları:**

1. *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum sive acta et diplomata res venetas graecas atque Levantis illustrantia*, ed. G. M. Thomas ve R. Predelli, 2 cilt (Venedik, 1880–1899), 1:122–24, no. 71 [bundan sonra DVL].
2. DVL 2:101–4; D. A. Zakythinos, *Le chrysobulle d'Alexis III Comnène, empereur de Trébizonde en faveur des Vénitiens* (Paris, 1932), 5–7 [Bkz. Ek I].
3. DVL 2:126–29 [Bkz. Ek II].
4. DVL 2:229–30.
5. DVL 2:250–51.

On dördüncü yüzyılda Venediklilerin Trabzon'daki faaliyetlerini 1319–1348 arası, 1364–1376 arası, 1381–1385 arası ve 1396 sonrası olmak üzere belli başlı dört zaman dilimine

24 Bu tablo, A. Tzavara, "I trattati commerciali tra Venezia e l'impero di Trebisonda (1319–1396)," *Thesaurismata* 41–42 (2011–2012): 42'den alınmıştır. Bu makaleden bizi haberdar eden Prof. Dr. David Jacoby'ye ve makaleyi tarafımıza gönderen Angeliki Tzavara'ya teşekkür ederiz.



ayırarak mümkündür. 1319–1348 yılları Karadeniz’de Venedik ticaretinin gelişme devri idi. Trabzon İmparatorluğu ve Trabzon kentinin doğusundaki topraklarda ticaret yapabilmek için Venedikliler’in bu kentte bir temsilcilerinin bulunması büyük öneme sahipti. Trabzon imparatorlarının verdiği *khrysoboullos*larda en dikkat çeken de Büyük Komnenos arazisinde “Latinlerin” yerleşme maddesidir.

Venediklilerin Trabzon’da ne zamandan itibaren ticari faaliyetler yürütmeye başladığına ilişkin soruya cevap bulmak isteyen arařtırmacılar ilk olarak bütün dikkatlerini 1319 yılı *khrysoboullos*una yöneltmişlerdir. Bu konu hakkında ilk eserleri kaleme alan Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer ve Wilhelm Heyd, Venediklilerin Trabzon’a Cenovalılardan sonra yerleřtiklerini kesin olarak kabul etmişlerdir.<sup>25</sup> Hâlbuki Heyd Trabzon imparatorları tarafından Venediklilere verilmiş olduğunu bildiğimiz en eski *khrysoboullos*un 1319 tarihli olduğunu düşünmektedir. 1319 senesinde Trabzon imparatoru II. Aleksios tarafından Venedik elçisi Pantaleone Michiel’e verilen bu fermanın yeni bir durumun esaslarını kurmak gibi hususi bir mahiyeti de vardır.<sup>26</sup> İmparatorun Venediklilere, vaktiyle Cenovalılara da yaptığı gibi, Trabzon’da gemileri için bir liman kurmaları (*scalam facere*) müsaadesini verdiği ve yine ilk defa onlara bir han, bir kilise ve oturacak evler yapmak için arazi tahsis ettiği ve son olarak *Romania balyos*larının istifade ettikleri yetkileri kullanmak üzere “balyos” unvanlı bir yönetici bulundurmalarına müsaade ettiği bu *khrysoboullos*ta açıkça görülmektedir. Meseleye bir başka açıdan bakacak olursak, Cenovalıların neden Venediklilerden daha önce Trabzon ve çevresinde ticari faaliyetlere başlamış olduğu sorusunu sorabiliriz. Bunun belli iki sebebi vardır. İlki Cenovalıların kışın zor şartlarında dahi gemileriyle Karadeniz’de seyrü sefer yapabilmeleridir. İkincisi ise Cenovalıların Trabzon imparatorlarından *khrysoboullos* almalarının Venediklilere nazaran daha önceye gitmesidir.

M. M. Kovalevski ise daha on ikinci yüzyılda İtalyanların Karadeniz bölgesine geldiklerini iddia etmektedir.<sup>27</sup> Trabzon’da Venediklilerin özel “balyos” oluşturması, Latin İmparatorluğu’nun Konstantinopolis’te hakimiyetinin son bulduğu 1261 yılından sonra Cenovalıların konumunun güçlenmesi ile ilgili gözükmektedir. Yeni yollar, denizler ile ticaret muntıkalarını arıyordu. Bu balyosluğun Tana’da konsolosluğun oluşturulmasından bir süre önce meydana gelmesi, ticaretin Azak Denizi’ne doğru yönelmesi ile bağlantılıydı.<sup>28</sup>

25 J. P. Fallmerayer, *Trabzon İmparatorluğunun Tarihi*, çev. A. C. Eren, ed. C. Yavuz, İ. Hacifettahoğlu ve İ. Telliöğlü (Ankara, 2011), 151–52; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, 2:100–1. Heyd Venedik ile Trabzon arasında yapılan ilk ticaret antlaşmasının 1303 ya da 1306 yılında değil, 1319 yılında olduğunu ispat etmeye çalışmıştır. G. B. Depping, *Histoire du commerce entre le Levant et l’Europe depuis les Croisades jusqu’à la fondation des colonies d’Amérique*, c. 2 (New York, 1970), 89–91; E. Primaudaie, *Études sur le commerce du moyen âge: Histoire du commerce de la Mer Noire et des colonies génoises de la Crimée* (Paris, 1848), 167; G. B. Dal Lago, *Sulle relazioni della Repubblica di Venezia coll’Oriente* (Feltre, 1872), 66.

26 Bu ferman G. Canestrini’nin *Discorso sulle relazioni commerciali dei Veneziani con l’Armenia e con Trebizonda* adlı eserinin ekinde (*Arch. stor. Ital.*, zeyil, 9:374–78); *Coll. des doc. inéd.*; *Mel. hist.* (1880–3:83 vd.’da; ve nihayet DVL 1:122vd.’da yayımlanmıştır.

27 M. M. Kovalevski, “Kranney İstorii Azova, Venetsianskaya Qenuzziskaya Kolonii v Tane v XIV veke,” *Trudi XII Arheoloqişeskoqo siezda v harkove* 2 (1905): 115; N. P. Sokolova, *Obrazovanie Venetsianskoy Kolonialnoy İmperii* (Saratov, 1963), 115–16.

28 Kovalevski, “Kranney İstorii,” 116–17.

N. Iorga, Venediklilerin Trabzon ile münasebetlerinin 1300 yılından önce başlamış olduğunu düşünmektedir.<sup>29</sup> D. Zakythinos bu düşüncenin doğruluğu için yeteri kadar delil olmadığını kaydederek tarihi on üçüncü yüzyılın son çeyreği ile başlatır. Ancak burada şöyle bir soru ortaya çıkmaktadır: Venedikliler ticari faaliyetleri için oldukça elverişli olan bu coğrafyaya daha önce neden gelip yerleşmemişlerdi? Bu soru Zakythinos tarafından açık şekilde ortaya konmuş ve cevap olarak Cenovalıların Karadeniz bölgesindeki ticari faaliyetlerinin Venediklilerin bu bölgeye yerleşmesine engel olduğu düşünülmüştür.<sup>30</sup> Sadece G. Caro ve daha sonra G. Brătianu Venediklilerin Trabzon’da 1319 yılında değil, 1291 yılında yerleřtiklerini gösteren belgelere ilk defa dikkat çekerler.<sup>31</sup> Bundan başka bazı arařtırmacılar Bizans imparatorlarının Cenovalılara verdikleri *khrysoboullos*ları inceleyerek Azak Denizi’ne girmek şartıyla İtalyanlara Karadeniz’de gemi seferine izin verildiğini ispat etmeye çalışmışlardır.<sup>32</sup> Ayrıca Cenovalıların Karadeniz’de on üçüncü yüzyıldan önce yerleşmiş olduklarına dair elimizde herhangi bir belge yoktur.<sup>33</sup> Ancak on üçüncü yüzyıldan itibaren Moğolların 1240’ta Karadeniz’in kuzey kıyıları ile uçsuz bucaksız Rus bozkırları üzerinde egemenlik kurması neticesinde, doğu ticaretinden kazanılan büyük kâr sebebiyle, Cenovalı tüccarlar Karadeniz ve hinterlandına doğru yönelmişlerdir. Genel olarak İtalyan tüccarlar açısından, Moğol İmparatorluğu’nun güçlü olduğu 1240 ile 1340 yılları arasındaki yüzyılda, Çin’e kadar giden ticaret yolunu kullanmak pratik ve kolaydı.

29 N. Iorga, “La politique vénetienne dans les eaux de la Mer Noire,” *Bulletin de la Section Historique de l’Academie Roumaine* 2 (1914), 299.

30 Zakythinos, *Le chryso bulle d’Alexis III Comnène*, 5–7.

31 G. Caro, “Genua und die Mächte am Mittelmeer 1257–1311,” *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Halle, 1899), 179; G. Caro, *Genova e la supremazia sul Mediterraneo (1257–1331)*, c. 2 (Cenovalı, 1975), 175, dn. 32; G. I. Brătianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1929), 174–75, 182–83. Brătianu ilk defa belgeleri şerh etmiş ve sehven bunların 1285 yılına ait olduğunu belirtmiştir. Aslında bu belgenin tarihi 23.11.1293’tür. Bizim için asıl kısım 1291 yılına ait olaylardan söz etmektedir. P. Lisciandrelli, *Trattati e negoziazioni politiche della Repubblica di Genova (958–1797) Regesti* (Cenovalı, 1960), no. 466; M. Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XIIe–début du XVe siècle)*, 2 cilt (Roma ve Cenovalı, 1978), 1:134, dn. 36; R. Cessi, “La tregua fra Venezia e Genova nella seconda metà del sec. XIII,” *Archivio Veneto-Tridentino* 4 (1923): app. 16, 55. Brătianu’nun tespit ettiği tarih, arařtırmacıların tamamı tarafından kabul edilmemiştir. Hatta 1969 yılında Janssens, Venediklilerin Trabzon’un ekonomik hayatında ortaya çıkışlarını 14. yüzyılın öncesine tarihlendirir: bkz. E. Janssens, *Trebizonde en Colchide* (Brüksel, 1969), 96.

32 M. Nystazopoulou-Pélékidis, “Venise et la mer Noire du XIe au XVe siècle,” *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, ed. A. Pertusi (Floransa, 1973), 19–21; M. Martin, “The First Venetians in the Black Sea,” *Arkheion Pontou* 35 (1979): 111–22; M. Martin, “The Venetians in the Byzantine Empire before 1204,” *ByzF* 13 (1988): 201–14.

33 Cenovalıların Karadeniz bölgesindeki hakimiyetinin başlangıcı, 14. yüzyılın başlarında eserini kaleme alan Pakhymeres tarafından, kısmen Cenovalıların imparatorluk ayrıcalıkları ve kısmen de kışın bile seyrü sefer etmeleri gerçeğine dayandırılmıştır. Pakhymeres, *kommerkion*’dan (gümrük vergisi) kurtulmak isteyen Cenovalılar ile Trabzon imparatoru III. Aleksios arasında daha sonra yaşanacak problemlerin kökenlerine dair bilgiler vermektedir. Buna karşın Pakhymeres, Cenovalı ve Venedik’in iç politikalarıyla ilgilenmemesine rağmen genel anlamda Karadeniz bölgesi ile yakından meşgul olmuş ve aynı zamanda çok iyi bilgi sahibidir. 14. yüzyılın ortalarından itibaren Akdeniz’de İtalya ve İtalyan kolonileri merkezi bir rol oynamışlardır. 14. yüzyılın en önemli kaynakları olan Pakhymeres, Kantakouzenos ve Gregoras’taki İtalya ve İtalyan kavramları hakkında bkz. *Georgii Pachymeris de Michaelae et Andronico Palaeologis*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 cilt (Bonn, 1835), 2:448–50; Laiou, “Italy and Italians in the Political Geography of the Byzantines,” 79.

Hülâgü'nün 1258 yılında Bağdat'ı yağmalaması ve 1291 yılında son Haçlı kalesinin Memlükler tarafından alınması üzerine, Trabzon imparatorları Yakın Doğu ticaret yollarının eksen değiştirmesinden istifade etmek için Karadeniz üzerinden geçmekte olan doğu-batı ticaretine büyük önem vermişler ve bu vasıta ile Tebriz kervan ticaretini korumaya, geliştirmeye ve bunun için gerekli olan şartları oluşturmaya çalışmışlardır. On dördüncü asrın başına kadar Hint ürünlerinin batıya doğru taşınması imtiyazını Bağdad ile Tebriz aralarında paylaştılar; fakat daha sonraları Tebriz bu ticareti gitgide kendine çekerek Bağdat ile Basra'yı tamamen ikinci plana itti.<sup>34</sup> Bu yeni Trabzon-Tebriz güzergâhı, İtalyan kent devletleri ile İran ve Uzak Doğu'yu birbirine bağlıyordu.<sup>35</sup> Fakat yaşanan bu gelişmelerin önemi Trabzon İmparatorluğu'nda II. Ioannes zamanından önce (1280-1297) fark edilmedi.<sup>36</sup> Her ne kadar güvenlik ve istikrar tam anlamıyla sağlanamamış olsa da, Venedikli ve Cenovalı tacirler özellikle 1320'li yıllardan 1335 yılında İlhanlı Devleti'nin sona ermesine kadar Trabzon İmparatorluğu'nun yardımı ile Trabzon üzerinden Tebriz'e doğru uzanan ticari faaliyetlerini genişletmeye gayret etmişlerdir. Bu şekilde Trabzon hazinesi gittikçe güçlenen iktisadî bağlardan büyük gelirler elde etmiştir. Cyril Mango Bizans imparatorlarının on birinci yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren (1082 ya da 1092 yılında) Konstantinopolis ile Adriyatik'ten Suriye kıyılarına dek uzanan otuz iki kentte Venediklilere tüm vergilerden tam bir muafiyet ile ticari ayrıcalıklar vermesini, imparatorluğun ekonomik geleceğini felç eden bir hadise olarak görmüştür.<sup>37</sup> On dördüncü yüzyılda Trabzon ve Tebriz'de yürürlükte olan paraların değer bakımından bir birine denk olduğunu Pegolotti'nin ticaret el kitabından ve Cenova arşiv belgelerinden bilmekteyiz.<sup>38</sup>

Venedik Cumhuriyeti'nin Karadeniz civarında on üçüncü yüzyılın son çeyreğinden itibaren ticari ve ekonomik ilgilerini sürdürdükleri ve 1319 yılından sonra Trabzon'da daimi bir koloni ya da müessese tesis ettikleri bilinen bir durumdur. 1348-1364 yılları arasındaki ticari ilişkilerin beklenmedik bir şekilde kesintiye uğramasından ve *fondacolarının* ortadan kalkmasından sonra Venedikliler III. Aleksios'tan 1364 ve 1367 tarihlerinde ticari faaliyetlerini yeniden başlatma ve harabeye dönen yerleşimlerini tekrar inşa etme imkanı veren iki *khrysoboullous* aldılar. 1364 yılında verilen *khrysoboullousta* yer alan ifadeler Venediklilerin uzun bir süreden beri Trabzon'daki ticari faaliyetlerinin

durduğunu göstermektedir: “Fakat bundan sonra epeyce zaman geçmiş, iyi katlanmamış olan mühürle mücehhez mektup bozulmuş ve böylece Venedikli tacirler artık Trabzon'a gidip gelmeyi kesmişlerdir.”<sup>39</sup> Bu *khrysoboullous* ile Venediklileri Trabzon'a çekmeyi planlayan III. Aleksios Komnenos, Trabzon'da Latinler ve yerli halk arasında karşılıklı düşmanlık ve ayrılık durumunun halâ geçerli olduğunun da herhalde farkındaydı. Venedikliler açısından bakıldığında ise, 1367 yılındaki *khrysoboullous* ile ticaret üzerinden alınan vergi yüzde 0,5 oranında azaltılmasına rağmen, Konstantinopolis'teki ticari serbestileri ile karşılaştırılınca Venediklilerin ödedikleri vergiler hâlâ oldukça yüksekti.<sup>40</sup> Venedikliler 1367 *khrysoboullousu* ile 1364 yılında kabul etmek zorunda kaldıkları toprak parçasından üçte bir oranında daha büyük bir arazi elde etmişlerse de bu toprak parçası 1319-1348 yılları arasında Venediklilerin Trabzon'da sahip oldukları toprakların üçte biri kadardı. Trabzon'daki Venedik Kalesi'nin inşası başlar başlamaz, yıllarca tamamlanamadan kalmıştır. Bu yüzden kentteki Venedikli tüccarların ticareti ve günlük yaşamları, Türkmen akınları ya da Rum, Laz veyahut Cenova düşmanlığı tarafından sık sık tehlikeye düşürülmüştür. Venedik'in coğrafi durumunun sağladığı Levant ticaretindeki avantajlarına rağmen, Levant ticaretinde üstünlüğü elde etmeye yeterli gelmesi ve Venedikli tüccarların Trabzon'da 1348 ila 1364 yılları arasında ticari faaliyetlerini durdurmalarının çeşitli sebepleri vardır.

Öncelikle uluslararası ticaretin gelişmesi ve ticareti yapan tüccara önemli kâr sağlaması için belli koşulların oluşması gerekir. İlk olarak tüccarın alım-satım faaliyetlerini güven içerisinde yürütebilmesi ve kâr elde edebilmesi ve bu kâr ile zenginleşebilmesi için aktif devlet koruması en öncelikli şarttır. Bu sadece siyasi otoritenin ticari yolların emniyetini sağlaması ile olmuyor; herşeyden önce piyasa koşullarının adaletli olmasından, ölen tüccarların mallarının güvence altına alınmasından, değişim oranlarının güvenliğinden ve tedavüldeki paranın büyük değerlerin taşınma ihtiyacını karşılaması için yeterli olmasından emin olmayı gerekli kılıyordu. Bütün bunlar bölgesel devletlerle yapılacak resmi anlaşmalar ve ahitnameler olmaksızın gerçekleşemezdi. Bu çerçevede Venedikli ve Cenovalı tüccarların bölge üzerindeki uluslararası ticaretlerini yürütebilmeleri için Trabzon imparatorları ile muhakkak surette anlaşmalar yapmaları gerekmektedir. Bu bağlamda hem Cenova hem de Venedik, Bizanslılar, Memlükler, Trabzon imparatorları ve tabii ki Rusya ve İran coğrafyasındaki Moğollar'ın da içinde olduğu bu devletlerle yukarıda bahsettiğimiz güvenli uluslararası ticareti gerçekleştirmenin şartlarının sağlanması amacıyla anlaşmalar yapmak zorundaydılar. Bu noktada Trabzon İmparatorluğu'nun doğu ile olan ticari münasebetlerinin de dikkate alınması gerekir. Trabzon'un Erzurum-

34 İbn Battuta bu iki şehri ziyaret ettiği zaman (1327) Basra tam bir gerileme içinde idi, Bağdat henüz rekabete karşı durabiliyordu ve İbn Battuta Bağdat'ta güzel çarşılar görmüştü: bkz. İbn Battûta, Ebû Abdullah Muhammed, *İbn Battûta Seyahatnâmesi*, c. 1, çev. A. S. Aykut (İstanbul, 2004), 264-329.

35 Pakhymeres, ed. Bekker, 1:124; ed. A. Failler, çev. V. Laurent, *Relations historiques*, c. 1 (Paris, 1984), 43; M. F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, c. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1849), 548; Rashid al-Din, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, çev. E. Quatremère (Paris, 1968), 297; B. Spuler, İran Moğolları, çev. C. Köprülü (Ankara, 1999), 52; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, 2:93-107, 120-30.

36 M. Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-Mer* (Paris, 1973), birçok yerde; Bratianu, *Recherches*, 301-7; Zakythinos, *Le chrysobulle d'Alexis III Comnène*, 4-12, 37; A. Bryer, “The Latins in the Euxine,” *Rapports et corapports du XVe Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines*, 1.3 (Atina, 1976), 12-17, 19-21.

37 C. Mango, *Bizans: Yeni Roma İmparatorluğu*, çev. G. Çağalı Güven (İstanbul, 2008), 67.

38 F. B. Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, 1936), 29, 31-32; Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-Mer*; Bratianu, *Recherches*, 10, 113-14, 116, 121, 140, 173-84, 186, 190, 222, 228, 238, 256, 286.

39 Bkz. Ek I.

40 Bizans imparatorları büyük kuşatmalar gibi olağanüstü durumlarda Konstantinopolis'e mal temin eden tüccarların ödedikleri gümrük vergilerini kaldırabiliyorlardı. Örneğin, Osmanlı sultanı II. Mehmed tarafından 6 Nisan 1453 tarihinde başlayan ve fetihle sonuçlanan kuşatma sırasında Bizans imparatoru XI. Konstantinos şehre dışarıdan yiyecek maddesi ve silah temin eden Cenova tacirlerinin Konstantinopolis'e getirecekleri malları gümrük vergisinden muaf tutmuştur: bkz. N. Necipoğlu, “Osmanlı Fethinin Arifesinde Konstantinopolis,” *Bizantion'dan İstanbul'a Bir Başkent'in 8000 Yılı* (İstanbul, 2010), 182.

Ağrı üzerinden doğuya açılan kapısı niteliğindeki Tebriz'de yaşanan siyasi ve ekonomik gelişmelere bakmak gerekir.

Azerbaycan'da Celayirlilerden Emir Hasan Bozorg, İlhanlıların ileri gelen komutanlarından olup İlhanlı sultanı Ebû Saîd'in ölümü ile çıkan karışıklıktan istifade ederek, devletin idaresini kontrolü altına almıştır. 1340 yılında Bağdat'ta bağımsızlığını ilan etmiş ve 1356 yılında ölünce, yerine oğlu Şeyh Üveys geçmiştir. 1354 yılında Tebriz hakimi Sultan Cani Bey'in ölmesi üzerine kentte büyük bir karmaşa meydana gelmiş ve bu kargaşadan istifade eden Şeyh Üveys Tebriz'i ele geçirmiştir.<sup>41</sup> Bağdat hükümdarı Celayirli Şeyh Üveys, 1359 yılında Azerbaycan'ı zaptederek burada yıllardan beri hüküm süren kötü idareye de son vermiştir.<sup>42</sup>

Celayirli Şeyh Üveys 1370'li yıllarda ülkenin güvenliğini sağlamış olmanın da verdiği istikrar, İlhanlıların Tebriz'i Asya'nın siyasi ve ticari merkezi yapmasının getirdiği kazanımlar ve Trabzon kentinin ticari öneminden istifade etmek istemesiyle,<sup>43</sup> Trabzon ile ülkesi arasındaki ticareti geliştirmeye çalışmış ve bu bağlamda Trabzon'daki Venedik balyosuna bir mektup göndermiştir. Bu mektup İlhanlıların ortadan kalkmasından sonra da Celayirlilerin bölgede cereyan eden ticari faaliyetleri koruyup teşvik ettiklerini ve bölgenin yeni aktörü Venediklileri kendi topraklarına çekmek istediklerini göstermektedir.<sup>44</sup> Mektubun içeriğine baktığımızda temel olarak Şeyh Üveys'in Trabzon-Tebriz ticaret yolunun daha önceleri olduğu gibi yeniden canlanmasını istediğini görmekteyiz. Venedikli tacirlerin tıpkı geçmişte olduğu gibi bu mektuptan sonra da gelip gitmelerini istemiştir. Celayirli Şeyh Üveys Ekim 1374 tarihinde vefat etmiştir.<sup>45</sup>

Cenova ile Venedik Deniz Cumhuriyeti arasındaki Levant ticari rekabeti neticesinde 1378-1381 yıllarında Chioggia Savaşı meydana gelmiştir. III. Aleksios'un Venediklilere verdiği ve Cenova-Venedik rekabetinin kızışmasına sebep olan *khrysoboullos*lar da bu savaşın bir sebebi olabilir. Bu savaştan sonra her iki deniz cumhuriyetinin ticari ilgi alanlarının bir bölünmesinden bahsetmek mümkün müdür? Öncelikle akılda tutulması gereken husus bu savaşı kazandıktan sonra Venedik'in Karadeniz üzerindeki hakimiyetini kuvvetlendirmiş olmasıdır. On dördüncü yüzyılın sonlarına doğru Cenovalı tacirler ticari faaliyetlerini daha çok Karadeniz'in kuzey kıyısında yer alan Caffa (Kefe veya Gazaria) üzerinde gerçekleştirmeye başlamıştır. Buna mukabil Venedikli tacirler Trabzon ve Tana gibi kentlerin ticaretine ağırlıklarını koymuştur.

Meseleye diğer taraftan baktığımızda ise, Trabzon İmparatoru III. Aleksios Komnenos, Venedik ile ilişkilerinde Venedik'in gerçekleştirdiği ticarettten aldığı

41 İbnu'l-Emir İbrâhîm el-Munşî b. Hacı Abdullâh b. el-Mâverdi b. eş-Şeyh Muhammed, *Nuzhetu'n-nâzir ve râhatu'l-hâtir*, çev. E. Tanrıverdi, 89a-89b; F. Sümer, *Kara Koyunlular (Başlangıçtan Cihan-Şah'a kadar)*, c. 1 (Ankara, 1992), 40; C. Cahen, "Contribution à l'histoire du Diyâr Bakr au quatorzième siècle," *JA* (1955): 76.

42 Sümer, *Kara Koyunlular*, 41.

43 Bryer, "Greeks and Türkmens: The Pontic Exception," 118.

44 Tebriz imparatoru Üveys Han tarafından Trabzon'da Venedik balyosuna gönderilen seyahate dair garanti mektubu için bkz. *DVL* 2:163, no. 97, 1372 (1373 ?) Milâdi yılı. Mektup şu başlığı taşımaktadır: "Tebriz imparatoru tarafından Trabzon'da Venedik balyosuna ve sonra Dukalık hükümetine gönderilen mektuptur."

45 Sümer, *Kara Koyunlular*, 43.

vergilerden doğrudan faydalanmayı düşünmüş, kendi imparatorluğunun topraklarında iki denizci gücün askeri bir çatışma ihtimalini ortadan kaldırmış<sup>46</sup> ve aynı zamanda da Doğu Karadeniz'de Cenovalıların artan etkinliğini Venedikliler ile dengelemeye çalışmıştır. Aslına bakılırsa Bizans tüccarları da Cenovalıların küstah ve saldırgan davranışlarından sürekli şikayet etmekteydiler.<sup>47</sup> III. Aleksios, 1364 yılı *khrysoboullosu* ile 1348 yılından beri kopmuş olan Trabzon-Venedik ilişkilerinde beyaz bir sayfa açarak Venediklileri Trabzon'a çekmek istemiştir. Sonuç itibarıyla iki cumhuriyetin tüccarları tarafından ödenen *kommerkion* oranları birbiriyle dengelenmiştir. 1364 yılı *khrysoboullosunda* Venedik ve Cenovalılar arasında arazi ile ilgili tartışmalar ortadan kalkmamıştır. 13 Nisan 1365 tarihindeki Paskalyada ticaret meydanında imparatorun huzurunda iki *faktoriya* yöneticisi arasında tartışma yaşanmıştır. Venedikliler ve Cenovalıların Trabzon'da yetkileri, otoriteleri ve nüfuzları karşılıklı idi ve İlhanlılar ile yapılan düzenli ticari trafiği belirleyen yerel yöneticilerin şartlarına da uygundu. Gerçekten İtalyan tüccarlar Trabzon imparatorundan onları Trabzon'a çekmek için Moğol tüccarlara mali ayrıcalıklar sağlamasını ısrarla istemişlerdir. Fakat bu denge politikası sürdürüldüğünde bile III. Aleksios, daima kendi mutlak otoritesinde ısrar eden meşhur büyük babası II. Aleksios'un politikalarının takipçisi durumundadır. 1372 yılında Trabzon imparatoru III. Aleksios, Trabzon'daki Venedik Kalesi üzerinde Aziz Markos (Venedik) Cumhuriyeti'nin renkleri ile kendi bayrağının yan yana dalgalanmasını talep etmiştir. Bu durum Moğol istilasını takip eden yüzyılda Türk-Moğol idari kurumlarının, ordularının ve yönetim cihazının, insan ve mal akışının Çin'den Akdeniz dünyasına akışını düzenleyen şartları ve koşulları dikte ettiğinin kanıtıdır. Moğol istilasının tesirlerinin nispeten daha az hissedildiği on dördüncü yüzyılın Yakın Doğu dünyası, seyahatler ve kültürel değişimler sayesinde artık daha açık, uzak topraklar daha ulaşılabilir hale gelmiştir.<sup>48</sup> III. Aleksios aynı zamanda başkent Konstantinopolis'te Türklerin hızla ilerleyişi karşısında etkinliği giderek azalan Bizans İmparatorluğu'na bir alternatif olmayı da acaba düşünüyor muydu? Bu soruya kesin bir cevap verebilmek gerçekten güç. Fakat, kendisinin Bizans sarayında yetişmiş olması, Trabzon tahtında kırk yıldan fazla bir süre kalmayı başarması ve ülkenin ekonomik refahını arttırmaya yönelik olarak uyguladığı politikalar, III. Aleksios'un Trabzon'da evrensel Roma fikrinin nispeten kaybolmaya yüz tuttuğu bir dönemde, yaptığı bu faaliyetler ile bu düşüncüyü yeniden canlandırmaya yönelik uygulamaları olarak

46 14. yüzyılın ikinci yarısı boyunca Cenova ve Venedik tüccarları arasında ortaya çıkan güven krizi muhtemelen İran'da Moğol yönetiminin çöküşü ve Kara Ölüm/Veba salgını ile ilgilidir: bkz. B. Z. Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis. Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-Century Depression*, (New Haven-Londra, 1976), 1; A. Bryer, "Byzantium and the Pontos during the Time of Troubles," *XVIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Major Papers* (Moskova, 1991), 248-49.

47 A. E. Laiou, "Monopoly and Privilege: The Byzantine Reaction to the Genoese Presence in the Black Sea," *Oriente e Occidente tra Medioevo ed età moderna: studi in onore di Geo Pistorino*, ed. L. Balletto, c. 2 (Cenova, 1997), 675-86.

48 N. di Cosmo, "Mongols and Merchants on the Black Sea Frontier in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Convergences and Conflicts," *Mongols, Turks, and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the Sedentary World*, ed. R. Amitai ve M. Biran (Leiden-Boston, 2005), 391.

görülebilir. Bu açıdan 1364 yılı *khrysoboullosu* bize Trabzon imparatoru III. Aleksios'un ülkesini bir imparatorluk gibi farklı devletlerin tüccarlarının rahat bir şekilde gelip ticaret yapabildikleri bir alana dönüştürmek istediğinin göstergesidir.<sup>49</sup> Tabii ki bunu yaparken yukarıda bahsettiğimiz, birçok yönden kârlı kazançlar elde edeceği çıkarlarını düşünmesi ise gayet doğaldı.

III. Aleksios Moğol ve Selçuklu baskısının azaldığı bir dönemde Cenovalılar ve Venedikliler ile kendi belirlediği koşullarda uluslararası ticaret anlaşması yaparken, özellikle 1341-1347 iç savaş yıllarına da denk gelen V. Ioannes döneminde (1341-1391) Osmanlıların, Venediklilerin ve Cenovalıların Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun iç işlerine ciddi şekilde müdahale ettikleri görülmektedir.<sup>50</sup> Meseleye bu açıdan baktığımızda III. Aleksios'un *khrysoboullosları* bize, Trabzon İmparatorluğu'nun Bizans'a nazaran dış ve iç politik meselelerde daha başarılı bir grafik çizdiğini göstermektedir. Dış etkenler açısından baktığımızda ise, daha çok doğuya doğru genişleyen ve politikalarını bu yönde belirleyen Anadolu Selçuklularının çökmesiyle birlikte Trabzon İmparatorluğu rahat bir nefes almıştır. Siyaseten kuşatılmışlıktan bir nebze olsun rahatlamasının neticesinde daha önce bahsettiğimiz ticari faaliyetlerin gelişmesi için uygun bir ortam oluşmuştur. *Khrysoboullosların* Osmanlıların Balkanlarda önemli fetihler yaptıkları ve Bizans'ın köşeye sıkıştığı bir dönemde verilmesi, üzerinde düşünülmesi gereken bir husus olarak dikkat çekmektedir. Burada Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun iç olaylarına Venediklilerin müdahale etme imkanı bulduklarını dikkate aldığımızda, Trabzon İmparatoru III. Aleksios'un *khrysoboullos* vererek kendi ticari politikalarını belirlemede daha özgür davrandığını ve Trabzon İmparatorluğu'nun kuruluşundan itibaren Bizans'ın mirasçısı olma yönündeki iddialarını gerçekleştirmek için müsait bir ortam oluştuğu düşünülebilir. On dördüncü yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Trabzon İmparatorluğu'nun, Roma İmparatorluğu mirasını devralma iddiasını tekrar gündeme getirip getirmediğini tam olarak tespit edecek verilerden mahrumuz. Burada şöyle bir soru akla gelebilir: Acaba Venedik Cumhuriyeti temsilcileri Roma imparatorluk mirasının birincil temsilcisi olarak Trabzon İmparatorluğu'nu tanıyorlar mıydı? Tabii Venediklilerin böyle bir siyasi kaygısı olup olmadıklarını da bilemiyoruz. Fakat burada Trabzon İmparatorluğu'na ait elimize ulaşan *khrysoboulloslar* III. Aleksios'a ait olduğu gibi imparatorluk hakkında günümüze ulaşan Mikhael Panaretos'un kroniğinin<sup>51</sup> de yine bu döneme ait olduğu hususunu hatırlatmakta fayda vardır. Mikhael Panaretos'un eserini III. Aleksios'un hizmetinde kaleme almış olması ve bunun *khrysoboulloslar* ile aynı dönem denk gelmesi tesadüf olmasa gerekir.

III. Aleksios on dördüncü yüzyılın ikinci yarısındaki ekonomik kriz sebebiyle azalan ticaretten elde edilen gelirleri arttırmak için ticari imtiyazlar vererek verimli

alternatif yollar aramaya yönelmiştir. Yeni vergiler, ödenmeyen borçlar, *kommerkionların* doğrudan kötüye kullanılmalarının açıklanmaması, Venediklileri kendilerine rakip olarak gören Trabzon halkının düşmanlıklarının yol açtığı kayıplar; çoktandır ticari ayrıcalıklarının genişletmeyi ve Tebriz'e giden kervan yollarının güvensizliği sebebiyle uğradıkları zararları kendileri tazmin etmek isteyen Latin tüccarların kızgınlıklarını provoke ediyordu. Bütün bunlar, adım adım Trabzon ve Venedik arasında şiddetli çatışmalara sebep oldu. Çatışmanın ilk günlerinden itibaren Venedik Senatosu, 1334 ve 1335 yıllarındaki benzer durumda takındığından daha sert bir tavır sergilemiştir. Bu tüccarların olağandışı şikayetleri ve Venedik Cumhuriyeti'nin Trabzon'da yönetim sistemini nihayet revize ederek Venedik Cumhuriyeti için yeni bir sistem kurarak kavga çıkarmaya hazır olması ile açıklanabilir.<sup>52</sup>

Moğol yöneticilerinin otoritesinin zayıflaması ve Altın Ordu Devleti içerisinde ortaya çıkan öldürücü iç savaşlar sebebiyle Cenovalıların yaklaşık 1360 yılından itibaren Karadeniz ticaretinde daha etkin bir hale geldikleri düşünülmektedir. Venedik, Karadeniz boyunca en belirgin biçimde Tana, Trabzon ve Suğdak'ta kendi gemileri ve tüccarları için güvenli limanlar elde edip, aynı zamanda yerel piyasalara girme imkanı sağlayacak ticari üsler edinmeye razıydı. Yerleşme hakları sağlandığı, ticarete izin verildiği, koruma sağlandığı ve zorlanmadıkları sürece, Venedikliler kendilerini savunmaya ya da baskı yapmaya çalışmadılar. Buna karşılık on dördüncü yüzyılın ikinci yarısında uluslararası ticarete Avrupa'daki ticari değişimler, uzun mesafeli ticari yatırımların aleyhine gelişme göstermiştir. Bu durumu, Cenovalı ve Venedik tüccarları arasında yaşanan mücadeleler, on dördüncü yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren etkili olan Kara Ölüm/veba ve İran'daki Moğol yönetiminin çökmesiyle muhtemelen bağlantılı güven duygusu krizi ile açıklayabiliriz. Venedik ile Cenovalı ticari meşguliyetlerine yatırım yapacakları yerde 1350-1355'te aralarındaki savaş sebebiyle birbirlerine karşı ticari sermayelerini tüketmişlerdir. Tana ve Trabzon limanlarının kaybedilmesi kârlı Karadeniz ticaretinin kontrolünü kaybetmekle aynı anlama geliyordu. Bu gerilim Venedik ile Cenovalı arasında 1350-1355 ve 1376-1381 yıllarında Karadeniz ticaretini kontrol etme noktasında büyük savaşların meydana gelmesine sebep oldu. Bu savaşlar sırasında, Cenovalı kendisini Bizanslılar, Venedikliler ve Moğollar'a karşı aynı anda savaşmak durumunda buldu. Venedik ve Cenovalı arasında uzun süren savaşlar sebebiyle tüccarlarının deniz aşırı ülkelere yatırım yapma imkanları ciddi anlamda etkilenmiştir. Venedik-Cenovalı savaşı Turin Barışı ile sona erdirilmiş ve bu anlaşmaya göre Venediklilerin iki yıl süreyle Karadeniz'e girmeleri yasaklanmıştır. Uluslararası ticarete yatırım krizinin diğer bir işareti de geç on dördüncü yüzyılda Karadeniz'e yönelik *mude* (deniz ticaretini koruma) düzenlemesi için güçlüklerin artması olmuştur. Muhtemelen en önemlisi, ticari uygulamalar değişmiş ve uluslararası iş, yerel (ve yerleşik/sabit) deniz aşırı temsilcilikler vasıtasıyla yürütülmeye başlanmış ve

49 Birinci Haçlı Seferi kronikleri Orta Anadolu'da genel bir çöküşten söz etmelerine rağmen bunların anlattıkları 13. yüzyılda bu ülkeyi gören ve yaşadıkları çağın ölçülerine göre büyük bir refahtan bahseden seyyahların gözlemleriyle çelişmektedir. Selçuklu akınlarından kısa bir süre sonra Anadolu'da siyasi istikrarın temin edilmesi ile oluşan zenginlikten Trabzon imparatorlarının da istifade ettiğini düşünmek gerekir.

50 Necipoğlu, "Geç Bizans Döneminde İmparatorluk ve İmparatorluk İdeolojisi," 272.

51 M. Keçiř, "Mikhael Panaretos ve Eseri," *Uluslararası Karadeniz İncelemeleri Dergisi* 12 (2012): 25-38.

52 S. P. Karpov, "The Empire of Trebizond and Venice in 1374-76 (a chrysobull redated)," *Arkheion Pontou* 35 (1979): 290-91. Bu makale, yayımlanmadan önce, 1978 yılında Birmingham Üniversitesi'nde düzenlenen Byzantine Black Sea (Bizans Karadenizi) adlı 12. bahar sempozyumunda sunulmuştur.

tüccarlar ile gemi kaptanlarının ticari teşebbüsleri azalmıştır. Özetle, Karadeniz kolonileri hâlâ İtalyan ticari bağlantılarının önemli ayaklarından biri olarak görülüyorsa da İtalyan tüccarlarının uzak pazarlara erişme istek ve kabiliyetlerinde büyük oranda azalma vardı.<sup>53</sup>

1364 *khrysoboullos*unun verdiği ayrıcalıkları temel olarak řu başlıklar altında toplayabiliriz:

- Trabzon İmparatorluğu topraklarındaki bütün Venediklilerin emniyetinin sağlanması,
- Venedikli tüccarlarının ödediđi ticari vergilerin düşürülmesi,
- Venedik vatandaşları tarafından Venediklilerden seçilen balyosun idare ettiđi ticaret merkezine bağımsızlık verilmesi, balyosun yargılama ve güvenliđi sağlama haklarının saklı kalması ve tartı başında kendi adamlarının (*ponderator*) durması,
- Venediklilere kendileri için yeni muhafaza binaları yapmak için yer verilmesi, imparatorun bu tür yerleri vermeye razı olması durumunda verilecek yeri Trabzon'daki Venedikliler seçmeliydiler.
- İmparator tarafından Venedik ticaret merkezlerinin güvenliđi için garanti verilmeli ve Venedik tacirlerinden alınan verginin bir kısmı Venediklilerin güvenliđi için ayrılmalıydı.
- Trabzon'da Venedikliler için tartı ölçüsü olarak "*gabanum*" olması kârlı bir durumdu. Bu nedenle sefire tartılarda ve vergilerin oranının belirlenmesinde *gabanum* kullanılmasını sağlaması emredilmişti.
- Venedikliler, imparatorun vergi toplayan ne tacir, ne de ticaret yapan bir adam olmamasını talep ediyorlardı. Böylece de yerli tacirlerle aralarında olan rekabeti ortadan kaldırmak istiyorlardı.

1364 yılında verilen *khrysoboullos*lar ile Venedik ticaret ve kârını etkileyen tüm önemli noktalarda büyük bir zafer kazanmış gibi görünmektedir. Ancak, Trabzon imparatoru III. Aleksios bütün bu şartlar altında vermiş olduđu *khrysoboullos*lar ile ticareti canlandırmak istemişse de, Venedik Dogesi Trabzon'daki Venediklilere yapılan kötü muamele ve haklarının çiğnenmesi hakkında zaman zaman kendisine protestolar bildirmek zorunda kalmıştır. 1374 yılında balyos, koşullar düzeltilmez ve anlaşmalara uyulmaz ise, Venedik imtiyaz bölgesini boşaltmakla tehdit etmiştir. Venedik 1375 yılında Trabzon imparatoru III. Aleksios Komnenos'tan o kadar hoşnutsuzdu ki, beř kişilik komisyon ya kendi destekleyecekleri bir taht adayıyla ikame edilmesini, ya da kente ceza niteliğinde bir akın düzenleyip kendi tazminatlarını kendilerinin toplamaları gerektiđini öne sürmüştür.<sup>54</sup>

Sonuç itibarıyla, 1204 yılından sonra Dođu ve Batı Hristiyan alemindeki büyük kırılmayla birlikte, ticari hayatta da önemli bir deđişimin yaşandıđı bilinmektedir. Bu

bağlamda Trabzon imparatorları on birinci yüzyıldan itibaren İskenderiye'nin yükseliře geçmesiyle beraber dođu ürünlerinin batıya aktarıldıđı önemli bir liman olma özelliđini kaybeden Trabzon kentini, yeni ortaya çıkan siyasi konjonktür ve buna bađlı geliřen Karadeniz'in de dahil olduđu Levant ticaretinde aktif bir liman kenti haline getirmeye çalışmışlardır. Bu sebeple her anlamda Bizans geleneklerinin sıkı bir takipçisi olduđunu göstermek isteyen III. Aleksios, Bizans imparatoru I. Aleksios Komnenos'un 1082 yılında yaptıđı gibi, kadim uygulamayı devam ettirerek Venedik devleti tüccarlarına imtiyazlar vermek suretiyle, bundan ekonomik çıkarlar elde etmek istemiřtir.

<sup>53</sup> Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis*, 1; di Cosmo, "Mongols and Merchants," 394.

<sup>54</sup> F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romaine* (Paris, 1958), no. 423, 461, 541, 546.

## EKLER

### Trabzon İmparatoru III. Aleksios'un Venediklilere Verdiđi Mart 1364 ve Eylül 1367 Tarihli *Khrysoboullos*lar

#### Ek I:<sup>55</sup>

Trabzon imparatoru III. Aleksios'un *khrysoboullosu*.

Milâdi 1364 yılı, Mart ayı.

İřbu mektubu göreceklerin hepsine.

Baba tarafından büyük babam, hatırası silinmez ve unutulmaz, makamı cennet imparator, yeryüzündeki bütün imparatorlar arasında yegâne yad edilmeđe deđer imparator Büyük Komnenos Aleksios imparatorluđunu iyi bir siyaset, řahane bir dirayetle idare eyleyerek, hayır işleyerek, devletine yakın veya uzak memleketlerle dostane münasebetler tesis ederek, mesut Venedik'le münasebetlerini ihmal etmek şöyle dursun, iki memleket arasındaki dostluđu kurmak için Venedik'ten gelen murahhas asil Pantaleone Michiel vasıtasıyla hayatta iken, Venedik Dogesi Bay Johanne Superantio'ya kendi mühürü ile memhur bir mektup göndermiştir; bununla örneđi imparatorluk arşivlerinde bulunan Milâdi 1363 yılının Temmuz ayında, ikinci indiksiyonda yazılı mektubun içeriđi hakkında aradaki mutabakatı sađlamak istemiřtir.

Fakat bundan sonra epeyce zaman geçmiş, iyi katlanmamış olan mühürle mücehhez mektup bozulmuş ve böylece Venedikli tacirler artık Trabzon'a gidip gelmeyi kesmişlerdir. İmparatorluđum onları burada tekrar görmeyi ve onlarla münasebetler tesis etmeyi arzu ediyor ve bunun için elinden geleni yapıyor. Bu durumu tanzim etmek üzere Venedik'in asil Dogesi Andrea Querini tarafından yollanmış olan asil murahhas Guglielmo Michiel ile Konstantinopolis asili Andrea Querini asil řefleri ve mebusları ile birlikte buraya geldiler ve Cenovalıların malik oldukları gibi zengin ve Tanrının himaye ve inayetine mazhar Trabzon řehrinde yeniden bir limana malik olmak lütuf ve müsaadesini imparatorluđumdan istediler. İmparatorluđum bu arzuyu kabul ederek zengin Venedik'in en büyüğünden en küçüğüne kadar asil adamlarının imparatorluđum tarafından korunacađını bildiren işbu mektubu vermiştir.

Onlar kendilerine en küçük bir zorluk gösterilmeden ve beylerimle (*arkontes*) tâbilerimden hiç çekinmeden bütün řehrime serbestçe gelmek ve oradan gitmek hak ve müsaadesini haiz olacaklardır; řahısları, malları, servetleri, karada ve denizde malik oldukları her şey emniyet altında bulunacaktır.

Onlar dedikleri gibi mallarını sevk ve ithal edecekler, mal satacak veya satın alacaklardır, bununla beraber vergiler için bir miktar para ödeyeceklerdir.

Fakat onlar imparatorluđumuz bu işleri tasvip ettiđi veçhile tanzim etmesini rica ile řimdi olduđu gibi gelecekte de önceden tekrar eden hususlara riayet edeceklerini

<sup>55</sup> Metnin orijinali Torino Üniversitesi Milli Kütüphanesi'ndedir. İlk olarak MM 3:130'da yayımlanmıştır. Çeviride DVL 2:101-104, no. 60 esas alınmıştır.

beyan etmişlerdir. Bu suretle işbu mektupla imparatorluđumun idaresi ařađıda yazılı hususları emreder ve vaadeyle:

- Venedikliler Cenovalıların ödedikleri kadar vergi vereceklerdir.
- Gemi yükü için Trabzon ülkesinde satılmayacak olan balya başına yirmi “*blanc*”a baliđ taşıma vergisi ödenecektir. Memlekette satılacak balyalar için onları satın almış olan ikinci el satıcısı *emtia* için %2 ve tartı için %2,5 olmak üzere tutarı evvelce ödenen %5,5 yerine %4,5 olmak üzere vergi ödeyecektir. řayet satıcı ile alıcının her ikisi de Venedikli iseler herbiri %2,5 ödeyecektir.
- Çözölmeyip geri gönderilecek balyalar için gümrük vergisi ödenmeyecektir.
- Altın, gümüş ve kıymetli taşlar gümrükten geçmeyecek fakat paketlerin tahliyesi için 20 “*blanc*” verilecektir.
- Karayolu ile naklolunan balyalara gelince tahliye için 12 “*blanc*” satış için %1 verilecektir.
- Altın sırma işlemeli yün veya ipek kumařlar, Trabzon yünlü veya ipek kumařları,<sup>56</sup> Hint yünlü veya ipeklileri, Buhara ve Çin yünlü veya ipeklileri, Bađdat'ın altın sırma işlemeli kumařları ve aynı cinsten daha birçok başka malları satan veya satın alan Venedikli, *emtia* miktarı hesaba katılmadan Cenovalılar gibi %1 vergi ödeyecektir.
- Venediklilerle gelen Venedikli olmayan tacirler yabancıların ödedikleri verginin aynını ödemekle mükelleftirler.
- Bu kanunlar yeni itilafa kadar bizimle Venedikliler arasında geçerli olacaktır. Venedikliler Cenovalılar gibi yerleşmek üzere Trabzon'da arazi istediklerinden onlara işbu mektupla Aziz Theodoro Gavras Manastırı'nın altında bulunan yer verilir. Bu yer büyük müessesenin köşesinden başlar ve dođu istikametinde Aziz Christophe ve Aziz Nikita yolu üzerinde öteki köşeye kadar uzar ve orada bir başka yola rastlar, sonra Katolik Kilisesi'ne giden yoldan denize ulaşır, sonra dairesel bir surette Aziz Christopher'in diđer yolundan batı istikametinde ilerler, oradan yukarıya dođu uzanıp başladığı yerde nihayet bulur. Venedikliler için tahdit ettiğimiz bu sahada onlara bir kilise inşa etmek, kendi rahiplerine sahip olmak ve orada daha başka muhtelif müesseseler de bina etmek hakkını bahşediyoruz.

Hiçbir düşman Trabzon'da Venedik ticaretini ihlal etmemelidir, anlaşmaya imparatorluđum dahilinde riayet olunacaktır.

Mührümle mücehhez işbu mektup durumu bu suretle tanzim etmekte olup herkes tarafından ona riayet olunmalıdır. řayet bir kimse bu şartların muhafaza ve tatbikine karşı zorluk çıkarmaya cesaret ederse suçunun ağır mahiyetinden ötürü řiddetli bir cezaya çarptırılacaktır.

<sup>56</sup> 10. yüzyıl coğrafyacısı İbn Havkal'ın *Kitâbu Suret el Arz* adlı eserinde belirttiđi gibi, Müslüman tüccarlar Trabzon'a hem özellikle tekstil ürünleri gibi yerel malları satın almak hem de uluslararası ticaret yapmak amacıyla geliyorlardı. Ayrıca kaynađımız Anadolu kentleri içerisine en fazla vergi gelirinin Trabzon ve Antalya řehirlerinden elde edildiđini ifade etmektedir: bkz. Peacock, “Black Sea Trade and the Islamic World,” 65-67.

İřbu sözleşme Milâdi 1363 yılının Mart ayında, ikinci indiksiyonda düzenlenmiştir. Bütün Anadolu'nun, İberya'nın ve Kırım'ın İsa'ya sadık imparatoru Büyük Komnenos (III.) Aleksios.

## Ek II:<sup>57</sup>

Trabzon İmparatoru III. Aleksios'un altın mührü ile tamamlanmış ahidnâmesi (*khrysoboullos*).

Milâdi 1367 yılının Eylül ayı.

Kudretli Venedik Dogesi Laurent Celsi'den ve çok asil Konstantinopolis kentinin ünlü ve asil balyosu Andrea Querini'den Tanrı razı olsun. Venediklilerin talebi üzerine oraya dostluğu kurmak, ceddim çok şanlı imparator Aleksis Megacumino (Aleksios Megas Komnenos) hazretlerinin asil Venedik Devleti ile akdetmiş olduğu anlaşmayı tekrarlamak için Guglielmo Michiel tarafımıza elçi olarak gönderilmiştir. Bahsi geçen elçiyi huzuruma kabul ettim. Ona büyük ceddim anlaşmalarının içeriğine göre benim ve Venedik Devleti'nin şerefleri, adları ve itilâfları için altın mührümü taşıyan bir ahitnâme verdim. Venediklilerce ödenerek gümrük vergileri hakkında hususi bir imtiyaz elde etmiştir. Romalıların takvim hesabına göre 6782<sup>58</sup> yılı, ikinci indiksiyonda, Mart ayında tanzim edilmiş bulunan ve bir örneği imparatorluğumun arşivlerinde istinsah edilmiş olan altın mührümü taşıyan ahitnâmede bildirildiği üzere Aziz Theodoro Gavras Manastırı'nın tepesinin sol tarafında gemilerin uğrağı olarak bir mahalli tarafımdan elde etmiştir.

Fakat eski mukavelename ile misakları yani dostluğu ve eski ittifakı kuvvetlendirmek üzere iyi dostum yüce ve kudretli Venedik Dogesi tarafından kuvvetli ve iyi silahlandırılmış bir kadirge ile gönderilmiş olan Marco Corner adında bir başka elçi geldi. O bir başka anlaşmanın akdini talep eyledi. Onun dört isteği şunlardı:

*Evvela* Venedikliler emniyet ve himaye altında bulunmalı ve hiçbir kimse onlara karşı bir cebir ve baskıda bulunmamalı ve onları rahatsız etmemelidir.

*İkinci* olarak Venedikliler gümrük vergileri hakkında kendileriyle bir başka itilafnâmenin akdini istiyorlar.

*Üçüncü* olarak o iskele olarak bir başka yer istemektedir.

*Dördüncü* olarak şatosuna miras olunan zararın tazminini talep eylemektedir.

Doge hazretlerinin elçisi ile göndermiş olduğu talepnâme tarafımdan iyi karşılanmıştır, kendisine altın mührümü taşıyan bir ahitnâme verdim, onunla bütün Venediklilerin en büyüğünden en küçüğüne kadar tarafımdan dostluk ve saygıya mazhar olmaları gerektiğini, gemilerin mukaddes Trabzon İmparatorluğu'nun topraklarına uğrayabileceklerini, hiçbir engele maruz kalmadan her vakit gidip gelebileceklerini, imparatorluğumda emniyet ve himaye altında bulunacaklarını, işlerini ve ticaretlerini diledikleri gibi ve adetlerine göre yapabileceklerini; imparatorluğumun topraklarında,

imparatorluğumun şehirlerinde, şatolarında ve limanlarında, imparatorluğuma ait her yerde karada ve denizde hiçbir rahatsızlık, cebir ve baskıya maruz kalmadan, ne tarafımdan ne de baronlarım, kapitanlerim, kullarım ve imparatorluğumun bütün adamları tarafından herhangi bir cebir ve baskı, kötü muamele ve zarar korkuları olmadan malları ve canları bakımından korunmaları gerektiğini tekit ediyorum.

Mutat gümrük vergileri için iyi niyet göstermekliğim rica olunduğuna göre ben de onu ibraz ve izhar ile işbu altın mührümle mücehhez emirnamemle vaat ediyorum ki onlar gümrük vergilerini aşağıda yazılı olduğu üzere ödeyeceklerdir: Tacirler deniz yolu ile gelen şeyler ve kara yolu ile dahil olacak yükler için her bir yük için 20 *aspro* [akçe/gümüş para] ödesinler.

Doge hazretlerine olan sevgi ve dostluğum ve elçiye karşı beslediğim sevgi ile bütün Venediklilere bahşediyorum ki deniz yolu ile gelen bütün mallar için tartılan ve değişim suretiyle veya peşin para ile satılacak şeyler hariç yüzde 2,5 ödenecektir; evvelce yüzde 3 idi, fakat 0,5 affolunsun ve âdet üzere alıcı tarafından yüzde 2,5'lar ödensin.

Deniz yolu ile gelen ve tartılan şeyler için yüzde 4 ödesinler; evvelce yüzde 4,5 idi, fakat yarımı bağışlıyorum, âdet üzere alıcılar tarafından yüzde 4'ler verilsin.

*Bundan başka* Venediklilerin değişim veya peşin para ile satın alacakları her şey için satıcı âdet üzere yüzde 1,5 ödesin.

Ve şayet alıcılarla satıcılar Venedikli iseler mallar tartıla, yani ağır cinsten iseler alıcı yüzde 2 ve satıcı yüzde 2 ödesin; şayet mallar tartılan cinsten değilse gümrük vergisi ödenmesin.

Fakat şu bilinsin ki, bağlı olsun olmasın, görülsün görülmesin, satılmayan, karaya çıkarılmayan yahut karaya çıkarılıp satılmayan ve geri götürülen bütün mallar hiçbir vergi ödemeyeceklerdir.

Altın, gümüş, kıymetli taşlar, inciler, kuşaklar ve bunlara benzer eşya hiçbir vergiye tâbi değildirler. Bununla beraber yukarıda söylenildiği gibi yük başına 20 *aspro* ödenecektir.

Deniz yolu ve kara yolu ile gelen mallar aynı muafiyetten faydalanacaklardır, bununla beraber girişte yük başına 20 *aspro* ödenmelidir; istenilirse bu mallar için yüzde 1 ödenecektir.

*Chamocha* [Kamoka/Şark kumaşı], *zendad* [ince kumaş], *bocharan* [Bokaran/Buhara kumaşı] veya bunlara benzer şeyler satın alan veya satan Venedikliler yüzde 1 ödemelidirler.

Şayet bir başka milliyetten olan bir kimse Venediklilerle birlikte gelirse o milliyetine yüklenen vergiyi ödemelidir; imparatorluğumun ve hazinenin gümrük resminden bu muafiyeti her zaman Venediklilere bahşediyorum ve başka milliyetten olanlara değil.

*Bundan sonra* mübadele edilecek yere gelince, Aziz Theodoro Gavras Manastırı yönünde Guillaume Michel'e verilmiş olan yerin bana verilmesini istedim; zatı fahimanem onu ve mezkûr mülkün intikal ve verasetini almıştır; ve bunu öteki ile mübadele ederek veriyor; zatı fahimanem Santa Croce denilen tepe veya zirveyi ki aşağıda yazılı olduğu gibi çevrelenmiş ve sınırlanmıştır bir emir ve kararla Venediklilere vermiştir:

<sup>57</sup> Çeviride DVL 2:126-29, no. 78 esas alınmıştır.

<sup>58</sup> Milâdi 1364 yılı.

O mezkûr Santa Croce denilen mihraptan başlar, imparatorluk caddesini takip eder, Aziz Zorzi Kilisesi'nin köşesine dayanır oradan batı cihetinden "cha de Cotori" (veya Cocori) köşesine gelir ve Mauro'nun evine dayanır ve denize doğru Remer'in evine iner ve Cadi'nin evine yanaşır denize doğru uzanan dili çevreler ve bahsedilen Santa Croce mihrabında sona erer ki burası başladığı yerdir, bunun hepsi yüz on yedi imparatorluk adımı teşkil eder.

Venedikliler bunun üzerinde korunmaları için bir sur inşa edebilecekler, kiliselerini yapabilecekler ve oraya diledikleri gibi birader [papaz] ve esnaf kâhyaları görevlendirecekler, âdetlerine göre her nevi evler ve ikametgâhlar yapabilecekler, balyos bölme tahsis etmek için bir *loza* [özel ev] tesis edecekler, örf ve âdetlerine göre icrayı adalet edeceklerdir ve hatta çavuşları, korumaları, velhasıl Konstantinopolis balyosu gibi her şeyleri olacaktır. Bu zatı fahimanemi memnun ve tatmin eylemektedir.

İnşa etmeleri gereken surda zatı fahimanem Venediklilere bir cemile olmak üzere surun bir kısmını inşa eyleyecek ve ortasına bir kule bina ettirecektir, zatı fahimanemin inşa ettireceği kule köşeleri hariç on beş imparatorluk adımı işgal edecektir ve surun civarında muvafık bir hendek kazılacaktır ve hendeğin dışında köprü veya merdiven için mezkûr köprüyü dayamak üzere iki adım bulunmalıdır; bu hendeğin dışında zatı fahimanemin ve Venediklilerin geçmesi için imparatorluk caddesi olmalıdır.

*Bundan başka* zatı şahanemden özel ağırlıkları ve tartıcıları ve milletlerin ölçüleri ve simsarları olmasını istemişlerdir; zatı şahanem özel ağırlık ve ölçüleri olmalarını ve Cenovalılar gibi hazinedarları ve simsarları olmalarını emreder.

Unutulmuş, eksik veya burada yazılmamış olan her külfet veya âdet veya hal veya itilaf ceddimin altın mührünü taşıyan anlaşma ve benimkinin içeriklerine göre muteber olmalıdır.

*Bundan başka*, hiçbir düşmanın, kendilerinin aleyhinde ve onlara muarız hiçbir kimsenin bir entrika ve zorlama ve baskısına maruz kalmadan bu Venediklilerin ve mallarının zatı fahimanem tarafından himaye olunacaklarını tekit eylerim.

Şayet bir külfet, bir hal veya bir itilâf unutulmuşsa, eksik ise ve burada yazılmamışsa ceddimin ve zatı fahimanemin altın mühürlü *khrysoboullos*larımızın içeriklerine göre, defterlerimin içeriklerine göre ve aramızdaki âdetler mucibince evvelce olduğu gibi Tanrının inayeti ile muteber ve evvelkiler gibi tasdik olunmuş sayılacaktır.

Zatı fahimanem işbu altın mühürlü *khrysoboullos* ile yukarıda yazılı hususları tekit ve tasdik eyler.

Mezkûr altın mühürlü *khrysoboullos* eylül ayında, altıncı indiksiyonda, Romalıların takvimine göre 6878 yılında tanzim olunmuştur.



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**SHIPS  
AND  
HARBORS:  
NEW  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
EVIDENCE**

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# The World's Largest Collection of Medieval Shipwrecks: The Ships of the Theodosian Harbor\*

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## The Theodosian Harbor

The construction of a railway hub project —Marmaray and Metro public transport projects— in Istanbul's Yenikapı district led to the discovery of one of the most important archaeological sites in the city. The excavations initiated by the Istanbul Archaeological Museums revealed thousands of artifacts that enrich our knowledge about the daily life, economy, trade, technology, religious practices, and maritime culture of the medieval ages (Fig. 1). As the excavations progressed it was proved that a Byzantine harbor, the *Portus Theodosiacus*, had existed in the area of today's construction site, before becoming silted by the Lykos (Bayrampaşa) stream. Lying approximately 500 meters away from the modern shoreline, the construction site covers an area about 58,000 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>1</sup> According to the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitana*, a late antique description of the fourteen regions of Constantinople listing monuments and public buildings, the harbor was located in the twelfth region of the city. The harbor is known to have been built during the reign

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<sup>1</sup> Z. Kızıltan, "Marmaray Project and the 8000 Years of Istanbul 'Brought to Daylight,'" in *Istanbul: 8000 Years, Brought to Daylight. Marmaray, Metro and Sultanahmet Excavations*, ed. A. Karamani-Pekin and S. Kangal (Istanbul, 2007), 18-21.

of Theodosius I (CE 379-395), after whom it was named, in order to meet the growing demands of the flourishing new imperial capital. There are different views regarding the history of the harbor. An earlier harbor, known as the Harbor of Eleutherios, was situated at the same location before that of Theodosius. Although not yet certain, it is widely accepted that this earlier harbor site was enlarged and renamed by the emperor Theodosius I at the end of the fourth century.<sup>2</sup> It is also known that the Theodosian Harbor was referred to as the “Harbor of Kaisarios” between the sixth and ninth centuries.<sup>3</sup>

According to the textual evidence, the presence of two granaries on the east of the harbor, *Horrea Alexandrina* and *Horrea Theodosiana*, indicates that it was a commercial harbor particularly receiving ships loaded with mass cargoes of grain from Alexandria. It is known that grain trade was active until the Arab conquest of Egypt in 641 CE. Grain ships from Egypt sailed directly to Constantinople until the reign of Justinian. Owing to strong seasonal wind and currents at the Dardanelles, the ships had to wait for safer weather conditions. In order to avoid such delays, Justinian built granaries at the island of Tenedos. Thus bigger ships unloaded their cargoes there without waiting at the Dardanelles, while smaller ships shuttled between Tenedos and the capital. In addition to the grain trade, construction materials such as marble from Prokonnesos, tiles, bricks, timbers, and other food supplies were brought to the capital via the Theodosian harbor.<sup>4</sup>

### The Yenikapı Shipwrecks

Among the imposing artifact inventory of the site, thirty-seven shipwrecks dating from the fifth to the late tenth century deserve special attention (Fig. 2). These shipwrecks represent the largest medieval collection of their kind ever found in a single archaeological site. A team of “Istanbul University’s Division of Conservation of Marine Archaeological Objects” has undertaken the fieldwork and conservation of twenty-seven of the thirty-seven wrecks (Fig. 3). Shipwrecks of various types and sizes have been uncovered since 2005 and extensive research on them is still in progress. The shipwrecks were carefully documented, then systematically disassembled and removed from the construction site. All the timbers have been stored in conservation tanks at Istanbul University’s Yenikapı Shipwrecks Research Center. The conservation of waterlogged ship timbers is a relatively long and challenging procedure. In order to prevent degradation, the ship timbers are impregnated with a synthetic resin, PEG (Polyethylene Glycol), in conservation tanks. This treatment will also enable future museum exhibitions of this great collection of medieval vessels.<sup>5</sup>

2 Petrus Gyllius, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos* IV.8, trans. E. Özbayoğlu, *İstanbul’un Tarihi Eserleri* (Istanbul, 1997), 188–89.

3 P. Magdalino, “The Harbors of Byzantine Constantinople,” in *Stories from the Hidden Harbor: Shipwrecks of Yenikapı*, ed. Z. Kızıltan (Istanbul, 2013), 14.

4 P. Magdalino, “The Maritime Neighborhoods of Constantinople,” *DOP* 54 (2000): 212 [repr. in P. Magdalino, *Studies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot, 2007), no. III].

5 *Yenikapı Shipwrecks*, vol. 1: *The ‘Old Ships’ of the ‘New Gate’ 1 / Yenikapı Batıkları*, c. 1: *Yenikapı’nın Eski Gemileri* 1, ed. U. Kocabaş, 2nd rev. ed. (Istanbul, 2012).

Compared with the other excavated shipwrecks in the Mediterranean, most of the Yenikapı shipwrecks are preserved in a remarkably better condition. The hull bottoms of some ships have completely survived. The original angles of the hull planking and edges of the ship timbers, joints, fasteners, and even the surface details such as tool marks, are clearly visible on most ships. There is no doubt that this offers a great opportunity to nautical archaeologists who investigate the construction principles of these vessels.<sup>6</sup>

The discussions on what caused the loss of these ships inside the harbor have still not concluded. Many scholars agree that most of the ships were vessels abandoned after a certain period of use. In other words, these are estimated to be retired ships rather than sunken ships. The absence of cargoes, rigging, and anchors on board, besides visible repair pieces identified on the remains of their hulls, seem to confirm this theory. The alluvium deposited by the Lykos river which flowed into the harbor must have buried these ships over time. In addition to the abandoned vessels, there are at least four shipwrecks found with their cargoes still in place (Fig. 4). This group of sunken ships probably suffered from a natural catastrophe such as the strong prevailing southern storm wind locally called “*lodos*,” which is dangerous even for ships today.

Identifying the specific types of Yenikapı ships is problematic due to lack of sufficient historical and pictorial information. There are several different ship types referred to in Byzantine texts. *Naus*, *ploion*, *xylon*, *olkas*, *karabion* are often used to refer to ships in general. The terms *sandalia*, *agraron*, *kondurai*, *naba*, *gripas* were used for small sailing ships for fishing and small scale transport. While the *strongylos*, *pamphylos*, *karaboploia-kamatera* were merchant ships, *sitagoga* and *dorkon* referred to grain transport ships and the *hippagoga* were horse carriers. Naval vessels are known under the names *dromon*, *khelandion pamphylos*, *khelandion ousiakon*, and *stolos*. However, without descriptive construction details in texts, linking these types to the Yenikapı ships would be irrelevant in most cases.<sup>7</sup> The ongoing research suggests that the Yenikapı shipwrecks can be basically grouped as cargo carriers or merchant ships, on the one hand, and galleys on the other.

### The Merchantmen

About thirty-one shipwrecks uncovered at the harbor have been identified as cargo carriers based on their hull design and shapes. Most of them have flat bottom sections that provide a box-like hull shape. This hull form has been usually considered as being designed to increase the cargo capacities of the hold. The evidence regarding the rigging of cargo carriers is limited, apart from well-preserved mast step examples still in place. Mast steps situated a little forward of midship suggest that most of the ships were

6 I. Özsait-Kocabaş, “Documentation: Reading the Timber / Belgeleme: Ahşabı Okumak,” in *The ‘Old Ships’ of the ‘New Gate’ 1 / Yenikapı’nın Eski Gemileri* 1, ed. Kocabaş, 37–72.

7 J. H. Pryor and E. M. Jeffreys, *The Age of the ΔΡΟΜΩΝ* (Leiden-Boston, 2006), 372; V. Sakellides, “Byzantine Naval Power,” in *Journeys on the Seas of Byzantium*, ed. D. Zafiropoulou (Athens, 1997), 47–54; L. Casson, *Ships and Seafaring in Ancient Times* (London, 1994).

carrying a single sail, probably a triangular —lateen— sail as often seen in medieval iconography. It is also estimated that ships were steered with the quarter rudders placed at both sides of the stern (Fig. 5).

Several varieties of construction method have been revealed so far. In general, the merchant ships at Yenikapı have relatively strong skeletal structures. Most of the frames are closely bolted to the keels. Alternating floor timbers and futtocks are the usual pattern forming the skeletons. Skeletal structures are supported with wales made of half logs. Stringers are also commonly used which provide internal cohesion. Metal and wooden fasteners were used together to join timbers, with some exceptions where only metal nails were chosen. Hull plankings forming the outer shell structures are of generally thin planks. Planks are joined together with diagonal or slightly curved “S” scarves in general, also three planed scarves and butt joints were used to form planking strakes. These carved built hulls present different variations in terms of edge fastenings. Most of the plank strakes are aligned together with small edge dowels or coaks. The planking strakes of the earlier ships have both pegged or unpegged mortise and tenon joints. There are also cases with no edge fasteners, neither dowels nor mortise and tenon joints. Shipwrights usually sawed the planks from various species of pine, chestnut, and oak, while the frames were mostly of oak, and also occasionally elm, ash, and hornbeam. Most of these tree species are native to west and northwestern Turkey, but also to other Mediterranean regions. Therefore, it is barely possible to point to a specific region where the ships would have been constructed or from where their timbers were imported.<sup>8</sup>

### Yenikapı 12

The Yenikapı 12 wreck is one of the best preserved shipwrecks found at the Yenikapı site. YK 12 was uncovered with its cargo amphorae still in place. On the basis of the supposition that these amphora types were probably of Crimean origin, the wreck is provisionally dated to the ninth century. The surviving hull of the vessel is about seven meters in length and 2.3 meters wide. The original length is estimated to have been approximately 9.6 meters and the maximum width 2.6 meters (Fig. 6).

The ceiling planking of the boat was revealed intact. The ceiling consisted of planks varying between five and twelve millimeters in thickness arranged to overlap one another, and attached to the frames by means of iron nails. The mast step was preserved in a fairly good condition beneath the cargo, a little forward of midship. There are two rectangular notches on the mast step towards the bow, one for the mast itself and the other was used to insert the beam supporting the mast or the upright support of the beam across the hull.

<sup>8</sup> U. Kocabaş and I. Özsait-Kocabaş, “A New Milestone in Ship Archaeology: The Yenikapı Shipwrecks Project,” in *Stories from the Hidden Harbor: Shipwrecks of Yenikapı*, ed. Kızıltan, 35-46.

The twenty-five floor timbers and fifteen futtocks were bolted to keel according to a regular pattern. Floor timbers and futtocks were placed alternately and forming frames by scarving to each other. Their molded dimension is about 9-10 cm, while the side dimensions vary between 4 and 7 cm. Close to the stern a bulkhead formed a compartment that was found to contain the captain's personal possessions: a clay stove, jar, cooking pot, cup, two small amphorae with a form unlike the main cargo amphorae, and cherry stones inside a wicker basket. This private compartment extended the width of three rows of floor timbers. The hull planking is in a fairly good state of preservation. Nine rows of planking strakes on the starboard side and eight planking strakes on the port side have survived. The planks were fastened to the frames by both treenails and metal nails. Planking strakes were edge-joined in the form of small dowels or coaks.<sup>9</sup>

### Yenikapı 3

YK 3 was a sturdy merchant vessel. Its surviving section measures 9.12 meters in length and 2.28 meters wide. It is estimated that the hull was originally approximately eighteen meters in length, and six meters wide at the widest point. The wreck is provisionally dated between the seventh and ninth centuries. A large quantity of roof tile shards and fragments of mortar were found inside the ship (Fig. 7).

YK 3 lay on its starboard side, rather than on its keel. As a result, the starboard bottom of the ship was preserved, while the port side of the hull had completely disappeared. The keel, eleven planking strakes on the starboard side, one wale, twenty-six floor timbers and thirteen futtocks, and eight rows of ceiling planks have survived. Iron nails had been used to join the garboard strake to the keel. The iron nails fastening the floor timbers to the keel had generally been hammered from the inside of the ship, whereas when joining the planking to the floor timbers, treenails had been driven from the inboard and iron nails from the outboard of the planking. The thick ceiling planking of the hull indicated that the ship was probably designed to carry heavy cargoes of construction materials such as brick, tiles, and marble.<sup>10</sup>

### Yenikapı 6

The surviving remains of the Yenikapı 6 wreck are about 6.2 meters long and 1.9 meters wide (Fig. 8). The wreck contains neither cargo nor any other equipment and is provisionally

<sup>9</sup> I. Özsait-Kocabaş, “The Centuries-Long Voyage of Ship Yenikapı 12,” in *Stories from the Hidden Harbor: Shipwrecks of Yenikapı*, ed. Kızıltan, 47-55.

<sup>10</sup> I. Özsait-Kocabaş and U. Kocabaş, “Technological and Constructional Features of Yenikapı Shipwrecks: A Preliminary Evaluation / Yenikapı Batıklarında Teknoloji ve Konstrüksiyon Özellikleri: Bir Ön Değerlendirme,” in *The ‘Old Ships’ of the ‘New Gate’ 1 / Yenikapı'nın Eski Gemileri 1*, ed. Kocabaş, 152-63; A. Çetiner, “Yenikapı 3: A Merchantman Carrying the Past,” in *Stories from the Hidden Harbor: Shipwrecks of Yenikapı*, ed. Kızıltan, 56-63.

dated to the tenth century. The boat had a single mast placed right at the very front of the bow. YK 6's hull bottom has a flat profile, and it is estimated that this relatively small vessel might have been used in coastal waters for carrying cargo to nearby ports, or for fishing. Evidence of repairs and replacements on the floor timbers and planking shows that the boat was in use over a long period. The surviving parts of the hull include a fragmentary sternpost, eight planking strakes on the port and starboard sides, twenty-six frames of different dimensions, bilge keels running along the length of the boat on both the port and starboard sides, and a mast step bolted to the keel. Frames and planks were fastened to each other with both treenails and iron nails while only some of the floor timbers were bolted to the keel. Edge dowels were used to align the planks together. Since the first wale is missing, it is not clear whether edge dowels were used above the waterline level or not. Several layers of pitch, a hard yellowish substance consisting of pine resin mixed with tow, were applied to the entire interior of the hull. Besides, the plank edges were luted to seal the seams. Abundant remains of luting, consisting of fine rope fragments and colophon resin mixed with tow, were found between the planks.<sup>11</sup>

### Yenikapı 20

The YK 20 shipwreck is provisionally dated to the ninth-tenth centuries. The preserved length of the vessel is about 8.76 m, while its width is about 2.30 m. Twenty-nine floor timbers, a keel, a mast step, a wale and twenty-one planking strakes have survived (Fig. 9). The ship was found without its cargo and rigging. The vessel is very similar to the YK 12 wreck found in Yenikapı in terms of its construction details, dimensions, and design. The shipwrights had shaped its frames elaborately. The floor timbers and futtocks are fastened to planks with both treenails and metal nails. Planks are aligned with small edge dowels.<sup>12</sup>

### Yenikapı 27

Although YK 27 was found without its cargo, ballasts, anchors, and rigging, the rounded hull design and flat bottom profile suggest that the ship was probably a merchantman. The preserved portion is about 13 m in length and 4.3 m in width. Radiocarbon dating suggests that the ship dates from the eighth to ninth centuries. Most of its frames are made of oak, while the planks are sawn from two different species of pine, *pinus brutia* and *pinus pinea* (Fig. 10).

The ceiling planks were simply laid on the floor timbers without any fastenings. Two supporting timbers for the mast step were bolted to frames and placed a little forward

of midship. The frames are sided 6 cm and molded 7 cm on average. The alternating long-armed floor timbers and futtocks constitute the framing pattern. The floor timbers were bolted to the keel and notched for fitting. None of the frames were scarved to each other, but rather placed side by side. Twenty-one planking strakes survive, having an average thickness of 2.5 cm, and widths ranging from 5 cm to 25 cm. Planks are joined to form strakes by three planed scarves and butt joints. Remains of caulking were found between the planking strakes. There are no edge dowels used to align or join the planking strakes, and only metal nails were used in construction. The keel of the ship is rabbeted and made of two pieces preserved over a length of ten meters.<sup>13</sup>

### Yenikapı 34

YK 34 is a fifth-century CE small merchantman found without its cargo. The surviving portion of the ship is 7.6 meters long and 2.9 meters wide (Fig. 11). The bottom of the hull is well preserved up to the waterline level. The use of pegged or locked mortise and tenon joinery makes YK 34 unique among the shipwreck collection of Yenikapı. While the bottom planking of the ship is joined together by pegged mortise and tenon joints, the side planking, although also edge-joined, uses unpegged mortise and tenon joinery. This would suggest that the shell bottom of the vessel must have been built before framing.<sup>14</sup>

### Yenikapı 35

Yenikapı 35 is a well-preserved merchantman found with its cargo *in situ* on board. The vessel represents one of the earliest shipwrecks uncovered in Yenikapı and is provisionally dated to the fifth century CE on the basis of ceramic remains in the wreck context. The wreckage covers an area of approximately 5 × 15 meters (Fig. 12). The large number of fish bone remains inside the cargo amphorae suggests that the final cargo of the ship was probably dried fish. The origin of its cargo amphorae has not been identified yet. While the starboard side of the vessel is well preserved up to the turn of the bilge, most of the port side is missing. The ceiling strakes on the starboard portion bear Greek inscriptions which are estimated to be shipwright's marks. The ship was built in a way typical of Greco-Roman tradition. Although the ship has a strong framing system with closely spaced frames, the planks were joined together with unpegged mortise and tenon joints. There are various fastener types used to join timbers such as treenails, iron and copper alloy nails.<sup>15</sup>

11 Özsait-Kocabaş and Kocabaş, "Technological and Constructional Features," 103-12.

12 T. Güler, "Construction Technique of Yenikapı 20," in *Medieval Ports in North Aegean and the Black Sea, Links to the Maritime Routes of the East, Thessalonike 4-6.12.2013* (Thessalonike, 2013), 423-27.

13 E. Türkmenoğlu, "A Medieval Shipwreck Discovered in the Theodosius Harbor: Yenikapı 27," in *Medieval Ports in North Aegean and the Black Sea*, 414-22.

14 Kocabaş and Özsait-Kocabaş, "A New Milestone in Ship Archaeology," 35-46.

15 Ibid.

## Galleys

The discovery of at least six galleys at the Yenikapı salvage excavation site is one of the most remarkable results of the project. These galleys are the earliest archaeological finds of this type, and prior to their discovery our knowledge about early medieval galleys was derived solely from iconographic and textual sources. The galleys are provisionally dated to the ninth and tenth centuries CE by radiocarbon dating. Based on the location of the thwarts, it is estimated that the Yenikapı galleys were propelled by a single bank of at least fifty oars, with twenty-five oarsmen per side. It is widely accepted that these vessels must have served for scouting purposes in the Byzantine navy rather than for naval warfare. These kind of light and fast sailing vessels were specifically referred to in Byzantine texts as *galeai* or *monereis*.<sup>16</sup>

Unfortunately the galleys were found without any other equipment related to wreck contexts. No evidence of oars, rigging, anchors or armament was found in place. This may suggest that these were vessels abandoned after a long period of use, like most of the merchantmen found in Yenikapı. However, the surviving hull remains offer invaluable insights about the construction details of this type of vessel for the first time. Long and narrow hull forms clearly indicate that these ships must have been designed for speed and manoeuvrability rather than carrying cargoes. The material choice for the construction of the vessels also confirms this theory. In general the wide flexible planks of the galleys were sawn from black pine and most of the frames were made of a light wood; oriental plane. The ceiling planking provides internal support to the closely placed but relatively thin frames which formed the skeleton. The planks were aligned with closely spaced small edge dowels, and joined together with diagonal scarves to form strakes. The planks and frames were fastened together by both treenails and iron nails.<sup>17</sup>

## Yenikapı 16

The YK 16 is a well-preserved galley type vessel. The surviving wreckage is 22.5 m in length and 2.4 m wide and provisionally dated to the eighth century. The starboard bottom of the ship is preserved up to the turn of the bilge. The preserved parts of the ship include the keel, part of the keelson, a short timber probably belonging to the stem post, futtocks and floor timbers, two stringers, two wales and bottom planking. The notches for fitting the thwarts on the starboard side indicate that the distances between the benches varied from 90 to 97 cm (Fig. 13).

As like the other galleys in Yenikapı, the wide planks made of black pine were edge-fastened together with dowels. Alternating floor timbers and futtocks made of oriental plane formed the internal structure and fastened to planks with treenails and iron nails.

## Boatbuilding from Shell Construction to Skeleton Construction

Scholars of nautical archaeology often refer to two basic boatbuilding methods in the Mediterranean. Archaeological finds from the Late Bronze Age up to late antiquity suggest that earlier shipwrights began constructing the hull by building the shell planking edge fastened together mostly with mortise and tenon joinery. Then they reinforced the planking with an internal framing system after they had completely or partly built the shell structure. In this method of construction, the cohesion of the boat largely depends on the shell planking. Therefore, this tradition is usually known as shell construction. Researches indicate that the method of boatbuilding was drastically changed during the first millennium CE. Instead of building the shell structure prior to the framing, this time shipwrights began construction by erecting the internal framing first and then they attached the planking strakes to the skeleton of the boat. This technique is referred to as the skeleton construction technique due to the primary role of the frames which form the skeletal structure. Compared with the shell construction technique, skeleton construction offers certain advantages. It provides design flexibility and saves time and labor but requires a more sophisticated engineering approach. Owing to lack of sufficient historical and archaeological evidence, the transitional period from shell construction to skeleton construction has not yet been adequately explained. However, the Yenikapı shipwrecks, dating from the fifth to the tenth centuries CE, offer a great opportunity to understand this transitional period. Although research is still in progress, the preliminary results indicate that the transition from shell to skeleton construction is not a linear process, but rather a much more complex development than previously evaluated. It is very likely that both methods of construction existed together for a long time. Besides, most of the ships at Yenikapı were built using a mixed constructional approach. The construction features associated with shell construction, such as planking edge joinery, and with skeleton construction methods, such as closely spaced heavy frames, longitudinal supports etc., are used together in most of the Yenikapı ships. The differences in construction techniques of ships dating from the same period might also point to different local traditions in the Mediterranean region.

There is no doubt that the discovery of the Yenikapı shipwrecks will raise new research questions and ongoing research will shed new light on the development of shipbuilding traditions and maritime practices in the Mediterranean region.

<sup>16</sup> Pryor and Jeffreys, *The Age of the ΔΡΟΜΩΝ*, 190.

<sup>17</sup> Özsait-Kocabaş and Kocabaş, "Technological and Constructional Features," 176–82.



Fig. 1 The Yenikapı excavation site.

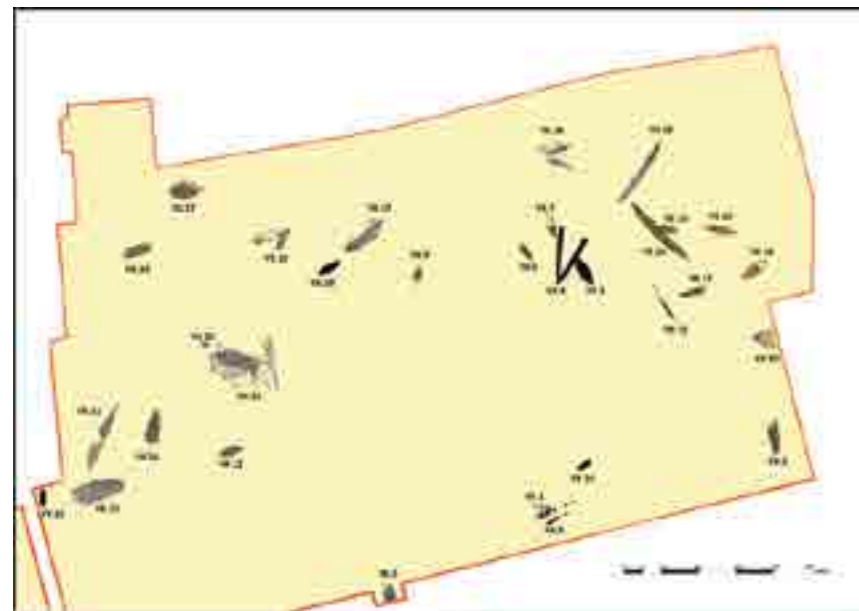


Fig. 2 Distribution of the shipwrecks at the Yenikapı excavation site.



Fig. 3 Fieldwork on the shipwrecks.



Fig. 4 Cargo of Yenikapı 12.



Fig. 5 Illustration of Yenikapı 12.



Fig. 6 Yenikapı 12.



Fig. 7 Yenikapı 3.



Fig. 8 Yenikapı 6.





Fig. 9 Yenikapı 20.



Fig. 11 Yenikapı 34.



Fig. 10 Yenikapı 27.



Fig. 12 Yenikapı 35.



Fig. 13 Yenikapı 16.

## Yenikapı'nın Yükleriyle Batmış Gemileri\*

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### **ABSTRACT** **Yenikapı Shipwrecks Found with Their Cargoes**

The harbor of Eleutherios-Theodosios, which was the greatest commercial harbor of Byzantine Constantinople, was exposed when work at Yenikapı, in an area covering 58,000 m<sup>2</sup>, developed in four different sections becoming the most extended and comprehensive archaeological excavations in the history of Istanbul.

This harbor was constructed during the reign of Constantine the Great and was called the harbor of Eleutherios until the time of Theodosius I. Because of some additions and changes to the harbor at this time, it subsequently became known as the Theodosian harbor.

As a result of the archaeological excavations, the remains of forty-two wooden piers, two stone piers, three stone docks and parts of the city walls surrounding the harbor were revealed. Thousands of small finds came to light that might have fallen into the sea during the loading and unloading of ships, or were just thrown away. Most of them were amphoras and fragments of amphoras. In addition, various ceramics, cups, plates, oil lamps, glass artifacts, golden and bronze coins, a variety of metal finds, leather sandals and ship's tackle were also discovered.

Other than these, thirty-six ships that sank in the harbor at different times were found, excavated, documented, and removed. Among these shipwrecks, the earliest date from the fifth century CE, while the latest one is dated to the end of the eleventh century CE. Five of the thirty-six vessels are characterized by long and slender hulls. The others were cargo sailing vessels. Four of these thirty-one vessels sank with their cargoes. This paper will focus on these four ships and describe the ships themselves as well as their cargoes.

\* Yenikapı Metro kazısı ekibine, özellikle batıkların kazılması sırasında büyük özveri ile çalışan serbest arkeolog Barış Mirzanlı'ya, yayının hazırlanmasında büyük emekleri olan serbest arkeologlar Arzu Polat, Hasan Binay, Funda Genç ve Suatlı Arkeoloji Enstitüsü (INA) çalışanlarından Orkan Köyağasıoğlu'na teşekkür ederim.

Yenikapı'da, 58.000 m<sup>2</sup> alanda, dört ayrı bölgede gelişen ve İstanbul tarihinin en geniş ve kapsamlı arkeolojik kazılarına dönüşen çalışmalar sırasında, Bizans döneminin en büyük ticari limanı olan Eleutherios (Theodosius) Limanı gün ışığına çıkartılmıştır. Bir merkez istasyonunun kurulacağı bu alan, yüzlerce yıl İstanbul'un sebze ve meyve bahçeleri olarak bilinmekte ve Osmanlı Dönemi'nde "Vlanga" olarak adlandırılmaktaydı. Bu liman Marmara Denizi kıyısında, Lykos (Bayrampaşa) Deresi'nin ağzında derin bir girinti yapan doğal koyun güney tarafına, batıdan doğuya doğru uzanan bir dalgakıranın yapılmasıyla kurulmuştu.<sup>1</sup>

Muhtemelen Büyük Konstantinos devrinde, kendisi ile beraber Roma'dan Konstantinopolis'e gelen Eleutherios isimli bir *patrici* tarafından yaptırılan bu limanın M.S. 430 yılında faal halde olduğu kaynaklardan bilinmektedir. Limanın uzunluğu 718,5 m, genişliği 200 m idi. Güney cephesi ve doğuya bakan cephesinin bir kısmı 3,75 m eninde bir dalgakıranla muhafaza altına alınmıştı. Bu dalgakıran Davutpaşa kapısından başlıyor, 400 m doğuya ve 300 m kuzeydoğuya doğru devam ediyordu.<sup>2</sup> Liman içerisinde gerçekleştirdiğimiz kazı çalışmaları esnasında elde edilen bilgiler, bu doğal koyun Büyük Konstantinos zamanında güney yönden bir mendirek ile çevrelenip kullanılmaya başladığını destekler niteliktedir. Limanın ismi I. Theodosius dönemine kadar Eleutherios Limanı olarak anılmış olup, I. Theodosius döneminde limanda yapılan değişiklik ve eklemelerden dolayı bu tarihten sonra limanın Theodosius Limanı olarak anılmaya başladığı düşünülmektedir.

Kazılar neticesinde kırk iki adet ahşap iskele, iki adet taş iskele, üç adet taş rıhtım ve limanı kuşatan surların bir bölümü ortaya çıkartılmıştır. Liman içerisine gemilerden yükleme veyahut boşaltma sırasında denize düşmüş, kırıldıkları için denize atılmış binlerce küçük buluntu ortaya çıkartılmıştır. Bunlar içerisinde ağırlığı amfora ve amfora parçaları oluşturmaktadır. Bunların yanında pişmiş toprak tabaklar, kaplar, kandiller, cam eserler, altın ve bronz sikkeler, çok çeşitli metal eserler, deri sandaletler, gemi donanımları vb. bulunan eserler arasındadır. Bunların dışında liman içerisinde farklı dönemlerde batmış toplam otuz altı adet batık gemi bulunmuş, kazılmış, belgelenmiş ve kaldırılmıştır. Bulunan batık gemiler içerisinde en erken döneme tarihleneni beşinci yüzyıla aittir. En geç tarihli batık gemi ise on birinci yüzyıl sonlarına aittir. Bulunan otuz altı adet geminin beş tanesi kürekle hareket eden ince uzun yapılı kadirga, otuz bir adedi ise yelkenle hareket eden kargo gemileridir. Otuz bir adet kargo gemisi içerisinden dört adedi yükleriyle beraber batmıştır (Çiz. 1).

1 Z. Kızıltan, "Marmaray Metro Projeleri Kapsamında Yapılan, Yenikapı, Sirkeci ve Üsküdar Kazıları," İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri I. *Marmaray - Metro Kurtarma Kazıları Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı*, 5-6 Mayıs 2008, ed. U. Kocabaş (İstanbul, 2010), 2.

2 F. Dirimtekin, *Fetihten Önce Marmara Surları* (İstanbul, 1953), 59-60.

### Marmaray 1 (Yenikapı 1)

Uzunluk: 6,50 m. Genişlik: 3 m. Kot: -1.60 m.

Başta ve kıçta yarım güverteleri bulunan küçük boyutlu bu yük gemisi, battıktan sonra kum zemine oturarak sancak tarafına yatmıştır (Res. 1). Günümüze, geminin omurgası, bir döşeği ve sancak tarafında sintine dönüşü ile küpeşte arasındaki borda kısmı ulaşmıştır.<sup>3</sup> Onuncu yüzyıl sonu ve on birinci yüzyıl başlarına tarihlenmekte olan gemi, hepsi Ganos amforası<sup>4</sup> olan yükleriyle birlikte batmıştır (Res. 2). Aşırı yükleme yapıldığı için ani bir fırtınada yükün tamamının sancak tarafına yığılması nedeniyle geminin alabora olarak battığı düşünülmektedir. Yenikapı 1 batığı bugüne kadar Yenikapı'da bulunan otuz altı batık arasında içinde çapa bulunan tek örnektir. Batığın baş kısmında Y tipinde iki adet demir çapa tespit edilmiştir.

### Marmaray 3 (Yenikapı 3)

Uzunluk: 9,15 m. Genişlik: 2,30 m. Kot: -0,70 m.

Gemi, deniz zeminine oturmuş, iskele tarafına doğru yatmıştır. Bu yüzden iskele tarafı omurgadan ilk kuşak tahtasına kadar korunarak gelmiş, sancak tarafı ise tamamen yok olmuştur. Geminin ambar bölümünde döşeklerin üzerine uzun, geniş ve kalın farş tahtaları çakılmıştır. Geminin kıç kısmında farş tahtalarının bitiminde, üzerinde boydan boya oluk olan bir döşek bulunmuştur. Bu döşegin oluşuna, boylu boyunca ahşaplar konularak geminin kıçıyla gemi ambarı bir bölmeyle birbirinden ayrılmıştır.<sup>5</sup> Geminin ambar bölümünde hepsi inşaat moloz atıkları olan horasan harç parçaları, üzerlerinde horasan harç izleri bulunan kırık pişmiş toprak tuğlalar ve taş parçaları bulunmuştur (Res. 3). Tuğlaların üzerinde bulunan ve bir kısmı okunabilmiş olan damgalar incelendiğinde bu damgalı pişmiş toprak tuğlaların M.S. beşinci veya altıncı yüzyıla ait oldukları anlaşılmaktadır.<sup>6</sup> Taşdığı yükün tamamının muhtemelen beşinci veya altıncı yüzyılda inşa edilmiş ve yıkılmış olan bir yapıya ait moloz atıkları olması nedeniyle, geminin bu malzemeleri limanda yapılan bir inşaat faaliyeti için götürürken batmış olabileceği düşünülmektedir. Nitekim kazı alanının kuzeydoğusunda ortaya çıkartılan ve sekizinci yüzyılın sonu, dokuzuncu yüzyılın başına tarihlediğimiz taş iskelenin temelinde yaptığımız incelemede, zeminin sağlamlaştırılması

3 Geminin konstrüksiyonu için bkz. C. Pulak, "Yenikapı Bizans Batıkları," *Gün Işığında: İstanbul'un 8000 Yılı. Marmaray, Metro, Sultanahmet Kazıları*, ed. B. Öztuncay (İstanbul, 2007), 208.

4 Geminin yükünün katalogu için bkz. A. Denker, F. Demirkök, M. Kiraz ve T. Akbaytogan, "YK 1," *Saklı Limandan Hikayeler: Yenikapı'nın Batıkları*, ed. Z. Kızıltan ve G. Baran Çelik (İstanbul, 2013), 211-19.

5 Geminin konstrüksiyonu için bkz. A. Çetiner, "Yenikapı 3: Geçmiş Taşıyan Bir Ticaret Gemisi," *Saklı Limandan Hikayeler*, ed. Kızıltan ve Baran Çelik, 57-63.

6 Geminin yükünün katalogu için bkz. F. Demirkök, G. Kongaz ve Ö. Korkmaz Kömürcü, "YK 3," *Saklı Limandan Hikayeler*, ed. Kızıltan ve Baran Çelik, 193-96.

için kum zemin üzerine aynı nitelikte horasan harç parçaları, kırık pişmiş toprak tuğlalar ve taş parçalarından oluşan moloz dolgu tespit edilmiştir. Batığın içinde bulunduğu tabaka ve oturduğu deniz zemininde bulunan amforalar incelendiğinde geminin dokuzuncu veya onuncu yüzyılda battığı anlaşılmaktadır.

### Marmaray 6 (Yenikapı 12)

Uzunluk: 7,00 m. Genişlik: 2,30 m. Kot: 1,30 m.

Küçük boyutlu bir ticaret gemisi olan bu batık taşıdığı Kırım amforalarıyla birlikte omurgası üzerine deniz zeminine oturmuştur (Res. 4).<sup>7</sup> Geminin içinde sağlam ve kırık amfora parçaları tespit edilmiştir. Geminin kıç tarafına yakın bir bölümünde ise içinde gemi mürettebatına ait günlük kullanım eşyalarının bulunduğu bir bölme tespit edilmiştir (Res. 5). Bu bölmede yemekleri pişirmek için kullanılan pişmiş toprak maltız ve bu maltızın üzerine tam olarak oturan yine pişmiş topraktan yapılmış bir pişirme kabı ele geçirilmiştir. Bunların yanı sıra tek kulplu bir testi, tek kulplu pişmiş topraktan bir bardak; yonca ağızlı, tek kulplu, düz dipli bir testi; bir tanesi geminin taşıdığı amforalardan farklı tipte olmak üzere iki adet amfora bulunmuştur.<sup>8</sup> Bunlarla beraber hasır bir sepet içinde kiraz çekirdekleri ile zeytin çekirdekleri bulunmuştur. Geminin muhtemel batış sebebinin ise Marmara Denizi'nde mayıs ve temmuz ayları arasında sıklıkla karşılaşılan ve halk arasında *Kaçak* olarak adlandırılan ani bir fırtına olduğunu düşünmekteyiz.

### Metro 22 (Yenikapı 35)<sup>9</sup>

Uzunluk: 14,8 m. Genişlik: 5,20 m. Kot: -4,50 m.

Gemi sancak karinası üzerine taşıdığı yüküyle beraber deniz zeminine oturmuştur (Res. 6). Geminin sancak kısmının ahşapları su kesiminin hemen üzerine kadar korunarak gelmiştir. Gemi sancak tarafına doğru yattığı için iskele tarafı yukarıda kalmış bu sebeple battıktan sonra sancak tarafı zamanla kum ve çamurla kapanarak korunabilmiş ancak geminin iskele tarafı açıkta kaldığı için ahşap kurtları (*teredo navalis*) tarafından zayıflatılıp, iskele tarafı sintine dönüşünün hemen öncesine kadar tahrip olmuştur. Kazı sırasında geminin hemen üzerinde görülen kum ile karışık çamur, altında bulunan ahşapları korunmuştur. Geminin sancak kıç omuzluğu diğer kısımlara göre dağılmış vaziyettedir. Bu durum, geminin batarken sancak kıç omuzluk üzerinde zemine oturduğunu düşündürmektedir.

7 Geminin konstrüksiyonu için bkz. I. Özsait-Kocabaş, "Hull Characteristics of the Yenikapı 12 Shipwreck," *Between Continents: Proceedings of the Twelfth Symposium on Boat and Ship Archaeology (ISBSA 12) Istanbul 2009*, ed. N. Günsenin (İstanbul, 2012), 115-20.

8 A. Denker vd., "YK 12," *Saklı Limandan Hikayeler*, ed. Kızıltan ve Baran Çelik, 198-209.

9 Geminin yükünün katalogu için bkz. M. A. Polat, "YK 35," *Saklı Limandan Hikayeler*, ed. Kızıltan ve Baran Çelik, 154-90.

Gemi omurgası kıç bodoslamasıyla birlikte dört kısımdan oluşmaktadır. Bunların toplam uzunluğu 14,80 m dir. Omurgada derin bir aşoz yer almaktadır. Burma levhasından başlayarak bütün kaplama tahtaları birbirine zıvanalı geçme adı verilen kenet sistemi ile bağlanmıştır. Bu zıvanaların mesafeleri ile ölçüleri farklılıklar göstermektedir. Kaplama tahtalarının genişlik ve kalınlıkları da değişkenlik göstermektedir. Ölçüleri birbirinden farklı olan döşekler diğer batıklara oranla daha sık aralıktadır. Kaplamalar, döşeklere kaplamaların altından çakılan bronz çivilerle kenetlenmiştir. Ayrıca döşekler ahşap kavelalarla da kaplamalara bağlanmıştır.

İç konstrüksiyonu desteklemek için kullanılan iç ıstralyalar, omurgadan itibaren düzgün sıralı biçimde döşeklere çakılmışlardır. Her ıstralya arasına düzenli bir şekilde omurgaya paralel seyyar farş tahtaları yerleştirilmiştir. Bu farş tahtalarının bazıları üzerinde kazıma ile yazılmış Grekçe harfler tespit edilmiştir (Çiz. 2). Omurga üzerinde yer alan farşlar alabandadaki farşların aksine enlemesine yerleştirilmiş, böylelikle sintine üzerinde düz biz zemin elde edilmiştir.

Sancak tarafındaki farş tahtalarının üzerinde yan yana ve sırt sırta istiflenmiş toplam 128 adet amfora bulunmuştur. Amforaların sivri olan dipleri, geminin iki iç ıstralyası arasına gelecek şekilde yerleştirilmiştir. Amforaların dipleri, farş tahtalarından daha yüksek seviyede olan ıstralyalara oturtularak amforalar sabitlenmiştir (Res. 7). Farş tahtaları üzerine yerleştirilen amforaların, roda edilmiş halatlardan yapılmış destekler içine oturtulduğu görülmektedir (Res. 8). Bu halatlardan destekler amforaların gemi içine rahatça istiflenmesini sağlamış, kırılmaların önüne geçmiş ve birbirlerine bağlanmalarını sağlamıştır. Bu destekler tüm amforaların altında bulunamamıştır. Bazı amforaların altında ise bir araya konularak istiflenmiş yapraklardan, ot ve samandan destek yapıldığı görülmüştür. Alabandaları korumak için kullanılan benzer bitkisel koruyucuların en erken örnekleri Uluburun<sup>10</sup> ve Gelidonya<sup>11</sup> batıklarından ele geçmiştir. Diğer belirgin örnekler Fransa'dan Madrague de Gienns<sup>12</sup> batığı ve İsrail'den M.S. altıncı yüzyılın ilk çeyreğine tarihlendirilen Dor 2001/1 batığından<sup>13</sup> ele geçmiştir.

Çok parçalı olan amforaların birleştirilme çalışmaları sürmekle beraber bugüne kadar birleştirilmiş olanlar altı ana tipe ayrılmıştır (Çiz. 3). Bu amforalardan küçük boyutlu, sarı renk hamurlu olanlarının Sinop amforaları<sup>14</sup> oldukları anlaşılmaktadır. Sayıca daha fazla olan büyük boyutlu diğer amforalar beş farklı tip altında toplanmaktadır. Zemer 42 ya da Samos Cistern tipi olarak adlandırılan M 273 amforasının<sup>15</sup> benzerleri

10 C. Pulak, "1994 Excavation at Uluburun: The Final Campaign," *IJNA* 21.4 (1994): 10.

11 J. du Plat Taylor, "Basketry and Matting," *Cape Gelidonya: A Bronze Age Shipwreck*, TAPA new ser. 57 (1967): 160-62.

12 B. Rosen, E. Galili ve M. Weinstein-Evron, "Thorny Burnet (*Sacopoterium spinosum* L.) in a Roman Shipwreck off the Israeli Coast and the Role of Non-Timber Shrubs in Ancient Mediterranean Ships," *Environmental Archaeology* 14.2 (2009): 171.

13 Y. Kahanov ve H. Mor, "The Dor 2001/1 Byzantine Shipwreck, Israel: Final Report," *IJNA* 43.1 (2014): 60.

14 D. Kassab Tezgör, "Historique et presentation des fouilles de l'atelier de Demirci," *Les Fouilles et le materiel de l'atelier amphorique de Demirci pres de Sinope*, ed. D. Kassab Tezgör (İstanbul, 2010), 134, 135, lev. 8, res. 1-3.

15 Opait daha önceden Robinson M 273 tipinin geç versiyonu olarak nitelenen bu amforanın daha sonra

olduğu belirtilen bu amforaların Canosa, Marsilya ve Napoli'de yapılan kazılarda bulunan benzerleri M.S. beşinci yüzyıla tarihlendirilmiştir.<sup>16</sup> Agora M 273 amforasının farklı tipleri beşinci yüzyılda kendini göstermeye başlamıştır ve altıncı yüzyıldan itibaren bölgesel çeşitleri artmıştır.<sup>17</sup> Bu amforalar genel hatlarıyla kalın bilezik dudaklı veya düz ağız kenarlı, yivli veya yivsiz uzun silindirik boyunlu, düşük dar omuzlu veya hafif şişkin omuzlu, dibe doğru genişleyen ovoidal gövde üzerinde bazılarında yivli, bazılarında ise yivsiz veya yivleri belirgin değildir. Dip kısımları uzun ve sivridir. Amforaların hamur renkleri kiremit renginden kahverengiye ve griye değişen renk skalasına sahiptir.

Amforaların kil kompozisyonları ve renkleri bakımından benzerlerinin menşei birçok farklı kaynakta Samos Adası olarak verilmektedir. Ancak Samos Adası'nda herhangi bir atölye veya üretim fırını bulunmamıştır.<sup>18</sup>

Bu amforaların benzerleri Tanais, Khersonessos, Histria, Tyras, Tomis, Varna, Silistra, Callatis, Novoe, Torone ve Topraichoi kazılarında ortaya çıkarılmıştır.<sup>19</sup> İlk değerlendirmemize göre geminin içinde bulunan Sinop amforaları dışında kalan yükün çoğunluğunu oluşturan büyük boyutlu amforaların Karadeniz'in kuzey ve kuzeybatısında yer alan merkezlerden bugünkü Romanya ve çevresinden gelmiş olmalıdır.

Batık içerisinde bulunmuş olan Sinop amforalarının boyutları ve ağız çaplarının küçük olması nedeniyle içerlerinde sıvı malzeme taşıdıkları düşünülmektedir. Bu amforaların dışında yükün çoğunluğunu oluşturan ve beş ana tipe ayrılmış olan büyük boyutlu amforaların tamamının içerisinden balık kalıntıları çıkarılmıştır. Küçük boyutlu oldukları anlaşılan balıkların, kılıçları ve yüzgeç parçaları seçilebilmektedir. Bulunan balık kalıntılarının tamamının salamura edilmiş hamsi balığına ait olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.<sup>20</sup>

Knidos tipinin geç bir versiyonu olduğunu belirtmiştir. A. Opait, "The Eastern Mediterranean Amphorae in the Province of Scythia," *Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean. Acts of the International Colloquium at the Danish Institute at Athens, September 26-29 2002*, ed. J. Eiring ve J. Lund (Aarhus, 2004), 300, res.15; V. R. Grace, *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade: Excavations of the Athenian Agora. Picture Book No. 6* (New Jersey, 1979), res. 64; Opait C-III-1 tip için A. Opait, *Aspecte Ale Vietii Economice Din Provincia Syctia (secolele IV-VI p.Ch.): Productia ceramicii locale și de import* (Bükreş,1996), 211, lev. 14.

16 T. O. Alpözen, H. Özdaş ve B. Berkaya, *Bodrum Sualtı Arkeoloji Müzesi Ticari Amphoraları*, (Bodrum, 1995), 18, res. 7; M. Bonifay ve D. Pieri, "Amphores du Ve au VIIe s. à Marseille: nouvelles données sur la typologie et le contenu," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 8 (1995): 114, res. 11; J. Hayes, "From Rome to Beirut and Beyond: Asia Minor and Eastern Mediterranean Trade Connections," *Acta Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautores* 36 (2000): 296, res. 30.

17 P. Reynolds, "Trade Networks of the East, 3rd to 7th Centuries: The View from Beirut (Lebanon) and Butrint (Albania) (Fine Wares, Amphorae and Kitchen Wares)," *LRCW 3: Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean World and Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. S. Menchelli vd. (Oxford, 2010), 97, res. 6i.

18 A. K. Şenol, *Marmaris Müzesi Ticari Amphoraları* (Ankara, 2003), 89-93; Bonifay ve Pieri, "Amphores du Ve au VIIe s. à Marseille," 114, res. 11; C. Scorpan, "Origini și linii Evolutive in Ceramica Romano- Bizantina (sec. IV-VII) din Spatiul Mediteranean și Pontic," *Pontica* 9 (1976): 158, lev. III Tip 1 Tomis.

19 Opait, "Eastern Mediterranean Amphorae in the Province of Scythia," 303; C. Scorpan, "Contribution à la connaissance de certains types céramiques romano-byzantins (IV-VII siècles) dans l'espace Istro-Pontique," *Dacia* 21 (1977): 3, 5, 272, lev. 39; Alpözen vd., *Bodrum Sualtı Arkeoloji Müzesi Ticari Amphoraları*, 110; G. F. Bass ve F. van Doorninck, "A Fourth-Century Shipwreck at Yassı Ada," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 75.1 (1971): 27-37, lev. 2, res. 8-9; Scorpan, "Origini și linii Evolutive," 158, lev. III, Tip 1 Tomis.

20 İstanbul Üniversitesi Veterinerlik Fakültesi'nden Prof. Dr. Vedat Onar'ın yaptığı ön inceleme sonucuna göre kalıntılar salamura edilmiş hamsi balığına aittir.

2008 yılında Yenikapı Marmaray kazı alanı I. Bölge'de yer alan L/12 açması - 4,75/- 4,85 m kotunda Konstantinopolis darphanesinde basılmış on dokuz adedi *solidus*, dört adedi *tremissis* biriminde toplam yirmi üç adet altın sikke bulunmuştur.

Batığın yaklaşık otuz beş metre güneydoğusunda bulunan ve batıkla aynı kotlarda olan bu sikkeler muhtemelen fırtına sırasındaki yalpalama esnasında teknenin sancak tarafına yattığı bir sırada denize düşmüştür. Bunu destekleyecek bir başka veri yine batığın güneyinde ve güneydoğusunda, Marmaray kazı alanında kimi bir arada, kimi ise dağınık vaziyette ve bir kısmı sağlam ele geçmiş olan ve batığın yükünün bir kısmını oluşturan Sinop amforalarıdır. Kuvvetle muhtemel teknenin yalpalaması sırasında sikkelerle birlikte bu amforalar da denize düşmüştür.

Yirmi üç sikkeden meydana gelen toplu buluntuda, en erken sikke Honorius (M.S. 393-423) dönemine, en geç sikke ise Marcianus (M.S. 450-457) dönemine ait sikkelerdir.<sup>21</sup> Batığa ait olduğunu düşündüğümüz sikkelerden Marcianus'a (MS 450-457) ait olan en geç tarihliler ve batık içerisinde bulunan ve M.S. beşinci yüzyıla tarihlenen amforalar birlikte değerlendirildiğinde, teknenin M.S. beşinci yüzyılın ikinci yarısında batmış olabileceği düşünülmektedir.

Batığın kazısının bitirilmesinin hemen ardından, kuzeydoğusu ve doğusunda yaklaşık on metre yarı çapında bir alanda ikişerli bir grup ve tekil olarak iki adet olmak üzere toplamda dört adet T tipi demir çapa ele geçmiştir (Res. 9). Çapaların kollarının güneydoğuya, aneelerinin kuzeybatıya bakar biçimde bulunmaları ve batığa göre olan konumları, bunların büyük bir ihtimalle Metro 22 gemisine ait olduklarına ve gemiyi batıran lodos fırtınası sırasında kullanıldıklarına işaret etmektedir.

Batığın içerisinde amforalar dışında, ahşap gemi modeli, ahşap *pentaptykh* (ağırlık kutusu, defter) ve ahşap kilit aksamı, üzerinde özellikle durulması gereken önemli buluntulardır.

## Gemi Modeli

Tek parça ağaçtan oyulmuş dar ve uzun model gemi, muhtemelen bir kadırgayı tasvir etmektedir (Çiz. 4). Omurgası oldukça belirgin biçimde işlenmiştir. Sivri olan baş kısmı yukarı doğru kalkık olup, kıç kısmında muhtemelen dümen küreklerinin bağlandığı çıkıntılar tasvir edilmiştir. Baş ve kıç bodoslamaları ile küpeşterleri belirgindir. Modelin orta kesitinde, bordanın küpeşteye yakın kısmında sancak tarafında iki, iskele tarafında ise bir delik mevcuttur. Bu delikler muhtemelen direği çarmıklar aracılığıyla sabitlemek için açılmıştır. İç kısmı alabandaları yuvarlak uçlu iskarpela ile oyulmuş olup karina ve bordaları bıçakla düzeltilmiştir. Geminin yapımı tam olarak bitirilemeyip yarım kaldığı görülmektedir.

21 S. Öztöpaş, "Yenikapı Batıkları Toplu Sikke Buluntuları," *Saklı Limandan Hikayeler*, ed. Kızıltan ve Baran Çelik, 136.

### **Pentaptykh (Ağırlık Kutusu, Defter)**

Defter, dikey dikdörtgen formlu beş adet ahşap panel yapraktan oluşmaktadır. Alt ve üst kapakların iç yüzü ve diğer üç yaprağın her iki yüzü dikdörtgen bir çerçeve içinde sığ şekilde oyulmuş ve içleri üzerine *stylus* adı verilen ucu sivri bir kalem ile yazı yazılabilmesi için balmumu ile kaplanmıştır. Batıktan ele geçen bu defterdeki balmumu yüzeylerin üzerinde kazıma ile yapılmış Grekçe yazılar görülebilmektedir. Defterin diğerlerine göre daha kalın olan alt kapağı sürgülüdür. Etrafı kazıma yivlerle çevrili olan sürgülü kapak çekilerek açıldığında alt panelin iç yüzeyine her biri için ayrı ayrı oyulmuş olan yuvalara yerleştirilmiş, küçük ince yapılı bronz bir hassas terazi, kolu, kefeleri, bronz ağırlığı ve iki adet çengeli ile birlikte görülmektedir. Ahşap defterin beş adet yaprağını birleştirmek için çerçevenin sol kenarına ikişerden toplam dört adet delik açılmıştır. Ahşap paneller birbirine ip veya deri ile bağlanmış olmalıdır. Alt ve üst panellerin dış yüzeyi merkezde yatay kazıma bir çizgi ile iki bölüme ayrılmış ve bu çizgi üzerinde daire bezeme ile haç motifi dekore edilmiştir (Çiz. 5). Bu *pentaptykh* bulunana kadar bir batıktan ele geçen en eski ve bilinen tek defter örneği, Uluburun Batığı'nda bulunan *diptykhtir*.<sup>22</sup>

Büyük bir ihtimalle kaptan veya gemide bulunan bir tacir, limana geldiğinde mallarının karşılığında aldığı altın sikkelerin gramajlarının doğru olup olmadığını defterin alt panelinde yer alan terazi ile kontrol etmekte ve notlarını defterin sayfalarına yazmaktaydı. Kuvvetle muhtemel gittiği veya gideceği limanları, hangi limanda kime ne verdiği ve karşılığını not almaktaydı. Sayfalar üzerinde yer alan balmumlarının bir kısmı tamamen kaybolmuş olmasına rağmen kalan bölümlerde görülen yazılar ortaya çıkartılmaya çalışılmaktadır. Mevcut yazıların ortaya çıkartılıp, okunmasının çok önemli bilgilere ulaşmamızı sağlayacağı muhakkaktır.

### **Kilit**

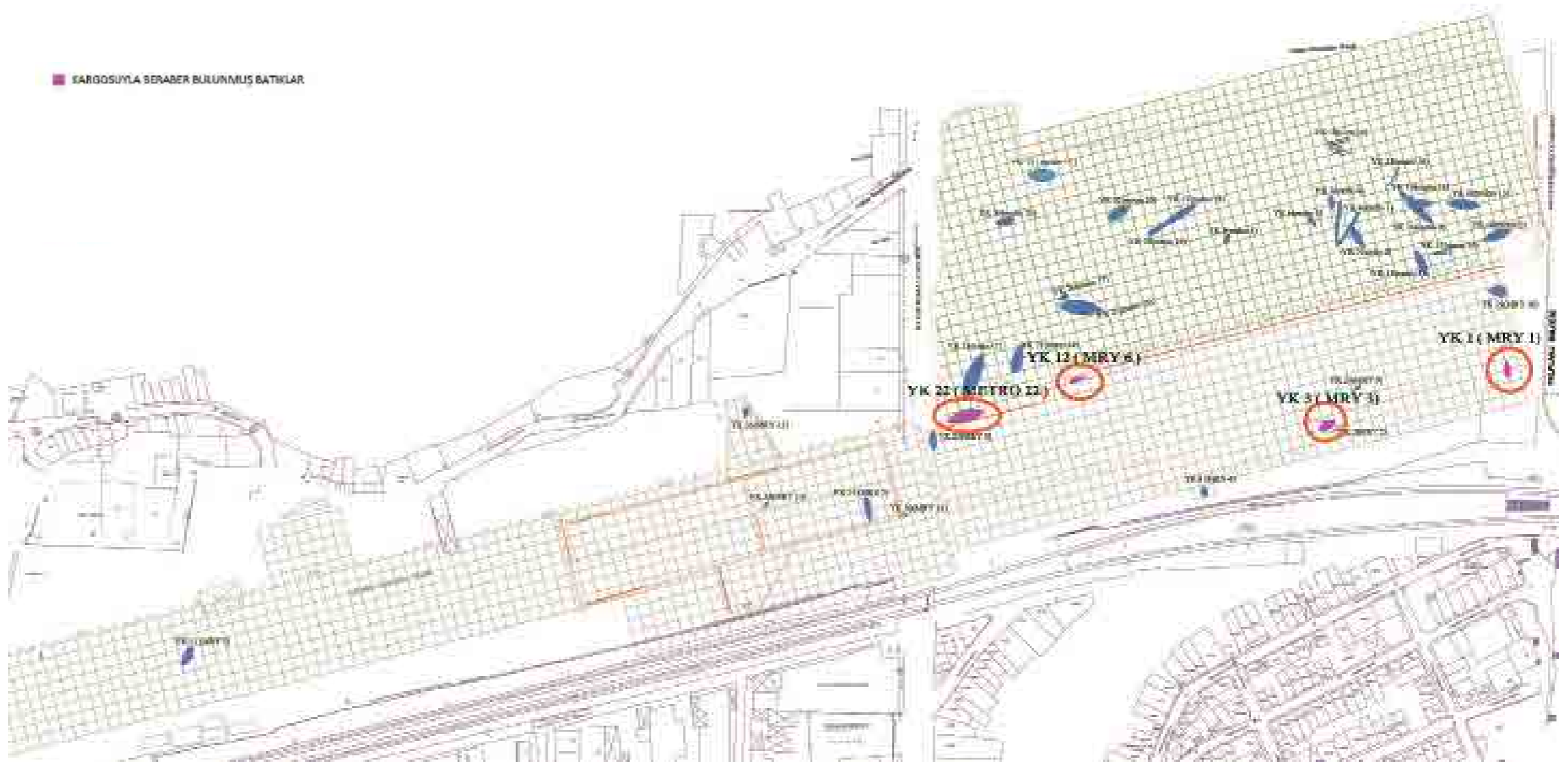
Dikdörtgen formlu olan ahşap kilit iki ana parçadan oluşmaktadır. Bu parçalardan biri dikey, diğeri yatay konumlu olup haç biçiminde yerleştirilmiştir. Kapıyla birleşen yüzey düzleştirilmiştir. Dikey parçanın üst kısmının iç yüzünde, içerisine üç adet ince uzun dikdörtgen formlu yuvalar açılmış ve bu yuvaların içerisine ahşap diller yerleştirilmiştir. Bu yuvalar yatay konumda olan diğer ahşap üzerine de kısmi olarak açılmış olup, ahşap dillerin bu yuvalara yerleştirilmesiyle hareketli olan sürgü sabitlenerek kilitlenmektedir. Kilidin üst yüzü bir kenara doğru inceltilmiş olup üzerinde kazıma olarak yapılmış bezeme bulunmaktadır. Kilidin olasılıkla kapıya takılması için dikey vaziyetteki sabit olan ahşabın her iki kenarına da açılmış birer adet çivi deliği bulunmaktadır (Çiz. 6).

Batığın kazısı sırasında ahşap gemi modeli, ahşap *pentaptykh* (ağırlık kutusu, defter) ve ahşap kilit aksamı, pişmiş toprak tava, iki adet pişmiş toprak tabak, bir adet

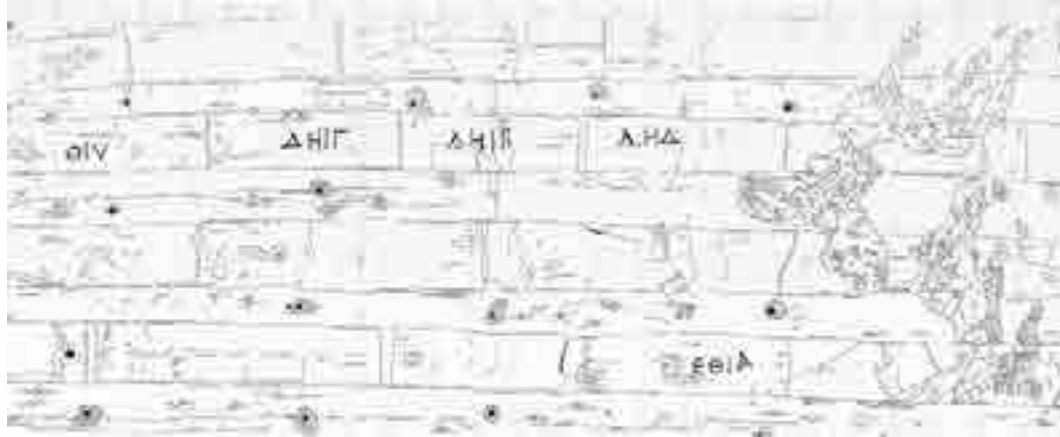
içerisinde ekme hamuru hazırlanmış olabileceği düşünülen ahşap tekne ve kandillerin büyük bir çoğunluğu geminin kış tarafında ve yakın çevresinde bulunmuştur. Geminin kış tarafında bulunan kaptan ve mürettebat eşyalarının, geminin batarken sancak kış omuzluk üzerinde zemine oturmasıyla etrafa dağıldığı düşünülmektedir. Ahşap *pentaptykh* ile ahşap kilit birbirine çok yakın bir konumda bulunmuştur. Muhtemelen içeriside ahşap *pentaptykhin* de bulunduğu kapağında kilit bulunan ahşap dolap batış esnasında kırılmış ve içindekilerle birlikte dağılmıştır.

Yükleriyle birlikte batmış olan batıklarla ilgili ayrıntılı çalışmalar devam etmektedir. Yeni bulgular ışığında hazırlanacak olan çok daha kapsamlı ve ayrıntılı bir yayınlı tüm bilgiler bilim dünyası ile paylaşılacaktır.

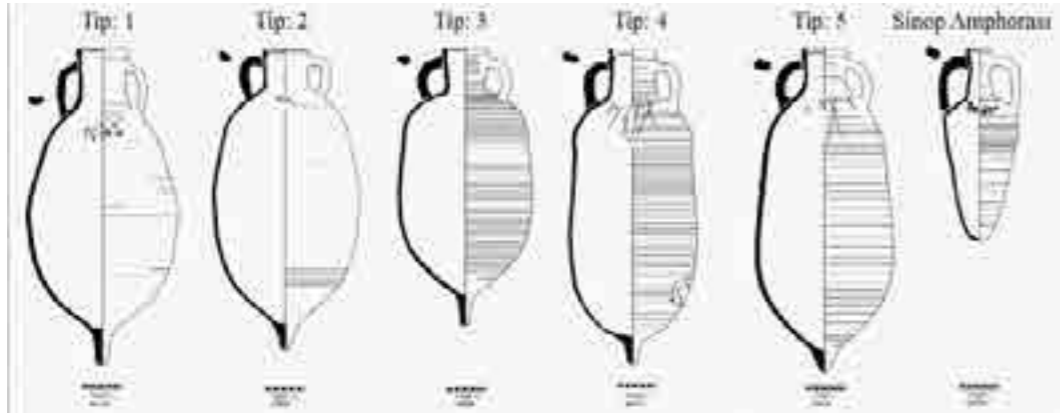
<sup>22</sup> R. Payton, "The Ulu Burun Writing-Board Set," *AnatSt* 41 (1991): 99-106.



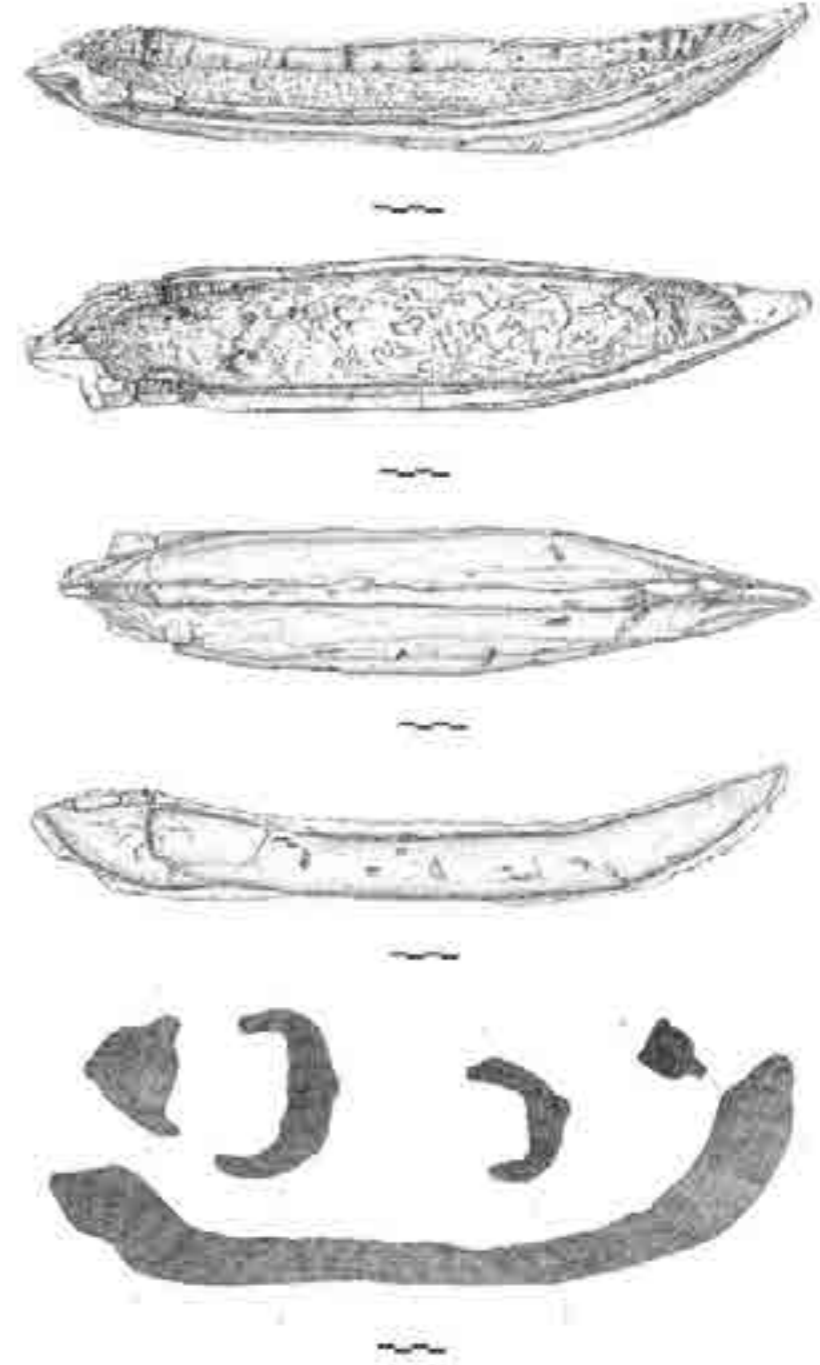
Çiz. 1 Yenikapı Batıkları Vaziyet Planı.



Çiz. 2 Metro 22 Batığı Farş Tahtaları Üzerindeki Yazılar

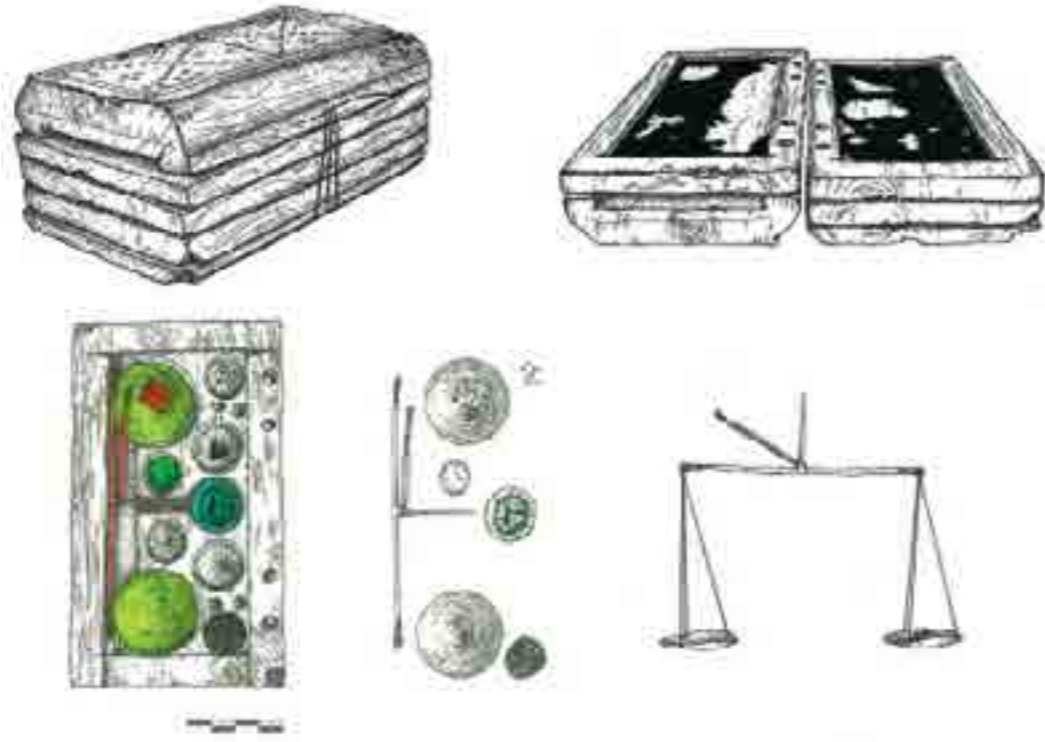


Çiz. 3 Metro 22 Batığı Amfora Tipleri.

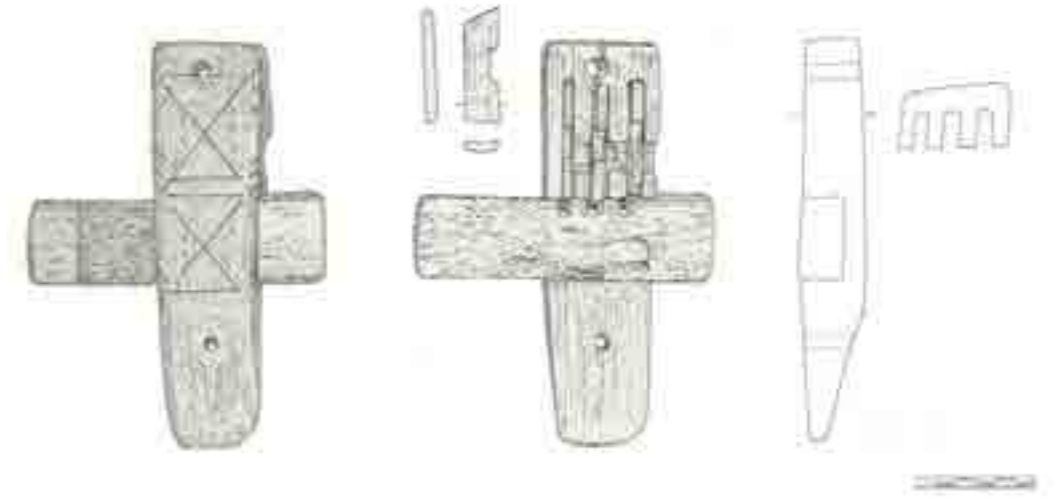


Çiz. 4 Metro 22 Batığı Gemi Modeli.





Çiz. 5 Metro 22 Batığı *Pentaptykh* (Ağırlık Kutusu-Defter).



Çiz. 6 Metro 22 Batığı Ahşap Kilit.



Res. 1 MRY 1 Batığı Genel Durumu.



Res. 3 MRY 3 Batığı Yüklü Hali.



Res. 2 MRY 1 Batığı Ganos Amforaları.



Res. 4 MRY 6 Batığı Genel Hali.



Res. 5 MRY 6 Batığı Saklı Bölme.



Res. 6 Metro 22 Batığı Fotomozaik.



Res. 7 Metro 22 Batığı Amforalarının İstifi.



Res. 8 Metro 22 Batığı Amforalarının Roda Edilmiş Destek Halatları.



Res. 9 Metro 22 Batığına Ait Olduğu Düşünülen Metal Çapaların Konumu.

## Ganos Limanı'ndan *Portus Theodosiacus*'a

Nergis Günsenin  
Istanbul University

*Bir testi yaparsın  
çamurdan  
içindeki boşluktur  
onu yararlı kılan.*

**Lao Tsu**

### **ABSTRACT** **From Ganos Harbor to *Portus Theodosiacus***

Visitors to the archaeological site at Yenikapı, that originally spread over 58,000 square meters during its excavation by the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, would immediately notice the thousands of broken ceramics/amphoras lying around. Yet, after a brief look at them, their attention would be drawn to the larger finds, especially the shipwrecks. It was all too easy to ignore the fact that were it not for the broken amphoras, the ships would not even be there. Indeed, these ships were constructed in order to carry these amphoras, the *jars* of the Canaanites, *amphiphoreus/amphoreus* of the Greeks, *megarika* of the Byzantines, *kabakulak* of the Ottomans. In fact, these ceramic containers were built for sea transport from the second millennium BCE to the fourteenth century CE. They carried liquids and dry foods from all the harbors of the Western and Eastern Mediterranean to the Black Sea.

I have been most fortunate to follow the excavations from the beginning and to decipher the histories hidden in the artifacts. I have also dated the amphoras at the site, most of which were made at Ganos (modern Gaziköy) and are now known as *Günsenin type I* amphoras.

One might wonder the reason for bringing thousands of amphoras to Constantinople. Those amphoras were in fact loaded with wine from the Ganos monasteries and they were being transported to the markets of Constantinople.

Since the entire work of this project will be fully published, the primary focus of this paper will be the history of the arrival of these ships at the harbor.

58.000 metrekarelik Yenikapı kazı alanına baktığımız zaman, ilk sırada dikkatinizi çeken zemindeki binlerce kırık pişmiş toprak-testi parçasıdır. Bu kırık parçalara şöyle bir göz atıp, dikkatinizi mimari elemanlara ve tabii ki son yılların en önemli arkeolojik buluntularından olan ahşap gemilere yoğunlaştırırsınız. Halbuki o gemiler, ilk sırada önem vermediğiniz o testileri taşımak için inşa edilmişlerdir. Testiler —yani Kenan diyarının *küpleri*, Yunan dünyasının *amphoreusları*, Bizanslıların *megarikaları*, Osmanlıların *kabakulakları*, günümüz yaygın kullanımıyla, amforalar— binlerce yıl boyunca (M.Ö. 2000–M.S. 1400) sıvı ve katı tüketim maddelerini deniz ticareti yoluyla Doğu ve Batı Akdeniz'in ve Karadeniz'in neredeyse tüm limanlarına, Rusya steplerine, hatta Kuzey Avrupa'ya taşıyan seramik *konteynerler* ve de, onları yararlı kılan, içlerindeki boşluk. Yenikapı kazı alanındaki, yani geç Roma ve Bizans dönemlerinin en önemli limanlarından biri olan *Portus Theodosiacus*'taki bu amforaların çoğunun boşluğunda şarap vardı. Büyük bir bölümü de Ganos'tan (günümüzde Gaziköy) gelmekteydi.

Marmaray kazıları başladığı ve Yenikapı Metro İstasyonu'nun temellerinin atılmaya başlandığı ilk günlerde, arkeolojik çalışmayı yıllardır büyük bir özveri ve başarıyla yürüten İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri'ndeki meslektaşlarımı ziyaret etmiş ve buluntuları ilk gören şanslı arkeologlardan biri olarak, çamur içinde, sadece kulpları görünen ve çoğunlukla on birinci yüzyılda kullanımda olan amforaları hemen tanımlamış ve amforaların yanında başını çıkarmış olan “tahta parçası”nın bir gemi postası olduğunu söylemişim. Şu anda o gemilerin sayısı otuz yedi oldu, taşıdığı Ganos, daha sonra literatüre geçen adıyla *Günsenin I*, amforalarının sayısı ise kanımca binleri buldu. Peki nedir bu binlerce amforayı, yani litrelerce şarabı, Bizans döneminin başkenti Konstantinopolis'e getiren neden?

Şarap insanların gastronomik, sosyal ve kültürel hayatına binlerce yıl önce girmiştir. Mezopotamya ve Mısırlılar kendi şaraplarını üretmekle beraber, Yunanistan ve Fenike'den daha fazlasını ithal etmişlerdir. Anadolu Hititler şarap üretiminin öncülerindedir. Şarap sadece bir tüketim maddesi değil, aynı zamanda törensel hayatlarının simgesel bir parçasıdır. Bayramlarında, hatta cenaze törenlerinde, şarkılar eşliğinde, tanrılarına şarap sunmuşlardır. Doğu Akdeniz'in iklimi şarap üretimini anakaranın kıyı bölgeleriyle sınırlarken, Batı Akdeniz adaları yüzlerce şarap üretim merkeziyle zenginleşmiştir. Antik Yunan dünyasında bağcılık, tarımsal ekonominin önemli bir parçası, aynı zamanda sosyal faaliyetlerde belirgin bir şekilde öne çıkan unsur olmuştur. Şarap tanrıları, özellikle *Dionysos*, bağbozumu festivallerinde kutlanır, bu “kutsal içecek” merkezli ritüeller toplumu etkilerdi. Roma döneminde de değişen bir durum olmadı; genişleyen verimli topraklarındaki üzüm hasadı devam edip, şarap hayatlarında ve pazarlarında ekonominin ana maddesi olarak yerini korudu.

Şarap her dönemde en kolay taşınabilen tüketim malıydı. İlk zamanlardan itibaren, bazı bölgelerin üretimleri diğerlerine göre daha fazla tercih edildi; örneğin, Persler Suriye şarabını tercih ettiler. Hristiyanlık gittikçe yerleşti ve manastır sistemi/hayatı bu dinin önemli bir özelliği oldu. Manastır düzeninde topluluklar kendi yiyeceklerini üretmeye

başladılar ve bu üretime şarabı da dahil ettiler. Yazılı kaynaklarda, “Bizanslı rahipler günlük bir litreden fazla şarap tüketirler, saygıdeğer alkolik mertebesine erişirler” gibi anekdotlar vardır.<sup>1</sup> Manastırların tarımsal üretimleri kısa zamanda kendi ihtiyaçlarından fazlasını üretir oldu ve zaman içinde manastırlar tarım üretimi dünyasının önemli bir gücü haline geldiler, özellikle de şarap üretimi ile ilgilenmeye başladılar. Birçok yazılı doküman, şarap üretimi ve ticaretinin manastırlarca yapıldığını belgeler.

Bu üretim ve ticarete en güzel örneklerden biri Ganos manastırlarıydı. Manastır şaraplarının yollandığı en önemli pazar ise başkent Konstantinopolis'ti. Başkent sadece tüketim yeri değil, aynı zamanda, gelen malların diğer limanlara dağıtım merkeziydi. *Portus Theodosiacus*'ta bulunan binlerce Ganos şarabı taşıyan amfora ve amforaların dağılım haritası bu tüketim ve ticareti belgeleyen çok önemli arkeolojik bulgulardır (Res. 1).

Her ne kadar yazılı kaynaklar manastır yerleşimi-şarap üretimi ilişkisini belgelemiş olsalar da, şarap üretimi ile amfora yapımı arasındaki ilişkinin ticari boyutunu belgeleyen yazılı kaynak yoktur. Doktora çalışmaları sırasında Gaziköy'de yaptığım yüzey araştırmaları sonucunda belgelenen amfora üretim merkezleri, bu ilişkiyi somut kanıtlarla kurmamız açısından, yazılı kaynaklara önemli bir katkı sağlamıştır. Gaziköy'de kapsamlı bir araştırma yapılmış, amfora fırınları bulunmuş, kazılmış, Ganos Dağları'nda manastır kalıntıları tespit edilmiştir. Araştırma bir sonraki aşamada sualtına taşınarak, Ganos limanı belgelenmiş, Marmara Adaları civarında Ganos amforaları yüklü batıklar bulunmuş, daha sonra da bulunan batıklar arasından on üçüncü yüzyıla tarihlenen Çamaltı Burnu I batığı kazılarak, ilk Türk sualtı arkeolojik kazısı gerçekleştirilmiştir.<sup>2</sup>

Elimizdeki somut arkeolojik verilerin ışığı altında, Ganos Limanı'ndan Theodosiacus Limanı'na olan yolculuğu şöyle özetleyebiliriz: Ganos, Ortaçağ'da Trakya'nın büyük ve güçlü bir manastır merkeziydi. Bereketli ve sulak toprakları olan bir bölgedeydi. Manastırlar yüksekçe bir yamaçta, kendilerine bağlı köyler ise daha alçak, deniz kıyısına yakın yerlerde kurulmuştu. Manastırların gelirinin önemli bir oranı şarap üretiminden elde ediliyor olmalıydı. Manastırların doğal ortamı çok şanslıydı; iklim bağıcılığa elverişliydi, kıyıya yakınlığı üretimin nakliyesi için kolaylık sağlıyordu, kıyı şeridindeki derin kil yatakları şarap üretiminin sevki için yapılacak pişmiş toprak konteynerler için gereken çamuru doğal olarak yerinde sağlıyordu. Yazılı kaynaklarda sözü edilen diğer benzer manastır yerleşimleri ile kıyaslanırsa, muhtemelen kendi gemilerine sahipti<sup>3</sup> ve köylüler içinde usta gemi yapımcıları vardı. Manastırlar tepeden, aşağıdaki Ganos Limanı ve daha ilerideki Marmara Adaları'nı görür bir konumdaydı. Marmara Adası'nda, Ganos'a bağlı daha küçük manastır yerleşimleri (*metochia*) vardı ve bu yerleşimlerde de bağcılık yapılmaktaydı. Yüzey araştırmaları sonucunda, Marmara Adası'nın kuzeyinde Saraylar, güneyinde Topağaç mevkielelerinde, Ganos amforaları üreten fırın yerleri saptanıp, adada kil yataklarının olmayışı göz önüne alınarak, kilin Ganos'tan taşındığı görüşü

1 M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et le terre à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle* (Paris, 1992), 33.

2 Marmara Adaları çalışmaları için, bkz. [www.nautarch.org](http://www.nautarch.org).

3 Patmos ve Athos manastırlarının gemileri konusunda, bkz. M. Kaplan'ın bu ciltteki makalesi.

benimsenmiştir. İşte, Theodosiacus Limanı'nda tüm bu üretimin parmak izleri olan amforaları görmekteyiz. Amforaların boşluğunu bir zamanlar doldurmuş olan Ganos şarabı hakkında fikir edinmek için ise Ptochoprodromos'un tanıklığına başvurabiliriz. Bizanslı şair, Ganos şarabını ortalamanın üzerinde değerlendirip, "Ganos, Girit ve Samos'un tatlı şarabı, kuru gıdaları ıslatmak için kullanılırdı," diye yazar.<sup>4</sup>

Ganos şarabının üretimi ve dağıtımı hala sürmektedir. Nasıl mı? Şarköy-Mürefte-Hoşköy-Gaziköy kıyı hattına ve yamaçlarına yolu düşenler bilir, aynı eski zamanlarda olduğu gibi, gerek Mey (Tekel'in özelleştirilip satıldıktan sonra aldığı ad) ve Doluca gibi büyük firmalar, gerek Melen ve Ganos gibi daha mütevazı ölçekli yerel firmalar, binlerce yıllık üretimi devam ettirip, tek farkla, pişmiş toprak değil, cam konteynerlere koyarak, yine dünyanın birçok yerine yollamaktadırlar. Hatta, Melen şarapçılığın, bilimsel çalışmalarında yayınlamış olduğum Ganos'lu ustaların mühürlerinin birinden alıntı yaparak, firmalarının logosu halinde kullandığı Ioannes ustanın mührü de bu yolculuğa bir simge halinde eşlik etmektedir.<sup>5</sup>

Yıllar sonra Ganos çalışmalarımı Üçüncü Uluslararası Sevgi Gönül Bizans Araştırmaları Sempozyumu için tekrar kaleme almamın nedeni, Yenikapı buluntularının ışığı altında, arkeoloji ve insanlık tarihinin zaman ilerledikçe geçmişe ne denli fazla yaklaştığını bir kez daha gözler önüne sermesi açısındandır.<sup>6</sup>



Res. 1 Günsenin I amforaları dağılım haritası.

<sup>4</sup> Ptochoprodromos, ed. H. Eideneier (Köln, 1991), 157.332.

<sup>5</sup> Bir çapaya benzeyen bu mühür aslında Grekçe bir monogram olup ω (omega) ve ι (iota) harfleridir. Büyük bir ihtimale de günümüzden bir asır önce yaşamış ve şu anki Gaziköy-Hoşköy kıyı şeridinde üretilen şarapları depolayan amforaları yapan Ιω(άννης), Ioannes/Yannis, ustanın damgasıdır.

<sup>6</sup> Sempozyum bildirisi sırasında sunulan görsellerin de bulunduğu, Ganos çalışmaları ile ilgili detaylı bibliyografya için, bkz. N. Günsenin, "Ganos Wine and its Circulation in the 11th Century," *Byzantine Trade, 4th-12th Centuries: The Archaeology of Local, Regional and International Exchange: Papers of the Thirty-Eighth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. M. Mundell Mango (Farnham, 2009), 145-53.

## Yenikapı'daki Theodosius Limanı Kazılarında Bizans Kurşun Mühürleri\*

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### ABSTRACT

#### Byzantine Lead Seals From the Excavations of Yenikapı/Theodosian Harbor

Thirty-six Byzantine lead seals were discovered in the Yenikapı/Theodosian Harbor excavations between 2004 and 2012. This paper covers twenty-one of these seals. The seals are preserved in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum and are unpublished. The excavations, covering an area of 58,000 square meters, were carried out by Istanbul University under the auspices of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

The site is located 300 meters inland from the shore of the Sea of Marmara. An archaeological survey revealed that the area was actually the site of the harbor *Portus Theodosiacus*, built by Theodosius I. The harbor gradually silted up, filled in with alluvial soil brought by the river Lykos. After the twelfth century, it was only used by small fishing boats. Eventually it was filled in completely and small houses were built on the land.

A total of thirty-nine ships and over 100,000 objects were recovered. The lead seals were mostly surface finds. For instance, the ninth-century seals of *Stephanos kommerkiarios* and *Ioannes epi ton barbaron* (Cat. nos. 12 and 13) were recovered in the same sand as the eleventh-century seal of *Thomas* (or *Kosmas?*) *protospatharios* (Cat. no. 20).

\* Kazı Başkanı İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri eski müdürü emekli Sayın Dr. İsmail Karamut'a, kazıyı devralan İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Müdürü Zeynep Kızıltan'a, kazıda çalışan arkeolog ve sanat tarihçilerine, zor şartlarda ve özveriyle yapılan çalışmaları neticesinde bulunan 21 adet kurşun mühürü bana araştırma imkanı tanıdıkları için teşekkür ederim. Sikke Kabinesi sorumlusu ve gayri İslami sikke uzmanı Sedat Özbağ'a fotoğraf çekimi için bana zaman ayırdığı için, mühürlerin tarihlerini araştırırken danıştığım Dr. Alexandra Wassiliou-Seibt'a (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Abteilung Byzanzforschung) değerli önerileri için, ve çalışmamı bilgisayarda düzenlememe yardımcı olan Murat Dağ'a da teşekkürlerimi sunarım.

The seals of two military officials, *Isaakios strategos* (Cat. no. 3) and *Ioannes basilikos asekretes kai chartoularios tou logothesiou* (Cat. no. 8), date to the sixth-seventh centuries. Only two seals are from the eighth century. The most important seals belonging to titled functionaries holding high offices are from the ninth-tenth centuries. These five seals (Cat. nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, 17), and one from the eleventh century (Cat. no. 19), represent financial offices of the central administration. These dates may be said to reflect the busy trade in the harbor. They also match the dates of the ship finds, most of which have been dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries, while only a few belong to the earlier period.

İstanbul Marmaray ve Metro projesi kapsamında İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri başkanlığında yapılan Yenikapı/Theodosius Limanı kazılarında, 2004–2012 yılları arasında Bizans dönemine ait otuz altı adet kurşun mühür ele geçmiştir.<sup>1</sup> Mühürlerden on beş adeti bu çalışmanın hazırlandığı dönemde henüz envantere geçmemiş olduğu için ilerideki bir tarihte yayınlanacaktır. Dolayısıyla, burada 2013 yılı itibariyle envanteri yapılmış ve İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Sikke Kabinesi'nde muhafaza edilmekte olan yirmi bir adet mühür sunulacaktır. Söz konusu mühürler 2005–2008 yılları arasında bulunmuştur.

Günümüzde tamamlanmış olan kazı, İstanbul'un güneyinde, Yenikapı'da, Konstantinopolis deniz surlarının içinde, şehrin on üçüncü bölgesinde, Marmara Denizi kıyısına 300 metre uzaklıkta yer almıştır (Res. 1). İmparator I. Theodosius (MS 379–395) devrinde doğal bir koyda kurulmuş olan Theodosius Limanı, denize dökülen eski Lykos Deresi'nin (bugünkü Bayrampaşa Deresi) getirdiği alüvyonla zaman içerisinde dolmuş ve on üçüncü yüzyıldan sonra ancak küçük balıkçı tekneleri için kullanılmıştır.<sup>2</sup> Verimli olan bu toprak zamanla Vlanga Bostanları adı ile tarım alanına dönüşmüş, yıllar içinde ise evlerle kaplanmıştır.<sup>3</sup>

1 Kazı 2004–2008 yılları arasında İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Müdürü emekli Dr. İsmail Karamut başkanlığında yürütülmüş, 2009–2014 yılları arasında İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Müdürü Zeynep Kızıltan başkanlığında ve Müdür Yardımcısı Rahmi Asal ile devam etmiştir.

2 Kazıda ortaya çıkarılan en geç tarihli gemilerin 12. yüzyıla ait olması limanın bu tarihten sonra küçüldüğünü gösterir.

3 A. Van Millingen, "The Harbours on the Sea of Marmora," *Byzantine Constantinople* (Londra, 1899), 296–300. Kitap eski tarihli olmasına rağmen, liman ile ilgili orijinal bilgi içermektedir. Güncel bilgi için bkz. R. Asal, "Yenikapı Kazıları ve İstanbul Antikçağ Ticareti," *Saklı Limandan Hikayeler: Yenikapı'nın Batıkları*, ed. Z. Kızıltan ve G. Baran Çelik (İstanbul, 2013), 6–10. Katalog, Üçüncü Uluslararası Sevgi Gönül Bizans Araştırmaları Sempozyumu kapsamında, 25 Haziran–25 Aralık 2013 tarihleri arasında İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri'nde düzenlenen sergiye aittir.



Res. 1 Marmara Denizi kıyısındaki Bizans limanları. J. Haldon, *Bizans Tarihi Atlası*, çev. A. Özdamar (İstanbul, 2006), 72.

Büyük bir ulaşım merkezi yapılmak üzere bu alanda inşaata başlandığında, kurtarma kazıları sayesinde eski bir liman ortaya çıktı ve bu limanın dördüncü yüzyılda I. Theodosius'un yaptırdığı *Portus Theodosiacus* olduğu tespit edildi. Kurtarma kazısı, 58.000 m<sup>2</sup>'yi kapsayan bir arkeolojik kazıya dönüştü.<sup>4</sup> On yıl içerisinde, Bizans dönemine ait otuz dokuz gemi batığı ve 100.000 üzerinde eser gün ışığına çıkarıldı. Şimdiye kadar yapılan araştırmalar neticesinde, gemilerin dördüncü ve on ikinci yüzyıllar arasındaki döneme ait oldukları saptanmıştır; en az batığın dördüncü yüzyıldan, en çok batığın ise on birinci yüzyıldan olduğu düşünülmektedir. Geniş çapta araştırmalar devam etmektedir. Gemilerin otuz iki adeti yük gemisi niteliğini taşır. Neticede Theodosius Limanı'nın çok faal bir liman olduğu ve orada yoğun bir ticaret yaşandığı ortaya çıkmıştır.<sup>5</sup> Küçük eserler, -1 ve -6,5 metre seviyeleri arasında ele geçmiştir.<sup>6</sup> Bizans kurşun mühürleri, yüzey veya üst tabakalarda bulunmuştur.

4 S. Başaran, "Demirden Yollar' ve Marmara Kıyısında Eski bir Liman," *Yenikapı Shipwrecks / Yenikapı Batıkları*, c. 1: *The 'Old Ships' of the 'New Gate' 1 / Yenikapı'nın Eski Gemileri 1*, ed. U. Kocabaş (İstanbul, 2008; gözden geçirilmiş 2. baskı, 2012), 19–21. Bol fotoğraf ve çizim ile birlikte kitapta 2004–2008 gemi buluntularının tarihi, restorasyon ve konservasyon çalışmaları sunulmuştur. Yenikapı Batıkları Projesi İstanbul Üniversitesi bünyesindeki Taşınabilir Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma ve Onarım Bölümü Başkanı emekli Prof. Dr. Sait Başaran başkanlığında yürütüldükten sonra, yeni Bölüm Başkanı ve Sualtı Kültür Kalıntılarını Koruma Onarım Anabilim Dalı Başkanı Doç. Dr. Ufuk Kocabaş tarafından devralınmıştır.

5 C. Pulak, "Yenikapı Bizans Batıkları," *Gün Işığında: İstanbul'un 8000 Yılı. Marmaray, Metro, Sultanahmet Kazıları* (İstanbul, 2007), 202–15. Kazılarda 12. ve 13. yüzyıla ait bir kilisenin ortaya çıkması, liman alanının o dönemde artık toprak ile örtülü olduğunu gösterir: bkz. P. Magdalino, "Bizans Dönemi Konstantinopolis Limanları," *Saklı Limandan Hikayeler*, ed. Kızıltan ve Baran Çelik, 13–15.

6 Buluntular için bkz. *Gün Işığında: İstanbul'un 8000 Yılı*, sergi kataloğu. Sergi, Birinci Uluslararası Sevgi Gönül Bizans Araştırmaları Sempozyumu kapsamında, 26 Haziran–31 Aralık 2007 tarihleri arasında İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri'nde düzenlenmiştir.

Bizans döneminde deniz ticaretinin önemli merkezlerinden biri olan Theodosius Limanı'nda kurşun mühürlerin bulunması doğaldır. Mühürler, ticaretin kanıtı olmalarının yanı sıra, Bizans tarihine, yönetim sistemine, sosyal yaşamına ve sanatına ışık tutmaktadır. Dünyadaki Bizans kurşun mühür koleksiyonlarındaki mühürlerin kaynağı çoğunlukla bilinmemektedir.<sup>7</sup> Arkeolojik kazılarda ortaya çıkan veya yerel müzelerde bulunan mühürler bu açıdan önem taşır. Jean-Claude Cheynet ve Cécile Morrisson'a göre, Konstantinopolis ile yazışmalar hariç, bir mühürde coğrafi bilgi yoksa, genelde uzakta olmayan bir merkezden gönderilmiş bir mektuba aittir.<sup>8</sup>

Yenikapı'daki mühürler yüzey veya üst tabaka buluntusu olduklarından dolayı tarihleri arkeolojik verilere dayanarak verilemiyor. Örneğin, kazıda dokuzuncu yüzyıla ait *Stephanos kommerkiarios* (Kat. no. 12) ve *Ioannes epi ton barbaron* (Kat. no. 13) mühürleri, on birinci yüzyıla ait olan *Thomas* (veya *Kosmas?*) *protospatharios* mührü (Kat. no. 20) ile 2006 yılında aynı kumun içinde bulunmuştur. Mühürlerin ancak üzerlerindeki ikonografya, semboller, epigrafi ve yazıların içeriği hangi döneme ait olduklarına dair fikir verir.<sup>9</sup>

Çalışmada incelenen yirmi bir mühür arasında bir boş pul mevcuttur (Kat. no. 1). En erken tarihli mühürler (Kat. no. 2 ve 3) altıncı veya yedinci yüzyıla, en geç tarihli mühürler (Kat. no. 20 ve 21) ise on birinci yüzyıla aittir. Mühürlerin dönemlerine ait dağılımı şu şekildedir:

Altıncı veya yedinci yüzyıl	: İki mühür (Kat. no. 2 ve 3)
Yedinci yüzyıl	: İki mühür (Kat. no. 4 ve 5)
Yedinci veya sekizinci yüzyıl	: Üç mühür (Kat. no. 6, 7 ve 8)
Sekizinci yüzyıl	: İki mühür (Kat. no. 9 ve 10)
Dokuzuncu yüzyıl	: Dört mühür (Kat. no. 11, 12, 13 ve 14)
Dokuzuncu veya onuncu yüzyıl	: Bir mühür (Kat. no. 15)
Onuncu yüzyıl	: Üç mühür (Kat. no. 16, 17 ve 18)
Onuncu veya on birinci yüzyıl	: Bir mühür (Kat. no. 19)
On birinci yüzyıl	: İki mühür (Kat. no. 20 ve 21)

Yukarıda görüldüğü gibi, kazılarda altıncı yüzyıldan on birinci yüzyıla kadar her yüzyıldan mühür çıkarılmıştır; mühürler bu yüzyıllar zarfında limanın kullanıldığının kanıtıdır. Katalog numarası 13 olan mührün ön yüzündeki rozet motifi hariç, diğer mühürlerin ön

yüzlerinde dini sembol veya dini figür yer alır. Bu semboller sayesinde mühür sahipleri inançlarını belirtmek istemişlerdir. Ancak Kilise yönetiminden sadece bir kişiye ait olan mühür vardır (Kat. no. 11).<sup>10</sup> Devlet yönetiminde çalışan kişilere ait mühürlerin çoğu dokuzuncu yüzyıla aittir: *Stephanos*, *kandidatos* ve *koumerkiarios Abydou* (Abydos gümrük kapısı görevlisi, Kat. no. 12); *Ioannes*, *basilikos spatharios kai epi ton barbaron* (vergi bürosuna bağlı memur, Kat. no. 13); diğer bir *Ioannes*, *protonotarios tou dromou* (başkent adliyesinde görevli üst düzey memur, Kat. no. 14) ve *Stephanos*, *asekretis* (idari büroda çalışan memur, Kat. no. 15). Onuncu yüzyılın ikinci yarısından yine bürokrasiye ait önemli bir mühür mevcuttur: *Theophylaktos*, *notarios tou eidikou logothesiou* (hazineye bağlı yüksek mevkili memur, Kat. no. 17). Bu mühürler dokuzuncu ve onuncu yüzyıllarda ticaretin hareketlendiğinin kanıtıdır.

Askeri teşkilata ait kişilerin mühürleri ise daha erken dönemdedir: altıncı veya yedinci yüzyıldan bir kumandan (*Isaakios*, *strategos*, Kat. no. 3) ile yedinci veya sekizinci yüzyıldan askerlerin mali işlerine bakan bir memurun (*Ioannes*, *basilikos asekretes kai chartoularios tou stratotikou logothesiou*, Kat. no. 8) birer adet mührü mevcuttur.

Yedinci veya sekizinci yüzyıla ait bir başka mühürde *Isaakios*'un ismi hem Latince hem Yunanca yazılmıştır (Kat. no. 7); bu durum o dönemde her iki lisanın da hala kullanıldığının kanıtıdır.

Yenikapı kazılarında ortaya çıkan ve burada ilk kez yayımladığımız yirmi bir adet mühür, bir yandan Bizans döneminin kültürüne, resim sanatına ve yönetim şekline ışık tutmakta, diğer yandan da dokuzuncu ve onuncu yüzyıllarda ticaretin hareketlendiğini göstermektedir.

7 Koleksiyonlarla ilgili bkz. V. Bulgurlu, *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri'ndeki Bizans Kurşun Mühürleri* (İstanbul, 2007), 9-15. Bulgaristan, Sofya Müzesi koleksiyonu için bkz. I. Jordanov, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, 3 cilt (Sofia, 2003-2009).

8 J.-Cl. Cheynet ve C. Morrisson, "Lieux de trouvaille et circulation des sceaux," *SBS* 2 (1990): 105-36. Makale mühürlerin içeriği ve buluntu yerlerinin arasındaki bağlantı ile ilgilidir.

9 N. Oikonomides, *A Collection of Dated Byzantine Lead Seals* (Washington, D.C., 1986). Oikonomides bu kitapta tarihleri kesin olan mühürleri kaydetmiştir. İmparator ve patrik mühürleri indikasyon işaretli ya da fermana bağlı olarak muhafaza edilen mühürlerdir. Fermana bağlı olarak muhafaza edilen mühürler halen Vatikan veya Aynaroz manastırları arşivlerinde mevcuttur ve mühür sahibinin adını yazılı kaynaklarda, bilinen bir tarihi olaya atfen buluruz. Oikonomides, bu mühürleri inceleyerek tarihlerini belirlemeye yarayan bir takım ipuçları sıralamıştır.

10 *Nikolaos dioiketes* (Kat. no. 19) mührü de kilise yönetiminden bir kişiye ait olabilir, belirtilmemiş.



## Katalog

Katalogda mühürler kronolojik sıraya göre dizilmiştir. Mühürler yayımlanmamıştır.

Semboller:

( ) : Mührün kazıdaki buluntu tarihi

... : okunamayan harf

[ ] : Epigrafideki kısaltmanın açılışı

? : Çözüm öneriliyor ancak kesin değil

### 1. Boş pul



Env. no. KD 1948/17 20 mm (2007)

Patinası güzel.

Taş veya pişmiş toprak kalıplar içinde değişik boyutlarda üretilen kurşun mühür pulları, kendi *boulloterion*ları (damga basmaya yarayan alet) vasıtasıyla bastırılmak üzere kullanıcılar tarafından satın alınırdı. Konstantinopolis'te bu alışveriş muhtemelen Theodosius Forumu civarında yapılmaktaydı. Sekizinci yüzyıla ait bir metnin tercümesini ve yorumunu yapan Cameron ve Herrin, bu bölgede çok miktarda kurşun el değiştirdiği ve bunun gerek boş kurşun pul, gerek yazılı kurşun olduğu belirtildiğine göre, "yazılı kurşun" ifadesinin kurşun mühür olarak algılanabileceğini yazıyorlar.<sup>11</sup>

### 2. ?Leon, 6.-7. yüzyıl



Env. no. KD 1947/17 (2005)

İki yüzünde de çevre yazısının çoğu silinmiş. Kalın mühür.

Çap: 23 mm. Kalınlık: 6 mm.

Ön yüz: Yürüyen aslan, sol ön ayağı ve sol arka bacağı havada, başı sağ yönde.

Çevre yazısı: Latince, inci bordür. ....O€

Arka yüz: Dört yıldız. Çevre yazısı: Grekçe, inci bordür. ....TOC

Ön yüzde görkemli aslan figürü, kıvrır kıvrır kalın yelesi, güçlü kalın bacakları, öne doğru gururlu ilerleyişi, havada kıvrılan uzun kuyruğu ile usta bir üslupta çizilmiş. Aslan figürü Bizans resim sanatında az yer alır. Av sahnelerinde, eski ve antik çağlarda olduğu gibi, vahşi aslanın öldürülmesi imparatorun gücünü temsil eder, zaferin ve hükmün sembolüdür. Erken Hristiyan sanatında aslan İsa'nın da gücünü temsil eder. Erken dönem aziz biyografilerinde aslanın ehlileştirilmesi, çölde yaşayan veya zulüm gören aziz ve azizeleri koruyan aslan temaları yer alır.<sup>12</sup> Mühürlerde aslan figürü nadirdir. Cheynet ve Morrisson mühür sahibinin seçiminin kendi zevk, inanç ve sosyal emellerine göre yapıldığını öneriyorlar.<sup>13</sup> Walker mühürlerde hayvan figürlerinin kullanımının doğu etkisi ile bağlantılı olduğunu ileri sürer.<sup>14</sup> Bizim mührümüzde yıldız, mührün sahibinin Hristiyan olduğuna işaret eder.

Arka yüzde, harflerin çoğu silinmiş çevre yazısı "Leontos" (= "Leon'un") olabilir. Buna göre, mührün sahibi aslan anlamına gelen kendi ismi Leon ile aslan resmi arasında bağlantı kurmuş olmalıdır.

<sup>11</sup> A. Cameron ve J. Herrin, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastasis Syntomoi Chronikai* (Leiden, 1984), 87; N. Oikonomides, "The Lead Blanks Used for Byzantine Seals," *SBS* 1 (1987): 99; Bulgurlu, *Bizans Kurşun Mühürleri*, 16-17.

<sup>12</sup> "Lions," *ODB* 3:1231-32. Hristiyanlık yasak iken, İsa'nın havarilerinden İncil yazarı Aziz Markos'un gizli simgesi aslan idi.

<sup>13</sup> J.-Cl. Cheynet ve C. Morrisson, "Texte et image sur les sceaux byzantins: les raisons d'un choix iconographique," *SBS* 7 (1995): 15.

<sup>14</sup> A. Walker, "Islamicising Motifs in Byzantine Lead Seals: Exoticising Style and the Expression of Identity," *The Medieval History Journal* 15.2 (2012): 391-92. Bulgurlu, *Bizans Kurşun Mühürleri*, no.251, 275; G. Zacos ve A. Vegler, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, c. 1 (Basel, 1972).

### 3. Isaakios, patrikios ve strategos, 6.-7. yüzyıl



Env. no. 1964/7 (2008)

Çap: 16 mm. Kalınlık: 6 mm.

Ön yüz: Kanatları açık kartal, ağzında yılan, kanatları arasında yıldız. Çelenk bordür.  
Arka yüz: Π harfi üzerine kurulmuş blok monogram Α Ρ Ο Τ Δ Γ Ε Π Κ harfleri mevcut. Çelenk bordür.

Açılım: Ισαακίου πατρικίου στρατηγού

İtina ile çizilmiş kartal, yıldız, monogram ve çelenk bordürleriyle, mühür küçük bir sanat eseri. Monogramda sahibinin ismi ile birlikte hem unvanı, hem görevi belirtilmiştir. *Patrikios* yedinci yüzyılda saygın bir unvandı; dokuzuncu yüzyılda kaydedilmiş on dokuz unvanın arasında yedinci sırada yer alır; ancak sonraları değerini kaybetmiş ve on ikinci yüzyıldan itibaren kullanılmamıştır.<sup>15</sup> *Strategos* (komutan) yedinci yüzyılda bir *themanın* (eyalet) kumandanını ifade eder.

Blok monogramlar genelde ortadaki tek harf üzerine kurulur. Dördüncü yüzyılın sonundan altıncı yüzyıla kadar hem doğuda Grek kültüründe hem de batıda Latin kültüründe sık kullanılır. Onuncu yüzyıla kadar, seyrek de olsa, mühürlerde görülür.<sup>16</sup> Kanatları açık kartal figürü, Katalog no. 1'deki aslan figürü gibi, Roma İmparatorluğu devrinde devletin ve imparatorun gücünü temsil ederdi. Bizans Hristiyan sanatında kartal Kutsal Ruhun, İsa'nın ölümsüzlüğünün ve gücünün sembolüdür. Eskiden pagan sembolü olan kartal figürünün üzerine, dini sembol haçlı monogram, haçlı hitap monogramı, veya bizim mühürümüzdeki gibi yıldız eklenmiştir. İkon yasağı devrine kadar (sekizinci-dokuzuncu yüzyıl ortası) mühürlerde sık görülen kartal figürü, on birinci yüzyıldan sonra seyrek kullanılır.<sup>17</sup>

15 Philotheos tarafından 899 yılında yazılan *Ktetorologion* kitabında saray protokolü, unvanlar ve görevler liste halinde verilmiştir. Kitabın Fransızca tercümesi ve değerlendirmesi için bkz. N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles*. Introduction, texte, traduction et commentaire (Paris, 1972). Unvan ve görevlerin Türkçe tanımı için bkz. J.-Cl. Cheynet, T. Gökyıldırım ve V. Bulgurlu, *Les sceaux byzantins du Musée archéologique d'Istanbul* (Istanbul, 2012), 993-1006.

16 Monogramların açılımı problemlidir. Bu konuda bkz. W. Seibt, "Zur Problematik byzantinischer Monogrammsiegel," *SBS* 3 (1993): 19-29; Zacos ve Veglery, *Seals*, 1.1:365-67; Bulgurlu, *Bizans Kurşun Mühürleri*, 26-27.

17 Kartallı mühürler için bkz. Zacos ve Veglery, "Seals with Representation of Eagles," *Seals*, 1.1:489-546.

### 4. ?II. Konstans, 7. yüzyıl (641-668)



Env. no. 1964/1 (2008)

Çap: 31 mm.

Mühür kendi üzerine bükülmüş, sadece ön yüzü görünür. Üstteki resimlerin birincisi mührün ön yüzünün üst, diğeri ön yüzünün alt kısmını gösteriyor. Patinası güzel. Kanalı düzgün. Arka yüzü gözüküyor.

Ön yüz: Meryem Nikopios ayakta, önden; başında *maphorion*. Kucağında *mandorla* içinde çocuk İsa, *mandorlanın* sadece alt kısmı görünür. İki yanında haç.

Arka yüz: Görünmüyor.

İmparator mührü olabilir. II. Konstans, oğlu IV. Konstans ile beraber, hem sikkelerinin hem de mühürlerinin ön yüzünde "zafer kazandıran Meryem" anlamına gelen Nikopios Meryem figürünü kullanmıştır.<sup>18</sup> Sekizinci yüzyıldaki ikon yasağına kadar, Meryem figürü, iki yanında haç ile, bir çok imparator mührünün ön yüzünde kullanılmıştır. İkon yasağı sona erince, 877 yılından itibaren, imparator mühürlerinin ön yüzlerinde Meryem yerine İsa figürü yer aldı. Patrik Photios'un seçimiyle, patrik mühürlerinin ön yüzlerinde ise kucağında İsa ile tahtta oturmuş Meryem figürü kullanıldı.<sup>19</sup>

18 Sikke için bkz. *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, ed. A. R. Bellinger, P. Grierson, M. F. Hendy (Washington, D.C., 1966-99), 2.2.25h, lev. 24. Mühür için bkz. Bulgurlu, *Bizans Kurşun Mühürleri*, no. 8a-b-9a-b; *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, c. 6: *Emperors, Patriarchs of Constantinople, Addenda*, ed. J. Nesbitt (Washington, D.C., 2009), no. 21.1; Zacos ve Veglery, *Seals*, 1.1:no. 20 a-b; W. Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich. 1, Kaiserhof* (Viyana, 1978), no.13 ve 14: II. Konstans'ın dört tip mührü tanıtılıyor. Meryem Nikopios için bkz. W. Seibt, "Der Bildtypus der Theotokos Nikopios," *Byzantina* 13 (1985): 551-64; ay, "Die Darstellung der Theotokos," *SBS* 1 (1987): 35-56.

19 I. Koltsida-Makre, "The Iconography of the Virgin Through Inscriptions on Byzantine Lead Seals of the Athens Numismatic Museum," *SBS* 8 (2003): 27-38.

### 5. Petros, *patrikios*, 7. yüzyıl



Env. no. 1964/6 (2008)

Kanal ağızları kırık ve eksik. Patinası güzel.

Çap: 24 mm.

Ön yüz: Haçlı hitap monogramı Laurent Tip V. Çelenk bordür.

Θεοτόκε βοήθει

Arka yüz: Haçlı monogram: solda Π Ε Ρ, altta Α Ω üstte, Τ Θ, harfleri. Çelenk bordür.

Açılım: Πετρον πατρίκιου

Θεοτόκε βοήθει Πετρον πατρίκιου

Haçlı monogramlarda, harfler haç kollarının uçlarına ve kolların kesiştiği noktaya yerleştirilir. İlk olarak altıncı yüzyılın ikinci yarısında kullanılmıştır. Yedinci yüzyılda haçlı monogramlara mühürümüzün ön yüzündeki gibi kısaltılmış dua eklenir. “Haçlı hitap monogramı” dediğimiz bu formül, ikon yasağı döneminde çok popülerdi: resim yasağı olduğundan, Meryem veya İsa’ya hitap bu mühürdeki gibi haçlı monogram şeklinde ifade edilirdi.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> 532-537 yıllarında inşa edilen Aya Sofya'nın sütun başlarında Theodora'nın ismi haçlı monogram şeklinde yazılmıştır.

### 6. ?Mikhael Damianou ve ?Theona, *diakonoï*, 7.-8. yüzyıl



Env. no. 1964/2 (2009)

Çap: 21 mm. Kalınlık: 7 mm.

Çizim ve yazı kaba. Arka yüzün sağ alt kenarı bükülmüş, son iki harf kaybolmuş. Patinası güzel. Kalın mühür.

Ön yüz: Meryem figürü, kucağında çocuk İsa. Arkalı tahta oturmuş, iki kenarında yastık gözüktüyor. Çevre yazısı:

ΧΡΙΣΤΕ ΘΕΟΘΕΟΚΚΟΝ

Arka yüz: M harfi üzerine kurulmuş blok monogram: Μ Χ Α Λ Θ Ο harfleri mevcut. Haçla başlayan ve biten çevre yazısı:

+ΔΙΑΚΣ +ΚΑΙΘ..

+Χριστέ ὁ Θεός σῶσον Μιχαήλ Δαμιανου Διακ(όνων) καί Θ....

Ön yüzdeki yazı dua. Arka yüzdeki monogramın açılımı: Mikhael Damianou önerilebilir.<sup>21</sup> Çevre yazısı ise Diakonon (iki kişi) ve Theona (?) olarak okunabilir.

<sup>21</sup> Zacos ve Veglery, *Seals*, 1.1:levha 208; Mikhael monogramı örneği için no. 336.

## 7. Isaakios, 7.-8. yüzyıl



Env. no. 1964/3 (2009)

Çap: 21 mm.

Ön yüz: Isaakiou, Latince yazılmış. Ortada alt alta üç haç. Çelenk bordür.

ISA - ACIV

Arka yüz: Ισαακιο, Grekçe yazılmış. Ortada gene alt alta üç haç. Çelenk bordür.

ICAA - KIQ

Açılım: Ισαακίω.

Herakleios dönemine kadar, bu mühürdeki gibi, isimler bazen hem Latin hem Grek harfleri ile yazılır. İmparatorlukta resmi lisan Latince, ancak konuşulan lisan Grekçedir, dolayısıyla mühür sahibi isminin anlaşılacağına emin olmasını isteyip iki alfabeyi de kullanmış. Herakleios (610-641) resmi lisan olarak Latinceyi kaldırmıştır.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> "Latin," ODB 3:1183; Bulgurlu, *Bizans Kurşun Mühürleri*, 26-27; E. Stepanova, "Seals with Latin Inscriptions in the Hermitage Collection," SBS 3 (1993): 29-39.

## 8. Ioannes, basilikos asekretes ve chartoularios tou stratiotikou logothesiou, 7.-8. yüzyıl



Env. no. 1964/5 (2008)

Çap: 31 mm.

Ön yüzde yanık izi.

Ön yüz: Dört satır yazı, başta ve sonda iki yaprak arasında haç süsü. İnci bordür.

✠ + ✠ - ΙΩΑΝΝ - ΟΥΒΑΚΙΑ - ΙΚΟΒΑΚΙ - ΚΡΗΤΗ - ✠ + ✠

✠ + ✠ Ιωάννη βασιλικῶ ἀσηκρήτε ✠ + ✠

Arka yüz: Haç ile başlayan altı satır yazı. İnci bordür.

+ S X A - P T V Λ A P - Ι Ω Τ Ξ C T - P A T I Ω T I - Κ Σ Λ Ο Γ Ο - Θ Ε C I Ξ

✠ + ✠ [καί] χαρτουλαρίφ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ λογοθεσίου.

✠ + ✠ Ιωάννη βασιλικῶ ἀσηκρήτε καί χαρτουλαρίφ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ λογοθεσίου.

*Asekretes* sarayda imparatorun sekreterliğinde görevli kişidir. Daha çok altıncı-yedinci yüzyıllara ait mühürlerde görülür. *Chartoularios* Konstantinopolis'te ve eyaletlerin özellikle büyük şehirlerinde mali durumları ve kadastro işlerini kontrol eden memurdur. Ioannes, *basilikos* sıfatına sahip olduğuna göre, sarayda imparatorun sekreterliğinde, veya merkezi yönetimde görevliydi.<sup>23</sup> *Logothetes*in bürosuna *logothesion* denirdi (*logothetes*: mülki yönetimde *sekretionun*, yani idari birimin başı). *Stratitokou logothesiou*, askerlerin mali işleriyle ilgilenen kurumdur.<sup>24</sup> Hem sarayda, hem askerlik merkezinde önemli görevleri olan Ioannes'in mührünün limanda bulunması limanın o dönemde faal olduğunun bir kanıtıdır.

<sup>23</sup> V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin*, c. 5: *L'Église* (Paris, 1963), 171.

<sup>24</sup> R. Guiland, "Les logothètes," *REB* 29 (1971): 5-155, *logothètes* için 5-10, *logothètes tou stratitokou* için 25-31; Oikonomidès, *Listes*, 314; V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin*, c. 2: *L'administration centrale* (Paris, 1981), 263-64; H. Glykazi-Ahrweiler, "Recherches sur l'administration de l'Empire byzantin aux IXe-XIe siècles," *BCH* 84 (1960): 10-24.

### 9. Niketas, *hypatos*, 8. yüzyıl



Env. no. KD 1948/19 (2007)

Çap: 24 mm.

Ön yüz: Haçlı hitap monogramı. Laurent Tip V. İnci bordür.

ΤΩ-ΣΩ-ΔΘ-ΛΩ.

Θεοτόκε βοήθει

Arka yüz: Haçla başlayan dört satır yazı. İnci bordür.

+ΝΙΚΗΤ - ΑΥΠ - ΑΤΩ

+ Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Νικήτα ὑπάτῳ.

Haçlı hitap monogramın haç boşluklarına ΤΩ-ΣΩ-ΔΘ-ΛΩ: “senin kulun” ifadesi ilk kez yedinci yüzyılda ilave edilmiştir.<sup>25</sup> Duanın devamı, mühür sahibinin ismi ve diğer bilgiler mührün arka yüzünde yazılıdır. *Hypatos* erken dönemde Latince konsül’ün Grekçe karşılığıydı. Ancak altıncı yüzyıldan itibaren sadece unvan olarak kullanılmış, on birinci yüzyılda kısa bir süre hariç, dokuzuncu yüzyıldan sonra kullanılmamıştır.

<sup>25</sup> Laurent’in haçlı hitap monogramları arasında en sık kullanılanların tablosunda Tip V: V. Laurent, *Documents de sigillographie byzantine. La collection C. Orghidan* (Paris, 1952), levha XII. Bu tablo tüm Bizans kurşun mühürlerini çalışanlar tarafından referans verilir.

### 10. ?Leontios, *basilikos protospatharios*, 8. yüzyıl



Env. no. KD.1948/5 (2006)

Çap: 33 mm.

Hatalı baskı. Pul çok büyük gelmiş. Kolye veya koruyucu ikon olarak kullanılmak üzere solda üç delik, sağda tek delik ile delinmiş. Silik.

Ön yüz: Haçlı hitap monogramı, solda Κ, ortada Θ, sol haç boşluğunda ΤΩ.

Κ[ύριε βοήθει] τῷ[σῶ δούλῳ].

Arka yüz: İki satır yazı, silik.

..ΤΙ - ΡΣΑ - ....

Açılımı: (Λεον)τι β(ασιλικο) [προτο](σπαθαριο)

### 11. Ioannes, *oikonomos tou Pamphron(ou)*, 9. yüzyıl



Env. no. 1964/8 (2008)

Çap: 27 mm.

Arka yüzü iki defa basılmış.

Ön yüz: Haçlı hitap monogramı, Laurent tip V. İnci bordür.

Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ

Arka yüz: Üç satır yazı. İnci bordür.

ΙΩΑΝΝ. - ΒΚΟΝ. Τ. ΠΑΜΦΡΟΝ.,

Açılımı: Ιωαννου (οι)κον[ομου] τ[ου] Παμφρον(ου)

*Oikonomos* dokuzuncu yüzyılda dini vakıf, metropolis veya bir manastırın topraklarının ve mali işlerinin yönetiminden sorumluydu. Manastırın baş rahibinden (*hegoumenos*) sonra, yönetimde ikinci önemli kişiydi.<sup>26</sup> Pamphronos bir manastırın adı olmalı.

<sup>26</sup> "Oikonomos," ODB 3:1517.

### 12. Stephanos, *kandidatos ve koumerkiarios Abydou*, 9. yüzyıl



Env. no. K.D.1844/2 (2006)

Çap: 21 mm.

Ön yüz: Haçlı hitap monogramı, ortada inci bordürlü madalyon içine alınmış Nikopoios tipi Meryem portresi. İnci bordür.

Θεοτόκε βοήθει

Arka yüz: Üstte güzel bir kartal aşağıya doğru uçar vaziyette, ağzında küre. Sağ boşlukta yıldız. Altında dört satır yazı. İnci bordür.

ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩ - ΚΑΝΔΗΔΪΣΚ - ΒΜΕΡΚΙΑΡΪ - ...ΔΟΥ

Θεοτόκε βοήθει Στέφανω κανδιδάτῳ και κουμερκιάρῳ (Αβυ)δου

Mührün arka yüzünde, yazıların üzerinde gökten aşağı doğru uçar vaziyette, ağzında küre tutan kartal figürü, Bizans sanatında "Meryem'e Müjde" ve "Meryem'in Ölümü" sahnelerinde Kutsal Ruhu temsil eder. On yedinci yüzyıla ait bir ikonada aynı şekilde gökten inen kartal resmi mevcuttur (Res. 12c). Mührün ön yüzü için Meryem Nikopoios figürünün seçilmiş olması, mühür sahibi Stephanos'un Tanrı'nın ve Meryem'in koruması altında olmak istediğine işaret eder.<sup>27</sup> Stephanos'un unvanı *kandidatos* ("imparator koruması") erken dönemde yüksek bir mevki sayılırdı, ancak zamanla önemi azalmış ve dokuzuncu yüzyıldan sonra kullanılmamıştır.

Abydos şehri Çanakkale Boğazının kuzey kıyısındaki coğrafi konumundan dolayı, stratejik ve önemli bir limandı. Konstantinopolis'e giden ve Konstantinopolis'ten gelen ana deniz ticaret yolunun üzerindeydi. Yazılı kaynaklarda, Abydos dördüncü yüzyılda yolcu kontrol noktası olarak geçer.<sup>28</sup> Altıncı yüzyılda Justinianus Abydos gibi önemli liman şehirlerinde *kommerkion* (devlet gümrük noktası) kurmuştur. İstanbul Marmaray

<sup>27</sup> Meryem Nikopoios figürü için bkz Seibt, "Der Bildtypus," 551-64.

<sup>28</sup> "Abydos," ODB 1:8-9; H. Ahrweiler, "Fonctionnaires et bureaux maritimes à Byzance," *REB* 19 (1961): 239-52; Bulgurlu, *Bizans Kurşun Mühürleri*, 255. Abydos *kommerkarios*'u Meligalas'ın mührü (9. yüzyıl) için bkz. age., 128; *kommerkarios* açıklama: age., 268. En kapsamlı *kommerkarios* mühürleri ve gümrük ambarları (*apothekai*) liste halinde Zacos ve Veglery, *Seals*, 1.1:131-363'te yayımlanmıştır. İlk kez yayımlanan 21 adet *kommerkarios* mührü için bkz. J.-Cl. Cheynet' nin bu ciltteki makalesi.

ve Metro projesi kapsamında, Marmara Denizi'nin Asya kıyısı tarafında, Üsküdar'da yapılan arkeolojik kazıda *Thynia* bölgesine ait sekizinci yüzyıldan bir *basilikon kommerkion* mührü ele geçmiştir (Res. 12d).<sup>29</sup>

Mührümüzün sahibi Stephanos, *kommerkiarios*, dokuzuncu yüzyılda Abydos'ta vergi toplamakla mükellef bir gümrük memurudur. *Kommerkiarioi*, imparatorluğun *kommerkion*larında ithal ve ihraç edilen malların kontrolünden ve gümrük vergisini toplamaktan sorumluydular. Bazen, bu mührdeki gibi, *kommerkiarios* yerine *koumerkiarios* yazılırdı. Dokuzuncu yüzyılda, *kommerkiarioi* hazinenin yöneticisi *logothetes tou genikounun* altında çalışırdı. *Logothetes* bugünkü maliye bakanına benzetilebilir.

Mührün Theodosius limanı gibi ticari bir ortamda bulunması Abydos-Konstantinopolis arasındaki ticari ilişkilerin göstergesidir.



Res. 12c. Meryem'e Müjde İkonu, 1670-1690. *Treasures of the Monastery of Patmos* (Atina, 2005).



Res. 12d. Ton *Basilikon Kommerkion Thynias*, 751-775  
*Gün Işığında: İstanbul'un 8000 Yılı. Marmaray, Metro, Sultanahmet Kazıları* (İstanbul, 2007), 309, kat. no. SK2 (T. Gökyıldırım-S. Öztopbaş-B. Özden Tan)

<sup>29</sup> Res. 12d: ΤΩΝΒΑCΙ-ΚΟΝΚΟΜΜΕ-ΡΚΙΟΝΘΥ-ΝΙΑC. † Solda indiksiyon işareti (755/756). Mührün ön yüzünde V. Konstantinos, IV. Leon ve III. Leon'un imparator portreleri mevcuttur. Portreler depodaki ticari malların kalitesinin imparator garantisini altında olduğu anlamına gelirdi. Env. No: 1784/4, 26/29 mm. T. Gökyıldırım, S. Öztopbaş, B. Özden Tan, "Sikkeler ve Mühürler," *Gün Işığında: İstanbul'un 8000 Yılı*, 309, kat. no. SK2 (Üsküdar Kazısı).

### 13. Ioannes, *basilikos spatharios* ve *epi ton barbaron*, 9. yüzyıl



Env. no. KD 1844/3 (2006)

Çap: 20 mm.

Ön yüz: İnci bordürlü madalyon içinde yüksek kabartmalı rozet. Çevre yazısı Meryem'e hitap.

.. ΘΕΙΤΩCΩΔCΛΩ

Arka yüz: Haç ile başlayan beş satır yazı.

+ΙΩΑΝΝ - ΒΒΑCΙΛΗΚ. - ΒCΠΑΘ·CΕ - ΠΗΤΟΝΒΑΡ - ΒΑΡ..

+ Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δουλῷ Ιωάννη βασιλικῷ σπαθαριῷ και ἐπὶ τῶν Βαρβάρων.

Bizans sanatında sevilen bir motif olan değişik şekillerdeki rozetler, mühürlerde de görülür. Ioannes, basit *basilikos spatharios* ("kılıç taşıyan") unvanına sahip. *Epi ton barbaron*, *logothetes tou dromounun* altında çalışırdı. Tercümanlar da *epi ton barbaron* bürosuna bağlıydılar. *Logothetes tou dromou* imparatorun dış işlerini yöneten güçlü bir başkandı. Aynı zamanda imparatorluğa gelen ve topluca "*barbaroi*" olarak tanımlanan Romalı olmayan elçilerin, yabancı misafirlerin, tüccarların ve Konstantinopolis'ten ayrılan tüm gemilerin kontrolünden sorumluydu. Ioannes'in görevi *logothetes tou dromouya* yardımcı olmaktı.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Laurent, *Corpus*, 2:196.

#### 14. Ioannes, *basilikos protospatharios* ve *protonotarios tou dromou*, 9. yüzyıl



Env. no. KD. 1948/18 (2007)

Çap: 21 mm.

Damga mühre küçük gelmiş. Kanal yeri kabarmış.

Ön yüz: İki basamak üzerinde patrik haçı. İki incili bordür arasında çevre yazısı İsa'ya hitap.

+ΚΕΡΟΗΘΗΤΩCΩΔΟΝΛΩ

Arka yüz: Dört satır yazı. Üstte ve altta dört büyük inci süslemesi. İnci bordür.

+ ΙΩΑΝΝΟ - ΒΡΑΧΠΑΘ - ΑΡΨΑΝΟΤΤ - ΧΔΡΟΜΞ

+ Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Ιωάννη βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ καὶ πρωτονοταρίῳ τοῦ δρόμου.

Benzer mühür: Jordanov, *Corpus*, 3.1:no. 859 ve Zacos, *Seals*, 2:no. 185. Bulgaristan Develtos *kommerkias*ında kazıda bulunmuş. Ancak buradaki Ioannes ayrıca *protoasekretes* görevinde bulunuyor. Aynı Ioannes terfi etmiş olabilir.

+ Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Ιωάννη βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ, πρωτοασηκρητίς καὶ πρωτονοταρίῳ τοῦ δρόμου.

*Protonotarios tou dromou*, *logothetes tou dromounun* baş asistanıydı, *logothetes* vekil olabiliyordu. İmparatorluk adliyesindeki en yüksek memurdu. Hukuki belgelerin son şeklini kontrol etmek görevleri arasında olup, imparatorluğun yasama ve adli işlerinden sorumluydu. Kilise yönetiminde de *protonotarios tou dromou* bulunurdu.<sup>31</sup> Önemli bir kişi olan Ioannes'in mührü belki gemi kaptanlarının arasındaki bir ihtilaf ile ilgili yazışmaya aittir.

31 Guillard, "Les logothètes," 38-40; Oikonomidès, *Listes*, 311.

#### 15. Stephanos, *basilikos protospatharios* ve *asekretis*, 9.-10. yüzyıl



Env. no. KD.1948/14 (2006)

Çap: 24 mm.

İki defa basılmış. Aşınmış. Kanal izinde çatlak. Çizim ve yazılar kaba.

Ön yüz: Meryem büstü. Çevre yazısı Tanrı'ya hitap. İnci bordür.

....ΤΩCΩΔΩΛ.

Arka yüz: Haç ile başlayan dört satır yazı. İnci bordür.

+CTE. - ANΩB'A.. - .ΠΑΘAP. - .CH....

+ Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Στέφανῳ βασιλικῷ πρωτοσπαθάρῳ (καὶ) ἀσηκρητί.

Stephanos *basilikos protospatharios* unvanına sahiptir ve görevi *asekretis*dir. *Asekretis*, *sekreta* adı verilen merkezi yönetim bürolarında çalışanlara denirdi.<sup>32</sup>

32 Laurent, *La collection C. Orghidan*, 44, no. 59.



### 16. ?Stephanos, 10. yüzyıl



Env. no. KD 1948/16 (2006)

Çap: 22 mm.

Bej patina. Üst sağda iri bir delik açılmış.

Ön yüz: Aziz büstü, belirsiz. İnci bordür.

Arka yüz: Dört satır yazı. Üstte iki yaprak arasında inci süslemesi. İnci bordür.

↘ CTE - .IVS - CAM.. - ΓPI.

↘ ?σ Στέφανω...

Mühür sahibinin adı Stephanos, ancak diğer yazılar çözülemedi.

### 17. Theophylaktos, basilikos spatharioskandidatos ve notarios tou eidikou logothesiou, 940-990



Env. no.: 1976/5 (2006)

Çap: 26 mm.

Ön yüzdeki çevre yazısı silik, arka yüzde de birinci ve ikinci satırlarda kenar harfleri silinmiş.

Ön yüz: İki basamak üzerine çok dekoratif patrik haçı, dibinden yukarı doğru uzanan dallar, haçın üst karelerinde birer yıldız süsü. Çevre yazısı: Tanrı'ya hitap. İnci bordür.

+K E P O H Θ H T Ω C Ω Δ O V Λ Ω

Arka yüz: Beş satır yazı. Üstte üç, altta tek haç süsü. İnci bordür.

Θ Ε Ο Φ - . . Α Κ Τ Ω Ρ Ι C - Θ Κ Α Ν Δ Ι Ν Ο - Τ Α Ρ Τ Θ Ι Δ - Λ Ο - Γ

+ Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Θεοφυλάκτῳ βασιλικῷ σπαθαρίῳ, κανδιδατῷ, νοτάρίῳ τοῦ ἰδῆκοῦ λόγου.

Theophylaktos, *basilikos spatharios* ve *kandidatos* unvanlarına sahip. *Eidikon* onuncu yüzyıldan evvel bu mühürdeki gibi *idekon* olarak yazılırdı. İmparatorun özel hazinesiydi ve Büyük Saray'ın yakınlarında yer alırdı. Bu hazineden imparatorun bazı özel saray masrafları, imparator savaşa katıldığında orduya ve donanmaya özel maaşlar ödenirdi. Hazineye paradan başka ipek ve altın kumaş gibi değerli eşyalar bulunurdu. *Notarios* özel hazinenin başında olan *epi tou eidikou* veya *epi tou eidikos logos* altında çalışırdı.<sup>33</sup> Mührün ait olduğu mektup bir geminin masrafı ile ilgili olmalıdır.

<sup>33</sup> Guillard'a göre, 10. yüzyıldan sonra "*epi tou eidikou*," "*epi ton oikeiakon*" olarak değişmiştir: Guillard, "Les logothètes," 85-95; "Eidikon," ODB 2:681; Oikonomidès, *Listes*, 316-18. G. Zacos, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, c. 2, ed. J. W. Nesbitt (Bern, 1985), no. 248, benzer mühür.

**18. Iouseph, 10. yüzyıl**

Env. no. K.D. 1819/2 (2006)

Çap: 15 mm.

İki yüzü de aşınmış.

Ön yüz: Tavus kuşu önden, kuyruğu açılmış. Çevre yazısı yok. İnci bordür.

Arka yüz: Haç ile başlayan dört satır yazı. Altta üç kalın inci. İnci bordür.

..PIER-TWCWΔ-ONWI-ONCHP

Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ιουσεφ

Bizans sanatında tavus kuşu sevilen ve sık kullanılan, ölümsüzlüğün simgesi olarak algılanan bir figürdür. Iouseph (Yusuf) mühürüne sadece adını yazdırmıştır.

**19. Nikolaos, dioiketes, 10.-11. yüzyıl**

Env. no.: 1464/4 (2008)

Çap: 25 mm.

Kanalın başı ve çıkış noktasında kırık, eksik ve çatlaklar mevcut.

Ön yüz: Meryem büstü orans. Çevre yazısı Meryem'e hitap. Çift incili bordür arasında büyük inciler süslemesi.

+ΘΚΕΡΣΤΩCΩΔΟΝ.

+Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δού[λῳ]

Arka yüz: Haç ile başlayan üç satır yazı. Üstte ve altta üç büyük inci süslemesi. Çift inci bordür arasında üç harf (?) ve haç.

+ΝΙΚΟ-ΛΑΩΔΥ-ΙΚΙΤΙ

+Νικολάφ δ[ιο]ικητή.

*Dioiketai* devlet hazinesi *genikon* kurumuna bağlı, *logothetes tou genikounun* yetkisi altında çalışan vergi memurlarıydı. Görevleri Konstantinopolis'te ve *themalarda* vergi toplamaktı. Genelde *dioiketes* yazılır, ancak bazı mühürlerde, bu mühürde de olduğu gibi, *douikiti* olarak geçer.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> "Dioiketes," ODB 1:627.

## 20. Thomas veya ?Kosmas, *protospatharios*, 11. yüzyıl



Env. no. K.D.1844/1 (2006)

Çap: 44 mm.

Mühür büyük ve ince. Baskı hatalı.

Ön yüz: Aziz Thomas veya Aziz Kosmas büstü. Kısa sakallı, stilize kıvrıkcık saçlı. Sanatsal katlamaları olan *himation* giyiyor, elleri *himationun* altında gizlenmiş. Halesinin bordürü incili. Çift incili, aralara iri inciler yerleştirilmiş bordür. Solda *sigla* eksik, sağda :

Μ - Α - C

[ΘΩ]ΜΑC [ΚΟ]CΜΑC

Arka yüz: Monogram: *protospathario*. İncili bordür.

solda Α', sağda C, altta Α üzerine Ω, üstte Θ, sağ üst boşlukta Θ.

πρωτοσπαθαρῖ

Θωμᾶς veya Κοσμᾶς πρωτοσπαθαρῖ

## 21. ?, 11. yüzyıl



Env. no. KD 1947/18 (2005)

Çap: 23 mm.

Ön yüz: Aziz büstü. İncili bordür.

Arka yüz: Haç ile başlıyan dört satır yazı. Hitap.

+ΚΕΡΟΗΘΗ - ΤΩCΩΔΟΝ - ΛΩ.ΟΤ.. - ΗΟ

+ Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ ...

Çözülemedi.

# Yenikapı Theodosius Limanı Kazısı Zemberek Biçimli Fibulaları\*

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## ABSTRACT Crossbow Fibulas from the Yenikapı Theodosian Harbor Excavations

This paper examines three golden crossbow fibulas found in the Yenikapı excavations of the Theodosian Harbor. The excavations, conducted under the auspices of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums between 2004 and 2014, revealed one of the largest harbors of Constantinople. These three golden crossbow fibulas are similar to fibulas in the collections of some European and North American museums.

The first fibula is 6.5 cm long and weighs 14.00 grams. The bow of the fibula is hexagonal. Its pin is missing, but the traces on the fibula support the assumption that the pin was made from bronze. The base of the fibula is semicircular in shape and inlaid with niello ornamentation. It is very probable that the fibula dates from the period between 491 and 518 CE.

The second crossbow fibula is 6 cm long and weighs 7.42 grams. This fibula is also missing its pin. Unlike the first fibula, this one is not ornamented. Its base is hexagonal, and it dates from the period between 491 and 565 CE.

The third and last fibula examined in the paper is 7.9 cm long and weighs 31.55 grams. Its bow is hexagonal, and it has a triangular base. On the base of the fibula there is a rectangular plate ornamented with the plique à-jour technique. This fibula dates to the period between the early fifth and mid-sixth century CE.

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\* Makale kapsamında yer alan buluntuların çalışma iznini verdiği için İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Müdürü ve kazı başkanı Zeynep Kızıltan'a, başkan yardımcısı Rahmi Asal'a, kazı ekibinden Mehmet Ali Polat, Sırrı Çölmekçi ve Emre Öncü ile kazıda çalışan tüm arkeologlara, fotoğraflar için Hadiye Cangökçe ve Dilara Şen Turan'a, monogramın okunması, yardım ve destekleri için Brigitte Pitarakis'e ve Maden Eserler Koleksiyonu sorumlusu Mine Kiraz'a, fibulaların analiz çalışmalarını gerçekleştiren Tuğçe Pamuk ve Vural Züngör'e teşekkürlerimi sunarım.

The three golden crossbow fibulas presented in the article are examples of the gifts sent to Gothic officials and soldiers. In addition, they confirm the Constantinopolitan provenance of similar crossbow fibulas found in the collections of some museums in Europe and North America.

2004 yılından bu yana İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri başkanlığında yürütülen Yenikapı Theodosius Limanı kazılarında ortaya çıkan kuyumculuk ürünü takılar, yazılı kaynaklardan ve Bizans resim sanatından bilinen Konstantinopolis'in gelişkin kuyumculuğunun somut kanıtları olarak günümüze ulaşmıştır. Buluntular arasında, altın fibulalar, altın ve bronz yüzükler, değerli maden ve taşlardan kolyeler, kurşun madalyonlar, bronz sarkaç ve rölikerler, bronz bilezikler ve kemer tokaları gibi çok farklı form ve işleve sahip takılar yer alır. Bu makalede, Üçüncü Uluslararası Sevgi Gönül Bizans Araştırmaları Sempozyumu'nun teması olan "Bizans'ta Ticaret" kapsamında, Bizans'ın başkenti Konstantinopolis'in en büyük limanlarından biri olan Theodosius Limanı'nda gerçekleştirilen kazıda ortaya çıkartılan ve yukarıda sözü edilmiş olan kuyumculuk ürünlerinden sadece altından yapılmış üç adet zemberek biçimli fibula ele alınmaktadır. Söz konusu üç adet altın fibula, Avrupa ve Amerika'daki kimi müzelerde yer alan ve araştırmacılar tarafından Konstantinopolis çıkışlı olduğu belirtilen fibula örneklerinin benzerleridir.

Roma fibulaları, başlangıçta tek bir telden oluşan ve ucu keskin güvenli bir iğnenin, karşı kenardaki çengelle birleştirilmesi ile yapılandırılmış basit yay biçimlidirler. İlerleyen süreçte teknik ve görsel açıdan gelişim geçirerek üçüncü yüzyılın ilk on yılında baskın bir biçimde zemberek biçimli fibula şeklini almıştır.<sup>1</sup> Erkek takısı olan bu fibulalar başlangıçta askerler tarafından, ilerleyen süreçte ise yüksek rütbeli sivil devlet memurları tarafından sağ omuz üzerinde topladıkları *khlamys* ya da manto gibi giysilerin iliklenmesinde kullanılmışlardır.<sup>2</sup>

Fibulanın biçim olarak benzetildiği zemberek olarak adlandırılan silah (Crossbow), bir yay, bir ok ve okun yerleştirildiği bir kundaktan oluşmaktadır. Yazımızda fibulanın benzer öğeleri olarak önünde yer alan yatay çubuk, kol; kemer, yay; ve kundak ayak olarak adlandırılacaktır. İğnenin ayağın içine girdiği açıklık ise iğne yuvası olarak isimlendirilecektir.

1 Bu fibulalar bir çeşit ortaçağ silahı olan İngilizce "crossbow" terimi ile adlandırılmaktadır. Bu terimin karşılığı olarak Prof. Dr. Halil İnalçık "zemberek/zenberek" adını kullanmıştır: bkz. H. İnalçık, "The Rise of the Turcoman Maritime Principalities in Anatolia, Byzantium, and the Crusades," *ByzF* 9 (1985): 211. Silahlar konusunda kapsamlı çalışmalar yürütmekte olan Dr. Murat Özveri ile bu silahın Türkçe terminolojisi hakkında yapılan görüşmede, "zemberek" ya da "zemberek" teriminin "crossbow" adlı silahın karşılığı olduğu, ancak zaman zaman farklı silahlar için de zemberek teriminin kullanıldığı belirtilmiştir. Bu nedenle makalede "crossbow" adlı silahın Türkçe karşılığı olarak kullanılacak olan "zemberek" teriminden, yalnızca tek kişi tarafından kullanılan küçük kundaklı yay anlaşılmalıdır.

2 B. Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 35 (2000): 42; B. Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Gold Fibula in the Burton Y. Berry Collection," in *Ancient Jewellery and Archaeology*, ed. A. Calinescu (Bloomington, Ind., 1996), 238.

## Yenikapı Zemberek Biçimli Fibulaları

Yenikapı Theodosius Limanı kazısı, Metro ve Marmaray projeleri olmak üzere iki ayrı proje kapsamında yürütülmüştür. Kazı çalışmalarında bugüne kadar üç adet altın zemberek biçimli fibula bulunmuştur (Res. 1). Bunların tümü Yenikapı kazısı Metro alanında ele geçmiştir.

Yenikapı'da bulunan zemberek biçimli altın fibulalarının konteksti bilinen benzerleri, Kuzey İtalya Reggio Emilia mezarı buluntuları arasında, Museo Chierici di Paletnologia'da, Reggio Emilia Müzesi'nde,<sup>3</sup> Romanya Apahida Ompharus mezarı buluntuları arasında, Muzeul National de Istorie a României'de (Romanya Ulusal Tarih Müzesi),<sup>4</sup> Belçika Tournai Childerius mezarı kontekstinde,<sup>5</sup> kökeni Batı Anadolu olarak bilinen bir fibula ise Indiana Üniversitesi Sanat Müzesi'nde<sup>6</sup> ve son olarak Roma Palatino Tepesi buluntusu olan bir fibula Nazionale dell'Alto Medioevo'da (Ulusal Erken Ortaçağ Müzesi) bulunmaktadır. Konteksti bilinmeyen diğer fibulalar ise, birer adet olmak üzere Paris Louvre Müzesi, Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet ve New York Metropolitan Müzesi'nde yer almaktadır.

İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri koleksiyonunda yer alan, Yenikapı Metro Kazısı/Theodosius Limanı buluntusu fibulalarından incelenen birinci örnek 6,5 cm uzunluğunda ve 14,00 g ağırlığındadır (Res. 2-5). İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi'nin Maden ve Hülliyat Eserleri Koleksiyonu'na kayıtlı eserin envanter numarası, 11.248 (M) dir. Fibulanın kolu altıgen kesitli olup içi boştur. Bu kolun her iki ucunda ve yay üzerinde altıgen küçük topuzlar yer almaktadır. Topuzların kol ve yayla bağlantı noktalarında ise boncuk dizisi biçimli teller bulunmaktadır. Kolun ortasında iğne halkasının giriş yuvası yer alır ve bu yuva üzerinde bronz kalıntısı gözlenmektedir (Res. 3-4). İğne günümüze ulaşmamıştır ancak fibula üzerindeki kalıntılardan ve element ölçümlerinden anlaşıldığı üzere bronzdur.<sup>7</sup> Yayın her iki kenarında, kolla bağlantı sağlayan küçük volütlü öğeler yer alır. Yay, yedigen kesitli, yanlardan yukarı doğru üç kademelidir ve içi boştur (Res. 4-5).

3 M. Degani, *Il tesoro romano barbarico di Reggio Emilia* (Floransa, 1959), 55-56, Tav. XV-XVI a-b; Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula," 58-60; I. Baldini Lippolis ve J. P. Gil, "Osservazioni sul tesoro di Reggio Emilia," *Ipsam Nolam barbari vastaverunt: L'Italia e il Mediterraneo occidentale tra il V secolo e la metà del VI*, ed. C. Ebanista ve M. Rotili (Cimitile, 2010), 113-27; J. P. Gil, "Chlamys e cingulum nel tardo V secolo. Tre rinvenimenti dall'Emilia Romagna," *Oreficeria in Emilia Romagna: Archeologia e storia tra età romana e medioevo, Ornamenta* 2, ed. A. L. Morelli ve I. Baldini Lippolis (Bologna, 2010), 229-56.

4 Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula," 39-70; B. Deppert-Lippitz, "Überlegungen zur goldenen Zwiebelknopffibel aus dem gepidischen Fürstengrab Apahida I," *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica* 11.1 (2007): 28-43; Baldini Lippolis ve Gil, "Osservazioni sul tesoro di Reggio Emilia," 118.

5 Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula," 57-59, res. 20; J. Werner, "Childerich - Geschichte und Archäologie," *Antike Welt* 14/1 (1983): 28-35.

6 Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula," 57-59, res. 20.

7 Fibula malzeme içeriği açısından XRF cihazı ile incelenmiştir. Fibulanın ayak ve yayı üzerinde %2,5-3,5 civarında bakır (Cu) izlenmiştir. Ancak iğne kalıntılarının bulunduğu noktada bakır (Cu) oranı %26,57 olarak tespit edilmiş, ayrıca az miktarda olmakla birlikte kalayın varlığı da gözlenmiştir. Bu değerler iğnenin bronz olduğu yolundaki düşüncelerimizi desteklemektedir (Bkz. Tablo 1).

Dikeyde orta hatta doğru belirgin olarak yükselir, yatayda ise genişcedir. Yayın altında (iç yüzünde) dörtgen bir boşluk yer alır (Res. 3). Bu boşluk, yapımı sırasında yayın şeklini korumak amacıyla içine toz haline getirilerek konan kükürdün doldurulması için açılmış olmalıdır.<sup>8</sup> Bu açıklıklar işlem sonunda genellikle bir yama aracılığı ile kapatılmaktadır ancak bu fibulada açıklığın üzerini örten parça günümüze ulaşmamıştır.

Fibulanın ayağı yarım daire biçimlidir. Ayağın içinde iğne için yuva görevi gören uzun bir oyuk yer almaktadır (Res. 4). Ayak üzerinde iç ve dış yüzde, savat (niello) dolgu ile yapılmış bezemeler bulunmaktadır (Res. 2-3).<sup>9</sup> Ayağın görünmeyen iç yüzünde bir yılan betimlenmiştir. Yılan kazıma çizgi ile işlenmiş olup başı, gözleri ve ağzı belirgindir ve ağzı kapalı olarak betimlenmiştir. Çenesinden aşağı sakal benzeri kısa bir uzantısı vardır. Sırta yakın olmak üzere tek sıra bir nokta bezeme tüm gövde boyunca devam etmektedir. Ayağın dış, yani görünen yüzünde ise kenar bordürü dalga motifi ile süslü dörtgen bir çerçeve içinde oldukça ince işçilikli sarmal asma dalı motifi bulunur. Sarmal asma dalının bulunduğu çerçeve sonunda içinde yuvarlak diğer bir çerçeveyle sınırlı bir X yer almaktadır. Bu çerçeve dışında ayağın ucundaki yuvarlak çerçeve içinde ise bir monogram bulunmaktadır. Monogram, yuvarlak bir çelenk bordür içinde ve merkezde yer alan haçın kollarının uçlarında ΠΕΤΡΟΥ harfleri ile oluşturulmuştur (Res. 2). Dolayısıyla monogram'ın açılımı "Petrou" (Petros'un) şeklinde yorumlanabilir. Monogram çerçevesi, altta uçları kalp biçimli kurdele bezeme ile tamamlanmaktadır. Fibula ayağının en ucunda, köşelerde birer adet olmak üzere toplam iki adet altı kollu yine niello dolgululu yıldız bezeme yer alır. Bunlardan birinin niello dolgusu düşmüştür.

İkinci fibula da altın olup yaklaşık olarak 6 cm uzunluğunda, 7,42 g ağırlığındadır (Res. 6). İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi'nin Maden ve Hulliyat Eserleri Koleksiyonu'na kayıtlı eserin envanter numarası 11.250 (M) dir. İçi boş olarak şekillendirilmiş olan fibula bezemesiz olup iğnesi eksiktir.

Fibulanın kolu altıgen kesitlidir ve içi boştur. Bu kolun her iki ucunda ve yay üzerinde altıgen küçük topuzlar yer alır. Topuzların bağlantı noktalarında boncuk dizisi görülmüştür teller bulunur. Fibulanın yatay kolunun ortasında iğnenin yuvarlak halkasının giriş yuvası yer alır. Bu açıklıktan iğneyi sabitleyen vida net olarak gözlenmektedir. İğne günümüze ulaşmamıştır ancak fibula üzerinde altın olmadığı şeklinde yorumlanabilecek herhangi bir kalıntı gözlenmemektedir. Dolayısıyla benzer bir çok fibulada olduğu gibi iğnenin altın olduğu kabul edilebilir. Yay ile fibula kolunun birleşme hattında her iki ögeyi sabitleyen, kalınca bir telin döndürülmesi ile elde edilmiş küçük, volütlü elemanlar

8 P. Dandridge, "Idiomatic and Mainstream: The Technical Vocabulary of a Late Roman Crossbow Fibula," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 35 (2000): 75-76. Dandridge, zemberek biçimli fibulaların teknik terimleri konusunda: "Fibulaların hafif imal edildikleri, fibula yayının basınç direnci, kesme, kayma gerilmesine karşı dayanıklı olabilmesi için desteklenmesi gerektiği, bunun için kuyumcuların fibulaların içine bir dolgu maddesi olarak toz haline getirilmiş kükürt doldurduğu, yay biçimli kısmın alt yüzünde görülen boşlukların bu dolgu işlemi için kullanıldığı, kükürdün ısıtılarak içinde bulunduğu malzemeye sabitlenerek sertleştiği ve fibulanın direncinin böylece artırıldığını" ifade eder.

9 Savat: Gümüş, bakır, kurşun ve kükürttan elde edilen siyah mat bir alaşımdır: bkz. Tablo 1: fibula ayağındaki gümüş miktarı, fibulanın genelindeki oranından oldukça fazladır.

yer alır (Res. 7). Fibulanın yayı beşgen kesitli olup içi boştur. Yay en üst noktada orta hatta yanlara doğru belirgin bir biçimde genişler ve tam ortada her iki yönde de (yatay ve dikey) belirgin hatlarla dikkat çeker, üstten bakıldığında bu hatlar haç şeklinde de algılanabilmektedir (Res. 6, 8). Yayın iç yüzünde yayın şeklini korumak amaçlı içine yerleştirilen dolgu materyalinin konması için biri büyük diğerleri küçük olmak üzere dört adet delik bulunmaktadır (Res. 9). Bu deliklerin yakınında yama bağlantısı ile ilgili olduğunu düşündüğümüz koyu renk iz bulunmaktadır. Ancak bu açıklığın üzerini örtmekte kullanılmış olması gereken yama parçası günümüze ulaşmamıştır.

Fibulanın ayağı altıgen kesitli olup içi boştur, ayak üzerinde herhangi bir bezeme yer almamaktadır.

Üçüncü fibula da altın olup yaklaşık olarak 7,9 cm uzunluğunda 31,55 g ağırlığındadır (Res. 10). Müzenin Maden ve Hulliyat Eserleri Koleksiyonu'na kayıtlı eserin envanter numarası, 13.118 (M) dir.

Fibulanın kolu altıgen kesitlidir ve içi boştur. Kol darbe almıştır ve bir yanda oldukça hasarlıdır. Bu kolun her iki ucunda ve yay üzerinde altıgen ve sivri uçlu büyük topuzlar yer alır. Yay üzerindeki topuzun alt bölümünde bir delik bulunmaktadır. Bu boşluk topuzun içine kükürt dolgusunun yapılması için bırakılmış olmalıdır.<sup>10</sup> Topuzların bağlantı noktalarında boncuk dizisi görülmüştür teller bulunur. Yayın kolunun ortasında ise iğnenin yuvarlak halkasının giriş yuvası yer alır, iğne günümüze ulaşmamıştır (Res. 11). Fibulanın ayağında da iğne yuvası giriş deliği görülmektedir. Yay ile fibula kolunun birleşme hattında her iki ögeye sabitlenen küçük volütlü ögeler yer alır. Bu ögelerin bezemesi ajur teknikte şekillendirilmiş olup bezeme tüm kolun üzerini kaplamaktadır (Res. 12). Fibulanın yayı beşgen kesitlidir ve içi boştur. Yayın ayakla birleşme noktasında yayla ayak arasında ise tel sarılı bir geçiş alanı yer almaktadır (Res. 10). Yayın iç yüzü oldukça geniştir.

Fibulanın ayağı üçgen kesitlidir. Ayağın görünen üst yüzünde ajur teknikle işlenmiş dörtgen bir plaka yer alır. Plakanın tüm çevresi S biçimli ajur teknikli bezemelere sahiptir. Bezemenin yaya bağlanan uçları ördek başları şeklinde, ayağın ucunda ise volüt şeklinde sonlanmaktadır (Res. 11-13). Ayağın görünmeyen iç yüzü bezemesizdir.

Her üç fibula metal içerikleri açısından XRF (X-Ray Fluorescence Spectrometer) cihazı ile incelenmiş ve metal içerikleri tablolar halinde sunulmuştur (Tablo 1-3).

10 Romanya Apahida da bulunan fibulanın orta topuzunda aynı yerde yama izi görülmektedir: bkz. Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula," 58, res. 19b.

## Fibulaların Element Analiz Tabloları

Tablo 1

Savathlı Fibula:11.248 (M)					
Element Adı	AYAK		YAY	KOL	
	Savathlı Alan	Savatsız Alan		Kol	İğne Kalıntısı üzerinden
Ag	41,05	8,12	7,43	6,39	4,63
Au	43,76	68,58	70,20	60,56	51,64
P	5,57	7,62	7,91	11,84	5,72
Fe	3,71	0,68	0,37	0,71	5,41
Cu	2,63	3,22	3,00	3,23	26,57
Si	1,68	1,69	1,81	3,19	2,92
Pb	1,61	0,14	0,12	0,17	1,84
S	Görülmedi	9,14	9,08	13,81	Görülmedi
Zn	Görülmedi	Görülmedi	Görülmedi	Görülmedi	0,53
Sn	Görülmedi	Görülmedi	Görülmedi	Görülmedi	0,42

Tablo 2

Bezemesiz Fibula:11.250 (M)			
Element Adı	Ayak	Yay	Kol
Au	63,48	62,52	63,76
Ag	10,20	9,33	9,38
S	8,48	10,00	7,92
P	7,42	8,99	6,55
Cu	5,82	6,89	6,35
Fe	1,44	Görülmedi	2,95
Si	1,90	2,24	2,70
Pb	0,17	Görülmedi	0,39

Tablo 3

Ajur Teknikli Fibula:13.118 (M)				
Element Adı	Ayak	Yay	Kol	Topuz
Au	71,04	74,04	44,73	74,68
S	9,13	10,69	11,21	9,23
P	7,92	9,19	5,05	7,82
Fe	5,04	0,27	24,86	1,13
Si	3,29	2,05	2,39	1,90
Ag	1,93	1,98	0,96	1,98
Cu	0,91	1,78	10,58	1,82
Pb	Görülmedi	Görülmedi	0,07	Görülmedi

## Yenikapı Fibulaları Konusunda Genel Değerlendirme

Yukarıda tanımları yapılan Yenikapı fibulaları, tipolojik özellikleri, benzerleri ve kazıda ele geçtikleri tabakanın buluntuları ile değerlendirilerek dönemi, olası sahipleri ve malzeme içeriği açısından incelenecektir.

Yenikapı'nın ilk altın fibula örneği her iki yüzünde yer alan savat bezeme ile dikkat çekmektedir. Bu nedenle bu fibula yazımız içeriğinde Savathlı Fibula olarak anılacaktır. Yenikapı Savathlı Fibulası diğer zemberek biçimli fibulalarla benzerlikleri açısından değerlendirildiğinde, yarım daire kesitli ayak biçimi ile 1653 senesinde Belçika Tournai'da bir mezar konteksti içinde ele geçmiş olan altın fibula ayağı ile benzeştiği görülmektedir. Tournai fibulasının yer aldığı mezar buluntuları içinde, "Childerius" yazıtlı bir yüzük ele geçmiştir ve mezarın Germen bir kral ve aynı zamanda Roma'nın müttefiki olan Childerius'a ait olduğu anlaşılmıştır.<sup>11</sup> Günümüze ulaşamayan fibulanın, 6,2 cm uzunluğunda, 28 g ağırlığında olduğu tahmin edilmektedir. 464-482 yıllarına tarihlendirilen Childerius'un fibulası küçük ve mütevazı bir fibula şeklinde yorumlanmaktadır. Fibulanın varolan çizimlerinden, ayağının her iki yüzünün tamamen ajur teknikle bezeli olduğu düşünülmektedir. Savathlı Fibula'nın ayağının yarı yuvarlak olan iç yüzünde ise oldukça sade bir yılan betimi yer almaktadır. Bu betim yüzeyi tümüyle kaplamamaktadır fakat yine de ayağın her iki yüzünün bezemeli oluşu ortak bir özellik olarak kabul edilebilir.

Yenikapı Savathlı Fibula'sının ayağının yarım daire şekli, Batı Anadolu'dan edinildiği belirtilen ve bugün Indiana Üniversitesi Sanat Müzesi'ndeki Burton Y. Berry Koleksiyonu'nda bulunan bir diğer fibula ile de benzeşmektedir (IUAM 76.75.27).<sup>12</sup> Indiana Üniversitesi Sanat Müzesi'nde yer alan bu fibula, yayının ayağa direkt olarak

<sup>11</sup> Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula," 57-59, res. 20; Werner, "Childerich - Geschichte und Archäologie," 28-29.

<sup>12</sup> B. Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Gold Fibula in the Burton Y. Berry Collection," in *Ancient Jewellery and Archaeology*, ed. A. Calinescu (Bloomington, Ind., 1996), 235-43.

bağlanmış olması açısından da Yenikapı Savatlı fibulası ile benzer özelliğe sahiptir.<sup>13</sup> Bu fibula 6,1 cm uzunluğunda, 9,33 g ağırlığındadır.<sup>14</sup> Dolayısıyla 6,5 cm uzunluğunda ve 14 g ağırlığındaki Savatlı Fibula ile yakın bir ölçü ve ağırlığa sahip olduğu söylenebilir. Aynı zamanda fibulanın ayağının üst yüzünde ajur teknikte iç içe iki çerçeve içinde giyoş ve kalp bezemeler yer almaktadır ve bezeme yüzeyin tümünü kaplamaktadır. Bezeme, tüm yüzeyi kaplaması ve iç içe iki çerçeve içinde düzenlenmiş olması açısından Savatlı Fibula ile benzeşmektedir. Bu fibulanın dönemi kesin bilinmemekle birlikte benzerlerinin 5. yüzyılın ortası ya da ikinci yarısına tarihlendirildiği belirtilmektedir.<sup>15</sup>

Savatlı Fibula'nın ayağında asma dalı bezeme yer almaktadır. Tek başına asma dalı olmayıp içinde Latin haçı ve güvercinlerin de yer aldığı benzer bir asma dalı motifi de Roma'da Palatino Tepesi'nde bulunmuş olan fibulada yer almaktadır. Ancak Palatino Tepesi fibulası üzerindeki asma dalı motifi niello teknikle değil ajur teknikle işlenmiştir. Palatino Tepesi'nde bulunan fibula tesadüfi bir buluntu olup beraberinde herhangi bir başka eserin varlığı bilinmemektedir. Bu açıdan, dönemi ve sahibine dair herhangi bir bilgiye ulaşılamamıştır. Ancak, benzer buluntular ve Roma'da yaşanan Got ve Vandal istilaları ve yağmaları kapsamında değerlendirilen fibulanın 410-472 yıllarına tarihlendiği tahmin edilmektedir.<sup>16</sup> Palatino Tepesi Fibulası'nın uzunluğu 7,6 cm, ağırlığı 32 g dır ve fibula benzerlerine kıyasla küçük fibulalardan biri olarak yorumlanmaktadır. Savatlı Fibula ise uzunluk ve ağırlık açısından Palatino Tepesi Fibulası'ndan daha mütevazıdır.

Yukarıda anlatılan fibulalar Savatlı Fibula ile ayak biçimleri ve bezemeleri açısından benzerlikler göstermektedir, ayrıca Indiana Üniversitesi Sanat Müzesi Fibulası ile boyut ve ağırlık açısından da benzerliğe sahiptir. Ancak Savatlı Fibula, bütününde bilinen zemberek biçimli fibulalardan, özellikle yayının biçimi açısından belirgin bir farka sahiptir. Yedigen kesiti ve orta hattaki yüksekliği ve genişliği açısından bu yayın benzerine zemberek biçimli diğer fibulalarda rastlanmamıştır (Res. 4-5). Bu ayırıcı özellik, Savatlı Fibula'nın benzerliklerinden söz edilen yukarıdaki fibulalardan dönem olarak farklı olabileceğini düşündürmüştür. Bununla birlikte fibulanın, kazı konteksti ile değerlendirilmesi, dönemi açısından önemli sonuçlar vermektedir.

Savatlı Fibula, Yenikapı Metro Kazısı 4A3a3 açmasında -1,62/-1,67 m derinliğinde bulunmuştur. Aynı açma ve aynı seviyede Savatlı Fibula'nın hemen yakınında 491-518 yıllarına tarihlenen bir adet altın sikke ele geçmiştir. Bununla birlikte bu buluntuların alt kotunda altıncı yüzyıla yüzyıla ait pişmiş toprak kandiller, koku şişeleri gibi buluntular da ortaya çıkmıştır.<sup>17</sup> Bu nedenle buluntunun yer aldığı tabaka çok kesin bir tarihlere izin vermemektedir. Kendisinin alt ve üst kotunda ele geçen altıncı yüzyıl buluntuları ile düşünüldüğünde Savatlı Fibula beşinci ve altıncı yüzyıllar arasına tarihlenebilir.

13 B. Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Gold Fibula in the Burton Y. Berry Collection," 235.

14 Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula," 58, 60, res. 23; B. Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Gold Fibula in the Burton Y. Berry Collection," 235.

15 Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula," 58; B. Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Gold Fibula in the Burton Y. Berry Collection," 238.

16 Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula," 60.

17 Buluntular kazı ekibi tarafından tarihlendirilmişlerdir.

Bunun yanı sıra Savatlı Fibula'nın hemen yakınında ele geçen sikke dikkate alındığında fibulanın beşinci yüzyıl sonu veya altıncı yüzyıl başlarına (491-518) tarihlenmesi kuvvetle muhtemeldir. Yine de kazı çalışmasının bir mezar konteksti durağanlığında bir süreç yaşamamış olan liman dolgusunda yapıldığı ve sikkelerin dolaşım süresinin kendi döneminden sonraya da tarihlenmesinin mümkün olduğu gibi durumlar düşünüldüğünde, bu tarihlenmenin kesin olması mümkün değildir. Bu nedenle fibulanın alt ve üst seviyesindeki buluntuların tümünün değerlendirilmesi sonucunda tarihleneceği dönem için geniş bir aralık olan beşinci yüzyıl sonu ile altıncı yüzyıl aralığı önerilebilir.

İkinci sırada tanımı yapılmış olan fibula tümüyle bezemesizdir. Bu nedenle yazımızda bu fibula Bezemesiz Fibula olarak anılacaktır. Aynı nedenle bezeme açısından herhangi bir fibula ile de karşılaştırma yapılamamaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra Bezemesiz Fibula, Savatlı Fibula ile tipolojik, teknik ve boyut açısından benzerlik göstermektedir. Fibulanın yayı, Savatlı Fibula'dan farklı olarak yedigen değil beşgen kesitlidir ve yanlara doğru sivrilerek genişlemektedir ve ortada bir hatla belirginleşmektedir. 6 cm uzunluğunda 7,42 g ağırlığında olan Bezemesiz Fibula, uzunluk ölçüsü açısından Savatlı Fibula ile benzerlik göstermekle birlikte, ağırlık açısından onun yarısı civarındadır. Ölçüleri açısından bir karşılaştırma yapmak gerekirse en yakın örnek olarak Indiana Üniversitesi Sanat Müzesi'ndeki fibula ile karşılaştırılabilir (6,1 cm uzunluğunda, 9,33 g).

Yenikapı Bezemesiz Fibulası'nın altıgen ve içi boş ayak formuna ise bilinen diğer zemberek biçimli fibulalarda araştırmalarımız sırasında rastlanmamıştır.

Yenikapı Bezemesiz Fibula, Metro Kazısı 4A3a1 açmasında -2,00 m derinliğinde bulunmuştur. Buluntunun 25 cm üzerinde, 525-565 yıllarına tarihlenen iki adet altın sikke ele geçmiştir. Fibulanın bulunduğu tabakada, içinde oldukça yıpranmış olan cam taşa sahip, kaburga bezemeli, halkası eksik, bir yüzük kaşı da ele geçmiştir (Res. 14-15). Kaburgalı şekli ile karakterize olan bu kaşın benzerine beşinci yüzyıl sonlarına (464-482) tarihlendirilen Reggio Emilia mezarı buluntuları içinde rastlanmıştır.<sup>18</sup> Fibulanın 16 cm alt kotunda ise 491-518 yıllarına tarihlenen iki adet altın sikke ele geçmiştir. Dolayısıyla Bezemesiz Fibula da, buluntunun hemen yakınında ele geçen Reggio Emilia mezarında bulunan beşinci yüzyıl sonuna ait yüzük kaşının benzeri kaş ve 16 cm alt kotunda bulunan 491-518 yıllarına tarihlenen sikkelerle değerlendirildiğinde, Savatlı Fibula'da olduğu gibi kuvvetle muhtemel beşinci yüzyılın sonuna veya altıncı yüzyılın ilk yıllarına tarihlendirilebilir. Ancak Savatlı Fibula örneğinde de belirtildiği üzere kazının liman dolgusu içinde yapıldığı, bu nedenle de buradan ele geçen eserlerin mezar konteksti gibi çok durağan bir süreç yaşamadığı düşünüldüğünde, Bezemesiz Fibula, 25 cm üzerinde ele geçen 527-565 yıllarında tarihlenen sikkeler de dikkate alınarak, geniş bir aralık olan beşinci yüzyıl sonu (491) ile altıncı yüzyıl ortalarına (565) tarihlendirilebilir.

18 M. Degani, *Il Tesoro Romano Barbarico di Reggio Emilia* : 61, XXII a-b; Gil, "Chlamys e cingulum nel tardo V secolo," 231, res. 2; J. Spier, "Some Unconventional Early Byzantine Rings," *Intelligible Beauty: Recent Research on Byzantine Jewellery*, ed. C. Entwistle ve N. Adams (Londra, 2010), 13; I. Baldini Lippolis, "Abbigliamento e simboli di rango," *Santi, banchieri, re. Ravenna e Classe nel VI secolo. San Severo ritrovato*, ed. A. Augenti ve C. Bertelli (Milano, 2006), 133-47.



Ajur teknikli üçüncü fibula, tanımda da belirtildiği üzere üçgen ayaklı bir fibuladır. Ayağı üzerinde bulunan ajur teknikli bezemesi nedeniyle yazımızda Ajur Teknikli Fibula olarak adlandırılmıştır. Bu fibula benzerleri ile karşılaştırıldığında, Roma Palatino Tepesi Fibulası ile ayağının üçgen formu, ayakla yay bağlantı şekli ve yay biçimi açısından büyük benzerlikler göstermektedir. 7,9 cm uzunluğunda ve 31,55 g ağırlığındaki Ajur Teknikli Fibula, 7,6 cm uzunluğundaki ve 32 g ağırlığındaki beşinci yüzyıla tarihlendirilen (410-472) Roma Palatino Tepesi Fibulası ve 8 cm uzunluğunda, 31,87 g ağırlığındaki Reggio Emilia Fibulası ile boyut ve ağırlık açısından oldukça yakındır.<sup>19</sup> Ayrıca Metropolitan Müzesi'ne (Env. no. 1995.97) 1995 yılında satın alma yolu ile kazandırılmış olan 11,9 cm uzunluğunda ve 78,4 g ağırlığındaki altın bir fibula<sup>20</sup> ile boyut ve ağırlıkları çok farklı olsa da, ayağının üçgen formu, beşgen şekli, içi boş yay biçimi ve balık sırtı biçimli altın telle çevrilmiş bir geçişe sahip yay-ayak bağlantısı açısından oldukça önemli benzerlikler göstermektedir. Metropolitan Müzesi Fibulası benzer örnekler üzerinden değerlendirilerek beşinci yüzyıl ortaları ve altıncı yüzyıl ortaları aralığında tarihlendirilmektedir.

454-473 yıllarına tarihlenmekte olan Romanya Apahida Altın Fibulası ile de boyut ve ağırlık açısından benzemekle birlikte (Apahida Fibulası 11,5 cm uzunluğunda ve 54,29 g ağırlığındadır), üçgen ayak formu, yay biçimi ve yay ayak bağlantısı açısından benzerliği bulunmaktadır.

Ayrıca, Ajur Teknikli Fibula'nın yayının ön tarafında bulunan topuzun alt bölümünde bir delik yer almaktadır (Res. 9). Bu boşluğun, topuzun içinin dolgusunun yapılması için bırakıldığı anlaşılmaktadır.<sup>21</sup> Topuz içinde mevcut olan az miktardaki toz üzerinde XRF ile yapılan analizde kükürt tespit edilmiştir.

Ajur Teknikli Fibula'nın kazıda ele geçtiği açma ve tabaka buluntularının tasnifi henüz tamamlanmadığından, fibula dönem açısından beraberinde bulunan eserlerle değerlendirilememektedir. Bunun yanı sıra yukarıda sözü edilen benzer örnekler, beşinci yüzyıl başları ile altıncı yüzyıl ortaları aralığında tarihlenmektedir. Bu nedenle Ajur Teknikli Fibula da konteksti konusundaki çalışmalar tamamlanıncaya kadar beşinci yüzyıl başları ile altıncı yüzyıl ortaları aralığında ait sürece tarihlendirilebilir.

Yenikapı'nın Savatlı ve Bezemesiz fibulaları, beşinci yüzyıl sonu ile altıncı yüzyıl ortaları aralığındaki süreçte, zemberek biçimli fibulaların yaylarının biçimsel olarak farklı örneklerinin de bulunduğunu göstermektedir ve dolayısıyla bilinen örneklerin çeşitliliğini arttırmaktadır. Ayrıca, Bezemesiz Fibula'nın altıgen kesitli ayak formu da zemberek biçimli fibulalar arasında ele geçen ilk örneği oluşturmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra altın zemberek biçimli fibulalarda, bronz gibi farklı materyallerden iğnelerin de kullanılmış olduğu Savatlı Fibula örneği üzerinden anlaşılmaktadır. Dolayısıyla Yenikapı'nın bu iki fibulası, erken Bizans döneminin beşinci yüzyıl sonu altıncı yüzyıl ortalarına ait zemberek

biçimli fibulaları hakkında bilinenlere, tipolojik, teknik ve materyal kullanımı açısından yeni bilgiler eklemektedir.

Zemberek biçimli fibulalar kontekst buluntuları olarak Reggio Emilia, Apahida ve Childerius mezarlarında ele geçmiştir. Bu mezarların yüksek rütbeli Got askerlerine ya da yöneticilerine ait oldukları anlaşılmıştır.<sup>22</sup> Aynı zamanda Gotların bu yüksek rütbeli askerlerinin Konstantinopolis'ten içinde altın fibulaların da bulunduğu hediyeler aldıkları belirtilmektedir.<sup>23</sup>

Yenikapı Theodosius Limanı'nda yapılan kazılarla ortaya çıkan üç altın zemberek biçimli fibula, Got yönetici ve askerlerine Konstantinopolis'ten hediye olarak fibulaların gönderildiği savlarının doğruluğunu kanıtlayan somut veriler olarak karşımızdadır. Özellikle, Bezemesiz Fibula ile ele geçen ve yine bir Got mezarının buluntusu ile çok benzer yüzük kaşının da Yenikapı'da ele geçmiş olması Konstantinopolis kuyumculuk ürünleri olan fibula ve yüzüklerin, imparatorluğun batısında resmi üst düzey Germen asker ya da devlet memurlarına hediye ya da ısmarlama olarak gönderildiğini belgelemektedir.

Yenikapı'nın üç fibulası ayrıca element miktarlarının anlaşılması amacıyla XRF ile ölçüme tabi tutulmuştur (Tablo 1-3). Fibulaların yüzeylerinde tespit edilen kükürt, miktarı açısından özellikle dikkat çekicidir. Yayınlarda sözü edilen fibula yaylarının içinin dolgusunun kükürtün ısıtılarak yapıldığı tespitinden yola çıkarak, Yenikapı fibulalarındaki kükürtün uzun süre su altında kaldıktan sonra fibuladan ayrılan ancak fibulanın tüm yüzeyine yayılan ve kontaminasyona sebep olan kalıntılar olduğu düşünülmüştür. Ayrıca fibula topuzları için de aynı işlemin uygulandığı, Ajurlu Fibula'nın ön topuzundaki delik ve içindeki kükürt tozundan anlaşılmaktadır.

Yenikapı Theodosius Limanı kazısında ortaya çıkan bu üç altın zemberek biçimli fibula, ait oldukları dönemin fibulalarına ilişkin teknik form ve malzeme kullanımı açısından bilinenlere, yenilerini eklemektedir. Ayrıca bugüne kadar benzerleri hakkında, Konstantinopolis dışında bulunmakla birlikte, Konstantinopolis ürünleri oldukları yolunda varılan yargıları desteklemektedirler. Bunun yanı sıra Bizans'ın ticari ve siyasi ilişkilerine, Konstantinopolis kuyumcularının becerileri ile başkente çektikleri uluslararası hayranlığa ve bunun getirdiği taleplere de ışık tutmaktadırlar.

22 Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula," 57-60; Baldini Lippolis ve Gil, "Osservazioni sul tesoro di Reggio Emilia," 113-28; Degani, *Il tesoro romano barbarico*; B. Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Gold Fibula in the Burton Y. Berry Collection," 238.

23 J. Spier, *Byzantium and the West: Jewellery in the First Millennium* (Londra, 2012), 33'de "476 yılında Roma ordusu içindeki bir Germen subay olan Odoacer, Batıdaki son Roma imparatoru Romulus Augustulus'u görevden almış ve Roma Barbarların eline geçmiştir. Eski Roma İmparatorluğu topraklarındaki yeni Germen kralları Konstantinopolis'teki imparatora bağlılıklarını belirtmişlerse de, gerçekte bunlar tamamen bağımsız olmuşlardır. Barbarlara ödenen paralarla birlikte, hediye olarak sunulan madalyalar, fibulalar, kemer tokaları, yüzükler, kılıçlar ve diğer objeler kralların ve yüksek rütbeli memurların Bizans imparatorunun müttefikleri olduklarının resmi olarak tanındığını göstermiştir. Bu tür hediyeler, Germen toplumunda statü ifadesi olarak önemli bir rol oynamıştır" ifadesi yer almaktadır. B. Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Gold Fibula in the Burton Y. Berry Collection," 238, 239.

19 M. Degani, *Il Tesoro Romano Barbarico di Reggio Emilia*: 55; Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula," 60, 56.

20 Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula," 39, 56.

21 Romanya Apahida da bulunan fibulanın da orta topuzunda aynı yerde yama izi görülmektedir: Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula," 58, res. 19 a-b



Res. 1 Yenikapı Theodosius Limanı Kazısı Fibulaları.



Res. 2 Savatlı Fibula, Env No: 11.248 (M); 6,5 cm; 14 g.



Res. 6 Bezemesiz Fibula Env. No: 11.250; 6 cm; 7,42 g.



Res. 7 Bezemesiz Fibula Env. No: 11.250; 6 cm; 7,42 g.



Res. 8 Bezemesiz Fibula Env. No: 11.250; 6 cm; 7,42 g.



Res. 3 Savatlı Fibula, Env No: 11.248 (M); 6,5 cm; 14 g.



Res. 4 Savatlı Fibula, Env No: 11.248 (M); 6,5 cm; 14 g.



Res. 5 Savatlı Fibula, Env No: 11.248 (M); 6,5 cm; 14 g.



Res. 9 Bezemesiz Fibula Env. No: 11.250; 6 cm; 7,42 g.



Res. 10 Ajurlu Fibula, Env. No: 13.118 (M); 7,9 cm; 31,55 g.



Res. 11 Ajurlu Fibula, Env. No: 13.118 (M); 7,9 cm; 31,55 g.



Res. 12 Ajurlu Fibula, Env. No: 13.118 (M); 7,9 cm; 31,55 g.



Res. 13 Ajurlu Fibula, Env. No: 13.118 (M);  
7,9 cm; 31,55 g.



Res. 14 Yüzük Kaşı.



Res. 15 Yüzük Kaşı.

## Adrasan: Ceramic Finds from a Byzantine Shipwreck

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In the Byzantine Empire, sea trade continued uninterrupted between the fourth and the fifteenth centuries. Marine transport and commerce remained of indispensable importance for coastal settlements during this period of more than one thousand years.<sup>1</sup> Merchant ships followed particular trade routes and occasionally sank due to bad weather, dangerous reefs, and other fatal situations and obstacles. Many such shipwrecks have been detected during the maritime surveys carried out in the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas.

Although the cargoes of these shipwrecks generally consisted of amphorae, some ships apparently carried more diverse cargoes, such as tableware, and more specifically, plates. Underwater remains indicate that transport of these new mass-produced goods was initiated some time in the eleventh-twelfth centuries, and plates became a common commercial product, exported by ship throughout the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas for the rest of the Byzantine period. Everyday ceramic plates, which have decoration in the interior, may add to our knowledge about secular art, supplementing current knowledge of Byzantine religious art.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Koder, "Maritime Trade and the Food Supply for Constantinople in the Middle Ages," in *Travel in the Byzantine World*, ed. R. Macrides (Aldershot, 2002), 109-24; A. E. Laiou and C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* (Cambridge, 2007), 13-17.

<sup>2</sup> P. Armstrong, "Byzantine Glazed Ceramic Table Ware in the Collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts," *BDIA* 71.1.2 (1997), 5-6.

This type of information, related to daily life, can only be found in shipwrecks which contain many contemporaneous examples in one place. Such shipwrecks have demonstrated that Byzantine types of tableware were exported by sea from production centers to markets. A total of four plate wreck locations were identified during underwater surveys. That number was increased to five with recent research conducted by the Dokuz Eylül University (DEU) Institute of Marine Sciences and Technology. This paper will give detailed information about a wrecked Byzantine plate cargo that was found in Adrasan on the southwest coast of Anatolia, and a brief discussion of comparanda from other wrecked ships and museum collections will be included.

In terms of the general location of the wrecks, the closest one to Adrasan is the Kastellorizo wreck (Fig. 1). This wreck was identified in 1970 and has special significance due to the ninety-two pieces of sgraffito, incised, green or green-brown painted, slip-painted vases found in the cargo, which suggest a date at the beginning of the thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The finds from this wreck, and their counterparts, can be found in many different collections.<sup>4</sup>



Fig. 1. Locations of Byzantine plate shipwrecks<sup>5</sup> (drawn by author).

3 G. Philotheou and M. Michailidou, "Plats byzantins provenant d'une épave près de Kastellorizo," in *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*, ed. V. Déroche and J.-M. Spieser (Paris, 1989), 173-76; D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, "Byzantine Glazed Ceramics on the Market," in *Trade and Markets*, ed. Morrisson, 201-5.

4 M. Michailidou, "Byzantine Pottery from Kastellorizo Shipwreck," in *Byzantine Glazed Pottery Ceramics. The Art of Sgraffito*, ed. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi (Athens, 1999), 143-57; G. Philotheou and M. Michailidou, "Βυζαντινά πινάκια από το φορτίο ναυαγισμένου πλοίου κοντά στο Καστελλόριζο," *Αρχ. Δελτ.* 41 (1986): 271-330.

5 Izmir wreck first published in Armstrong, "Byzantine Glazed Ceramic," 5, fig. 2. But the location of the wreck is not certain. I. Dimopoulos, "Trade of Byzantine Red-Wares, End of the 11th-13th Centuries," in *Byzantine Trade, 4th -12th Centuries*, ed. M. Mundell Mango (Farnham, 2009), 180, fig. 12.2.

Two additional wrecked cargoes of tableware were found along the eastern coast of Greece near the islands of Skopelos and Pelagos, in the western Aegean Sea (Fig. 1). The Pelagos shipwreck excavation was conducted in 1970 under the direction of Peter Throckmorton with the Greek Archaeological Service.<sup>6</sup> In total, there were 1,490 plates recovered. These included fine sgraffito, incised-sgraffito, and painted-sgraffito vessels that date to the mid-twelfth century.<sup>7</sup>

The second plate wreck found in Greek waters is in the same area, near Skopelos Island. Several ceramic vessels were raised from the wreck along with glazed plates and bowls, which are now housed in the collections of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.<sup>8</sup> This collection consists of twenty glazed bowls decorated by incised, incised-sgraffito and a champlévé technique, all suggesting a date of the late-twelfth century.

The last plate wreck known from modern literature is located off the Karaburun Peninsula on the Anatolian coast, near Izmir. However, the exact location of the wreck is unclear.<sup>9</sup> Other than the finds from these wrecks, some unprovenanced glazed plates in museum collections have been published by various researchers. Among these, examples from underwater sites can be found dispersed among the many coastal museums of Turkey.

The specimens in the Izmir Archaeology Museum are numerically the largest collection, with 227 pieces.<sup>10</sup> However, the context of these finds is unclear.

Among the Istanbul Archaeological Museum's Classical Art Collections, there is a collection of 122 unprovenanced glazed ceramics from maritime environments. According to the statement of origin, the tableware came from a wrecked ship near Bodrum, but the exact location of the wreck is unknown.<sup>11</sup>

6 P. Throckmorton, "Exploration of a Byzantine Wreck at Pelagos Island near Alonnesos," *AAA* 4 (1971): 183-85.

7 Papanikola-Bakirtzi, "Byzantine Glazed Ceramics," 200-1; A. Dina, "The Byzantine Shipwreck at Pelagonesos-Alonnesos," in *Byzantine Glazed Pottery Ceramics*, ed. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, 122-42; E. Ioannidaki-Dostoglou, "Les vases de l'épave Byzantine de Pelagonesse-Halonnesse," *BCH Suppl* 18 (1989): 157-71, 122-42; C. Kritzas, "Το Βυζαντινόν ναυάγιον Πελαγοννήσου-Αλοννήσου," *AAA* 4 (1971): 176-82.

8 P. Armstrong, "A Group of Byzantine Bowls from Skopelos," *OJA* 10.3 (1991): 335-47.

9 Armstrong, "Byzantine Glazed Ceramic," 5.

10 L. Doğer, "İzmir Arkeoloji Müzesi Koleksiyonları'ndaki Sualtı Buluntusu Slip Teknikli Bizans Seramikleri," *Adalya* 3 (1999): 179-94; L. Doğer, "İzmir Arkeoloji Müzesi'nde Bulunan Balık Figürlü Sgraffito Bizans Seramikleri," *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 93 (1999): 38-42; L. Doğer, "İnsan Figürlü Bizans Sırlı Seramik Repertuvarına Yeni Bir Örnek," *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 10 (2000): 57-76, fig. 1; L. Doğer, "Bizans Seramiklerinde Bezeme Elemanı Olarak Aslan Figürleri," *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 10 (2000): 77-90, figs. 3, 4, 5, 9, 10; L. Doğer, "İzmir Arkeoloji Müzesindeki Bitkisel Bezemeli Sgraffito Bizans Kapları," *OLBA IV* (Mersin, 2001): 209-23, pl. 57-71; L. Doğer, "İzmir Arkeoloji Müzesi'ndeki Kuş Figürlü Bizans Seramiklerine Üslupsal Açından Bir Yaklaşım," *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 11 (2001): 57-96, pl. XXIV-XXXVIII; L. Doğer, "Müzelerimizden Örneklerle Akutma Boya Teknikli Ege-Bizans Seramikleri," *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 106 (2002): 3-13; L. Doğer, *İzmir Arkeoloji Müzesi Örnekleriyle Kazıma Dekorlu Ege -Bizans Seramikleri* (Izmir, 2012).

11 Among the Istanbul Archaeological Museums' Classical Art Collections, in the first evaluation 115 underwater finds of glazed ceramic were reported. According to what the seller of the first two cups reported, they were taken from a shipwreck in the Bodrum area. T. Ergil, "1970'de Bodrum'da Batık Gemiden Çıkan Bizans Dönemi Seramik Kapları," *Antik & Dekor* 26 (1994): 36-39; L. Doğer, "Kaseler/Bowls," *Kalanlar*. 12. ve 13. Yüzyıllarda Türkiye'de Bizans/'The Remnants.' 12th and 13th Centuries Byzantine Objects in Turkey, ed.

The Antalya Museum has a collection of 108 items of tableware, consisting of bowls, plates, and cups, presumed to have come from underwater contexts. Although unprovenanced, they all come from the Finike area.<sup>12</sup> They can likely be assigned to a shipwreck near that region. Furthermore, there is a group of thirty-one plates that have been transferred to the Antalya museum as an assemblage, purported to have come from the İncekum area (east of Antalya); their find-spots are also uncertain.<sup>13</sup>

The 74-piece collection in the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology was purchased from various sources in the Marmaris area in small lots in 1966, 1969, and 1970, and were obtained by the museum as confiscated materials in 1974.<sup>14</sup> Within each group, there are ceramics similar to the examples from the wrecks at Pelagos, Skopelos, and Kastellerizo.<sup>15</sup>

Other plate samples from wrecked ships can be found in the Fethiye Museum (thirty-two pieces),<sup>16</sup> Marmaris Museum (nine pieces),<sup>17</sup> Burdur Museum (two pieces),<sup>18</sup> the Yavuz Tatiş collection (two pieces),<sup>19</sup> and a private collection in Bozburun (five pieces).<sup>20</sup> This raises the question: do all these unprovenanced finds come from a single shipwreck or several? Taking into account the diversity of the ceramics alongside information obtained by the museums from records of find-distribution, the tableware must have come from more than one shipwreck in the area between Antalya and Bodrum, although the number of wrecks will remain an enigmatic question.

Recent excavations of harbor cities and other inland cities along the coast of the Aegean Sea have provided more information about the potential intended destinations for these cargoes.<sup>21</sup> Considering this data, it is clear that a great deal of tableware from

A. Ödekan (Istanbul, 2007), 131-37.

12 Most probably all the plates were raised from the Beşadalar or the Adrasan wreck. The plate numbers were recorded in 1996, Doğer, İzmir Arkeoloji Müzesi, 7. For similar examples, see S. Bilici, "Antalya ve Bodrum Müzeleri'ndeki Champlevé Dekorlu Bizans Seramikleri," *Adalya* 2 (1998): 223-34, figs. 1-4, 9-10; S. Bilici, "Anadolu'dan Ege Tipinde Sualtı Buluntusu Bir Grup Bizans Seramiği," *Adalya* 4 (2000): 259-80, figs. 12, 23.

13 Bilici, "Anadolu'dan Ege Tipinde," figs. 5, 22, 33.

14 Bilici, "Antalya ve Bodrum Müzeleri'ndeki," figs. 5, 7; Bilici, "Anadolu'dan Ege Tipinde," figs. 6, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27, figs. 34, 39, 35, 36, 37; S. Bilici, "Digenis Akritas: Bodrum Müzesi'nden Figürlü Bir Bizans Kasesi," *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 12 (2003): 41-54, fig. 1; E. Parman, "Tabak/Plate -Kase/Bowl," in "Kalanlar"/*The Remnants*," ed. Ödekan, 95-104.

15 Bilici, "Digenis Akritas," 39-54, fig. 1; Parman, "Tabak/Plate - Kase/Bowl," 95. For other findings, see Bilici, "Antalya ve Bodrum Müzeleri'ndeki," figs. 5, 7.

16 There are ceramics similar to the examples from the wrecks at Kastellerizo but a bowl (inv no. 25.6.70.710) in this assemblage has both incised and sgraffito decoration. Bilici, "Antalya ve Bodrum Müzeleri'ndeki," fig. 6; Bilici, "Anadolu'dan Ege Tipinde," figs. 7-12, 21, 29-32; Doğer, İzmir Arkeoloji Müzesi, 108, nos. 115-19, figs. 14-18; Doğer, "Müzelerimizden Örneklerle," 14, nos. 51-60; 15, nos. 61-65 (brown painted-splash, and green painted-splash wares).

17 Doğer, *İzmir Arkeoloji Müzesi*, 108, no.120, fig.19; 109, nos. 121-22, figs. 20-21.

18 Bilici, "Anadolu'dan Ege Tipinde," figs. 20, 28, 38.

19 T. Shigebumi, "Bizans Dönemi (MS 395-1453)," *Anadolu Medeniyetlerinden Kültür Yansımaları, Yavuz Tatiş Koleksiyonu*, ed. M. İ. Targaç (Izmir, 2003), 122, cat. 111; 124, cat. 112.

20 *Marie Claire Dergisi* 77 (2011): 173 (There are ceramics similar to the examples from the wrecks at Kastellerizo).

21 L. Doğer, *Manyas-Ergili-Hisar-tepe (Eski Daskyleion) Kazısı Bizans Seramikleri* (Istanbul, 2012), 32, 33, tables 4-5 (16); N. Öztürk and B. Kavaz, "Zeytinliada Kazısı 2008 Yılı Çalışmaları," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 31.1 (2010):

the southwest coast of Anatolia came to be housed in various museums. Although exact locations of many finds are not known, museum records of many items of tableware, based on information provided by people who either donated or sold the items to these museums, indicate that there are likely more plate wrecks in the region.

To supplement the above information and perhaps provide a better understanding of the collections of tableware from various sites, one more wreck found during the survey performed around Adrasan, off the southwest coast of Anatolia, must be considered.

### The Adrasan Plate Wreck



Fig. 2. Adrasan plate wreck (Photo: H. Özdaş).

The Institute of Marine Sciences and Technology at Dokuz Eylül University conducted underwater archaeological surveys in 2005-2009 to detect shipwrecks within the scope of Western Mediterranean Region Underwater Cultural Heritage guidelines, with the support of The Scientific and Technological Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK).<sup>22</sup> One of the most promising sites of the survey area was between Adrasan Bay and Cape Gelidonya. The topography of the coastline in the region is mountainous and rugged. The mountain ridges are aligned perpendicular to the sea, and there are a limited number of sheltered bays in the region. Adrasan is the first bay allowing anchorage after direct transit through the Gulf of Antalya. For this reason, it is evident that it was a significant natural port of call on the maritime trade route from east to west since the Late Bronze Age.

During the first survey campaign (2005) in Adrasan Bay, a Byzantine era plate wreck was located at Cape Göçük, in the southern part of the bay (Figs. 1-2), based

508, fig. 13, 5th row, 4th piece on the left; L. Doğer, "Anaia-Kuşadası Kadıkalesi Kazısı 2002 Yılı Bizans Dönemi Seramik Buluntuların Ön Değerlendirmesi," *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi, Aydoğan Demir'e Armağan* 13.1 (2004): figs. 2, 3; U. Weber, "Eine spätbyzantinische Ölprelle im Apollonheiligtum von Didyma," *IstMitt* 59 (2009): 398, cat. 4; 400, cat. 8; 402, cat. 12; 403, cat. 14; 404, cat.15; K. Vionis, J. Poblome, B. Cupere, M. Waelkens, "A Middle-Late Byzantine Pottery from Sagalassos," *Hesperia* 79 (2010): 448, fig. 20; 449, fig. 21.a-b; S. Doğan, "Alanya ve Çevresinde Bizans Araştırmaları 2005," *AST* 24 (2007): 543, fig. 1.

22 The Scientific and Technological Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK) "Mediterranean Region Underwater Cultural Heritage Research Project," Project No.: 106K054.



Fig. 3. Rocky seabed and plates  
(Photo: H. Özdaş).



Fig. 4. Group of plates on a rocky seabed  
(Photo: H. Özdaş).

on information supplied by sponge divers, scuba divers, and local fishermen.<sup>23</sup> Survey results demonstrate that this area and the bay were on the major maritime transit and trade routes since the Late Bronze Age.

The first underwater survey in this region was conducted by American researchers<sup>24</sup> and resulted in the full excavation of the Cape Gelidonya Bronze Age shipwreck in 1960.<sup>25</sup> During the 1973 survey, the first plate wreck was identified in the region. The plates, found at a depth of 40–44 meters, have been dated precisely to the Roman period. However, none of the plates have been raised for study, thus detailed information has not been collected.

Another plate wreck that was located in the vicinity of the Beşadalar, near Cape Gelidonya, at a depth of 60–70 meters, was reported by sponge divers in the 1960s.<sup>26</sup> Neither of these wrecks has been examined in detail due to their location in deep water, yet both have been looted noticeably and heavily. Although no examination of these wrecks has been undertaken, we marked them on the map (Fig. 1) to show the general



Fig. 5. Y-shaped anchor (Photo: H. Özdaş).



Fig. 6. Large marble fragment from the wreck  
(Photo: H. Özdaş).

location of all the plate wrecks discussed in this article in an attempt to establish trade route patterns.

In recent years several short-term surveys were carried out near Cape Gelidonya and have revealed a third plate cargo. Located in 2005, the site is situated at a depth of 15–18 meters on a flat sandy bottom just beyond a rocky (Fig. 3), sloping area. The finds (Fig. 4) are at the intersection of the flat sandy bottom and the stony slope, stretching linearly for approximately 25 meters. Some of the plates have been raised and delivered to the Çeşme Museum for conservation. While diving on the wreck, it was discovered that illegal diving had been taking place and it became obvious that many pieces of the cargo had been illegally removed from the site.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to the tableware, other artifacts were observed, including several ballast stones, anchors, three “Y” shaped anchors (Fig. 5), and three marble architectural pieces (Fig. 6), certainly all belonging to the same ship. During the examination of the wreck site, approximately sixty undamaged examples of tableware were identified.

The finds are scattered over an area of about 150 m<sup>2</sup>. Randomly dispersed on the sandy bottom are various partially buried items of tableware, suggesting there must be a large number of artifacts remaining buried beneath the sand. Plates and other vessels can be found randomly scattered among the rocks and emerging from the substrate, both singly (Fig. 7) and in groups including numerous bowls that have a plain or upright rim and a low ring base (Fig. 8).

23 The shipwreck was revealed by Engin Bayar, who was a fisherman and diver in Adrasan. H. Özdaş, “Ege ve Akdeniz Bölgeleri Sualtı Araştırması 2005 Yılı Çalışmaları,” *AST* 24.2 (2007): 441-42.

24 G. F. Bass, “Underwater Archaeological Expedition to Turkey, 1968,” *National Geographic Society Research Reports, 1968 Projects*, 29-31; G. F. Bass, “Survey for Shipwrecks, 1973,” *IJNA* 3 (1974): 335-38; G. F. Bass, “Underwater Survey-1973,” *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 22 (1975): 34; J. A. Gifford, “A Survey of Shipwreck Sites off the Southwestern Coast of Turkey,” *JFieldA* 1.2 (1974): 2; P. Throckmorton, *The Sea Remembers* (New York, 1987), 24-31; INA (Amerikan Institute of Nautical Archaeology) survey in the Beş Adalar region, 1993-1994, C. Pulak and E. Rogers, “The 1993-1994 Turkish Shipwreck Survey,” *INA Quarterly* 21.4 (1994): 17-21.

25 G. F. Bass, “The Cape Gelidonya Wreck: Preliminary Report,” *AJA* 65 (1961): 267-76; G. F. Bass, “Cape Gelidonya and Bronze Age Maritime Trade,” in *Orient and Occident. Festschrift Cyrus Gordon*, ed. H. A. Hoffner (Kevelaer, 1973), 29-38; G. F. Bass, “Cargo from the Age of Bronze: Cape Gelidonya, Turkey,” in *Beneath the Seven Seas*, ed. G. F. Bass (London-New York, 2005), 48-55.

26 Personal communication by Cumhuriyet İlik, 2013. Also discussed with Cemal Pulak and Donald Frey as they knew of the wreck from a 1994 INA survey in which they reported the wreck to be at approximately 60 m depth with a few plates visible on the substrate surface. Additionally, they report the wreck as having been heavily looted.

27 H. Özdaş, N. Kızıldağ, E. Okan, “Underwater Archaeological Surveys along the Mediterranean Coastline in 2011,” *ANMED* 10 (2012): 121-22.



Fig. 7. Bowls and plates on the seafloor  
(Photo: H. Özdaş).



Fig. 8. Nested stacks of plates  
(Photo: H. Özdaş).

In the immediate area of the shipwreck, it was observed that as many as five bowls, of the same form and dimensions, were nested, one within the other, with a total of seven other groups stacked in this manner (Figs. 7-8). Considering that the shipwreck was destroyed and looted over time, it must be safe to presume that the total number of nested stacks must have originally been greater. However, it is not possible to reach definitive conclusions without proper excavation of the site.

From the survey, a total of four plates were raised from the area and have been drawn. Four different forms were observed under water, yet the survey permission did not allow us to raise more than a very limited number of samples. The four raised artifacts are red fabric, cream/white slipped, transparent plain glazed open vessels; one of them is a plain rim, ring foot plate (Fig. 11), and three of them are low ring foot, upright rim bowls (Figs. 9, 10, 12). All vessels have rim diameters varying between 20 and 27 cm. The vessels exhibit a central medallion theme (described below) on the inner surface. Decoration was applied by a fine sgraffito technique. A split-palmette or degenerated split-palmette (or delicate spiral) motif were applied on three of them (Figs. 9, 10, 11), and one was decorated by a band with a running spiral (Fig. 12). Due to poor preservation in the underwater environment, primers, glazes, and decorations have often been damaged, with most vessels being covered with marine concretion.

Four other types of ware were documented *in situ*. Two have fine sgraffito (Figs. 13-14), and the remaining two are decorated with under-glaze brown and/or green painted techniques (Figs. 15-16). Central medallions have interlaced bands and pseudo-cufic motifs against a background scale pattern (Figs. 13, 14). The medallions are surrounded by a thin rope pattern or bead band, which is a common theme for this kind of decoration. These four bowls share similar profiles and dimensions with those previously mentioned.

Most of the excavated examples and those of lost provenance can be dated to the mid-twelfth century using the Pelagos shipwreck materials, presuming proper dating of that material as most current researchers refer to the Pelagos shipwreck for fine sgraffito ceramics dating.<sup>28</sup> However, there are also some samples which may be dated to the second half of the twelfth century, extending the possible chronology of these ceramics.

Brown painted and green-brown painted bowls found on the Adrasan wreck do not have parallels in the Pelagos assemblage. The brown bowl was decorated in the center with a radial motif of painted brown brushstrokes. The rim is decorated with short and thick parallel brushstrokes (Fig. 15). Decorative techniques other than brushstrokes do not exist in the bowls. Thus, there are two different types of decorated ceramics in the cargo of the Adrasan wreck (Figs. 13, 15). For this reason, this shipwreck is significant. Comparable finds show that brown painted decoration is mostly used with fine sgraffito decoration. Nonetheless, a number of examples in which both painted and fine sgraffito techniques were used in the same bowls have been identified from both terrestrial and marine sites.<sup>29</sup>

However, the find site of underwater ceramics in several collections is not known.<sup>30</sup> In general, both green and brown painted fine sgraffito bowls are more prevalent than the others. There is one bowl from Thebes decorated in the center with both painted brown motifs and sgraffito running spiral bands. Two different decoration techniques in two bowls from the Adrasan wreck (Figs. 12, 15) can be seen in the bowl from Thebes. The Thebes bowl also contains green radial lines.<sup>31</sup> Recently one example which has only green and brown painted radial decoration was found at the Anaia excavation.<sup>32</sup>

The last piece of pottery for discussion that originates from the Adrasan wreck was painted with an underglaze green and brown color technique. It exhibits foliate decoration on the inner surface. Surrounding the green painted spiral motif is a brown painted outline (Fig. 16). A similar bowl exists in the Christopher Stiegemann Collection

<sup>28</sup> Dina, "The Byzantine Shipwreck," 123.

<sup>29</sup> *Byzantine Glazed Ceramics*, ed. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, cat. 26, 28.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, cat. 25.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 37, cat. 20; other examples came from the Pelagos (Alonnesos) wreck which contains both Adrasan bowl decoration (cat. 3-4) and green / brown painted motive.

<sup>32</sup> Z. Mercangöz, "Kuşadası, Kadıkalesi'nde Geç Bizans Çağı Ticari Üretimlerine İlişkin Arkeolojik Bulgular," in *Bizanslı Ustalar-Latin Patronlar: Kuşadası Yakınındaki Kadıkalesi Kazıları Işığında Anaia Ticari Üretiminden Yansımalar/Byzantine Craftsmen-Latin Patrons: Reflections from the Anaian Commercial Production in the Light of the Excavations at Kadıkalesi nearby Kuşadası*, ed. Z. Mercangöz (Istanbul, 2013), 55, fig. I-23c.

in Munich (Fig. 17).<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, one of the green and brown painted findings (more inattentive) from Kastellorizo has a very similar decoration (Fig. 18).<sup>34</sup> The spiral decoration bowl which is an underwater find in the Izmir Archaeology Museum offers a different version of this decoration (Fig. 19).<sup>35</sup>

The unprovenanced tableware in the Christopher Stiegemann Collection has been dated to the late-twelfth or early-thirteenth century. The pottery in the Izmir Archaeology Museum has also been dated to the mid-twelfth or early-thirteenth century, while the accepted date for the Kastellorizo shipwreck is the early-thirteenth century.<sup>36</sup>

The forms and dimensions of the Adrasan examples are comparable to those of the Pelagos and Kastellorizo shipwrecks. These examples are typical of open vessel forms dated to the Komnenian period (Fig. 11, Cat. 3 excluded). For this reason, the Adrasan wreck likely represents the easternmost discovered indicator of maritime trade during the Komnenian period. This shipwreck also demonstrates, as others, that the plates were used as a trade cargo between Byzantium and the East. The Adrasan cargo provides important evidence for sea transport of tableware in the Byzantine period.

### Dating and Evaluation

The Adrasan wreck is one of the indicators of the sea trade route in the Byzantine period along the southern coast of Anatolia. Given the number of plate wrecks, this region should be considered important in terms of plate trade and commerce. The Roman period plate wreck, discovered by G. F. Bass in 1973, and other wrecks reported in the area by sponge divers, show that this region has great potential for contributing to an increased knowledge of sea trade, which may be obtained with more detailed survey projects in the region. These plate wrecks were located on the trade route along the southern coast of Anatolia, which may suggest that Byzantine merchant ships in the region frequently used this route.

It is not possible to determine the exact size of the ship. However, the distribution of artifacts and anchors gives the impression that the ship was no longer than 15–20 meters. With proper excavation, a more refined set of dimensions may be gained.

Three different types of ware were discovered in the Adrasan wreck: fine sgraffito ware (Cat. 1–6), brown painted ware (Cat. 7), and green and brown painted ware (Cat. 8). The footed flat plate form (Cat. 3) and the bowl with brown painted radial decoration (Cat. 7) are stylistically unparalleled and found for the first time in this wreck. Based on the tableware cargo, we suggest that the Adrasan shipwreck should be dated between the mid-twelfth and early-thirteenth century for now.

The shipwreck not only demonstrates trade routes, but the cargo of the ship is also informative for secular art, as well as for daily life in the Byzantine era. These ceramics likely do not originate from one single center, considering the accepted tramping methods employed by merchants of the period. However, this complex trade network indicates that Byzantine glazed tableware production had changed, especially during the twelfth century. Neither the origin, nor the destination of the Adrasan ship is clear.

Petrographic analysis of the twelfth-century glazed ceramics indicates that there were several workshops for these types of tableware. They exhibit the same geological structure and produce the same forms with similar decorative styles.<sup>37</sup> Mass production of ceramics began during this period with large numbers of plates being transferred to market and distributed more widely using peripheral small settlements.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Bowl inventory number 1682. C. Schmidt, "Mittelbyzantinische Keramikschalen," in *Byzans. Das Licht aus dem Osten Kult und Alltag im Byzantinischem Reich vom 4. bis 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. C. Stiegemann (Mainz, 2001), 363, IV.113.

<sup>34</sup> *Byzantine Glazed Ceramics*, ed. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, 144, fig. 2 (left). Philotheou and Michailidou, "Βυζαντινά πινάκια απο το οορητιο ναυάγιζμενον πλοιου κοντα στο Καστελλόριζο," 293 (cat. 54), 294–98 (cat. 55–78).

<sup>35</sup> Doğer, "Müzelerimizden Örneklerle," 7, cat. 14, table I.d, Inv. No. 14659. For another bowl that has similar brown painted small spiral motifs (and sgraffito decoration), see D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, F. Mavrikiou, Ch. Bakirtzis, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery in the Benaki Museum* (Athens, 1999), 81, 84, cat. 160. According to information from the donor, its provenance is a shipwreck off Antalya.

<sup>36</sup> The year 1222, which has been an essential and fixed time to date the Kastellorizo wreck, is now considered with suspicion. M. L. von Wartburg, "Earthquakes and Archaeology: Paphos after 1222," in *Acts of 3rd International Congress of Cypriot Studies, Nicosia, 3-4 May 1996* (Nicosia, 2001), 127–45.

<sup>37</sup> For chemical analysis, see S. W. Waksman and M. L. von Wartburg, "Fine Sgraffito Ware, Aegean Ware, and Other Wares: New Evidence for a Major Production of Byzantine Ceramics," *RDAC* (2006): 371. Additionally, in this publication during the analysis a surprise connection with Aegean ware was discovered in the green and/or brown group for a few finds: *ibid.*, 380. For two pieces of the Fine Sgraffito and Incised-Sgraffito pottery from Anaia findings analysis, see M. B. Ünaler, S. Akkurt, L. Doğer, R. Kozakova, "Kuşadası, Kadıkalesi/Anaia Kazısından İnce Sgraffito ve Kazıma-Sgraffito (Kaba Sgraffito) Seramiklerin Analitik Karşılaştırması / Comparison of Byzantine Fine Sgraffito and Incised-Sgraffito (Coarse Sgraffito) Ware from Kuşadası, Kadıkalesi/Anaia Excavation," in *Bizanslı Ustalar-Latin Patronlar/Byzantine Craftsmen-Latin Patrons*, ed. Mercangöz, 91–100.

<sup>38</sup> P. Armstrong, "Some Byzantine and Later Settlements in Eastern Phokis," *BSA* 84 (1989): 1–47. Ceramic findings of Aigai (Aiolis), Pergamon, Daskyleion, Selçuk-Şirince Village, Metropolis, Alanya- Castle of Kızılcashehir that are quite far from the coast support this assertion. Finding from survey of Marmara, M.-F. Auzépy, "Campagne de prospection 2006 de la Mission Marmara," *Anat.Ant.* 15 (2007): 385, fig. 18.



## CATALOGUE

**Cat. No. 1 (Fig. 9).** Bowl. Part of the body and rim missing.

**Survey Inventory No:** GTB 03 (Çeşme Museum, İzmir)

H. 9, rim diam. 25.2, foot diam. 11 cm.

**Condition:** Interior and exterior deteriorated and mostly covered with marine concretion.

**Fabric:** Reddish, Slip: Off-white, Glaze: Yellowish (?).

**Form:** Low ring foot, hemispherical body, plain rim with in-turned lip.

**Decoration and Technique:** At the center of the floor, central medallion containing split-palmette. Fine Sgraffito.

**Similar form (with little different foot shape):** Underwater finds in İzmir Archaeological Museum, Doğer, "İzmir Arkeoloji Müzesi'ndeki Kuş Figürlü," 61, fig. 2; 69, fig. 8; underwater finds in Bodrum Archaeological Museum, Bilici, "Anadolu'dan Ege Tipinde," fig. I (no. 17).

**Similar decoration:** Central medallion: Finds from Anaia, L. Doğer, "Kuşadası, Kadıkalesi (Anaia) Kazısı 2003 Yılı Bizans Dönemi Seramik Buluntuları," *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 14.1 (İzmir, 2005), 119 table II.d; underwater finds in İzmir Archaeological Museum, Doğer, "İzmir Arkeoloji Müzesindeki Bitkisel," pl. 62, fig. 12; pl. 63, fig. 13; underwater finds in İstanbul Archaeological Museum, Ergil, "1970'de Bodrum'da Batık Gemiden," 37, no. 7; for Corinth, Ch. H. Morgan, *Corinth, The Byzantine Pottery*, vol. 11 (Cambridge, MA, 1942), 121, fig. 96; for Athens Benaki Museum, D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, F. N. Mavrikiou, Ch. Bakirtzis, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery in the Benaki Museum*, 61 (92).

**Published:** H. Özdaş, "Ege ve Akdeniz Bölgeleri," 450, fig. 12; H. Özdaş, N. Kızıldağ, E. Okan, "Akdeniz Kıyıları Arkeolojik," 121, fig. 5.

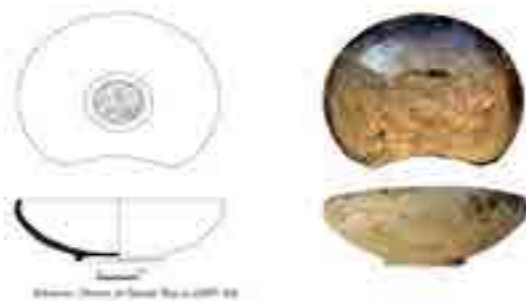


Fig. 9 Adrasan Wreck, Fine Sgraffito Bowl.

**Cat. No. 2 (Fig. 10).** Large bowl. Part of the body and rim missing.

**Survey Inventory No:** GTB 04 (Çeşme Museum, İzmir)

H. 9.2, rim diam. 27.2, foot diam. 12 cm.

**Condition:** Interior and exterior deteriorated and mostly covered with marine concretion.

**Form:** Low ring foot, hemispherical body, upper part forming upright rim, pointed lip.

**Fabric:** Reddish, Slip: Off-white, Glaze: Yellowish.

**Decoration and Technique:** At center of the floor, central medallion containing delicate spiral/degenerated split-palmette. Fine Sgraffito.

**Similar form (with some difference in the foot shape):** Underwater finds in İzmir Archaeological Museum, L. Doğer, İzmir Arkeoloji Müzesi (İzmir, 2010), 32, table 1 (e); underwater finds in Bodrum Archaeological Museum, "Anadolu'dan Ege Tipinde," fig. II (No. 6); for Cyprus, M. L. von Wartburg, "Cypriote Contacts with East and West as Reflected in Medieval Glazed Pottery from the Paphos Region," in *VII Congrès International sur la céramique médiévale en Méditerranée, Thessalonique, 11-16 Octobre 1999*, ed. Haralambos Bakirtzis (Athens, 2003), 158, fig. 11. TA 28.1.

**Similar decoration:** Central medallion: For Demre, S. Y. Ötüken, S. Alpaslan, M. Acara, "Demre-Myra Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesi Kuzey Ek Yapısının Yeni Bir Değerlendirmesi," *Adalya* 4 (1990-1991): 240, fig. 14 (left); for Cyprus, von Wartburg, "Cypriote Contacts with East and West," 158, fig. 11.LW 43; for Anaia, Doğer, "Kuşadası, Kadıkalesi (Anaia) Kazısı 2003," 119, table II.d; underwater finds in İzmir Archaeological Museum, Doğer, "İzmir Arkeoloji Müzesindeki Bitkisel," pl. 64, fig. 14; underwater finds in Antalya Archaeological Museum, env. no. 3649; for Porto Badisco, P. Arthur, "Byzantine and Turkish Glazed Ceramics in Southern Apulia, Italy," in *First International Symposium on Late, Antique, Byzantine, Seljuk, and Ottoman Pottery and Tiles in Archaeological Context (Çanakkale, 1-3 June 2005)*, ed. B. Böhlendorf-Arslan, A. O. Uysal, J. Witte-Orr, *Byzas* 7 (Istanbul, 2007), 248, fig. 6; similar central medallion in painted-sgraffito bowl, Morgan, *Corinth*, Pl. XLVIIa, 1379; A. Frantz, "Middle Byzantine Pottery in Athens," *Hesperia* 7 (1938): 444, fig. 7 (A41); H. Wallis, *Byzantine Ceramic Art* (London, 1907), pl. VII, fig. 18; *Byzantine Glazed Ceramics*, ed. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, 37, cat. 19; Schmidt, "Mittelbyzantinische Keramikschalen," 362 (zu IV.104).

Unpublished

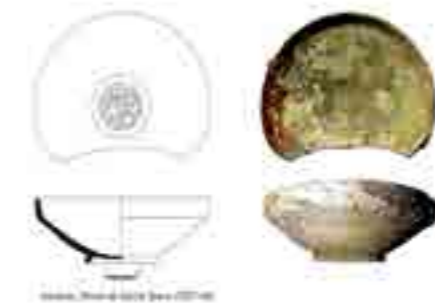


Fig. 10 Adrasan Wreck, Fine Sgraffito Bowl.

**Cat. No. 3 (Fig. 11).** Complete. Plate.

**Survey Inventory No:** GTB 02 (Çeşme Museum, İzmir)

H. 4, rim diam. 20.2, foot diam. 9.2 cm.

**Condition:** Interior and exterior deteriorated and mostly covered with marine concretion.

**Form:** Flaring band-shaped ring foot, almost foot, flat body with slightly concave walls, jagged edge of which forms rim.

**Fabric:** Reddish, Slip: Off-white, Glaze: Completely eroded.

**Decoration and Technique:** At center of floor, medallion containing delicate spiral/ degenerated split-palmette. Compass hole at center. Fine Sgraffito.

**Similar form:** *Byzantine Glazed Ceramics*, ed. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, 47, cat. 33.

**Similar decoration:** Central medallion: Underwater finds in İzmir Archaeological Museum, Doğer, “İzmir Arkeoloji Müzesi’ndeki Kuş Figürlü,” fig. 14; more stylized example: underwater finds in İstanbul Archaeological Museum, Doğer, “Kaseler/Bowls,” 136; together with green and brown (manganese) painted decoration from the Alonessos (Pelagos) wreck, *Byzantine Glazed Ceramics*, ed. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, 142, cat. 163.

Unpublished

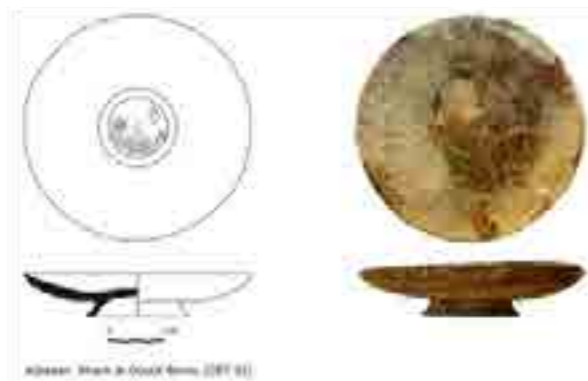


Fig. 11 Adrasan Wreck, Fine Sgraffito Bowl.

**Cat No. 4 (Fig. 12).** Large bowl. Large part of the body and rim missing.

**Survey Inventory No:** GTB 01 (Çeşme Museum, İzmir)

H. 9.8, rim diam. 27.1, foot diam. 12 cm.

**Condition:** Interior and exterior deteriorated and mostly covered with marine concretion.

**Form:** Low ring foot, hemispherical body, upper part forming upright rim, rounded lip.

**Fabric:** Reddish, Slip: Off-white, Glaze: Cream (?)

**Decoration and Technique:** At the center of the floor, band with running spiral. Fine Sgraffito.

**Similar form (thick bottom and foot shape is different):** Underwater finds in İzmir Archaeological Museum, Doğer, İzmir Arkeoloji Müzesi, 29, table II (j); Schmidt, “Mittelbyzantinische Keramikschaalen,” 362 (zu IV.110, zu IV. 113).

**Similar decoration:** More coarse and stylized drawing. Finds from the Kastellorizo wreck, Philotheou and Michailidou, “Byzantina πινάκια απο το οορτιο ναυάγισμενου πλοιου κοντα στο Καστελλόριζο,” 309, cat. 44; *Byzantine Glazed Ceramics*, ed. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, 152, cat. 178. Together with green and brown (manganese) painted decoration: *ibid.*, 37, cat. 20.

Unpublished

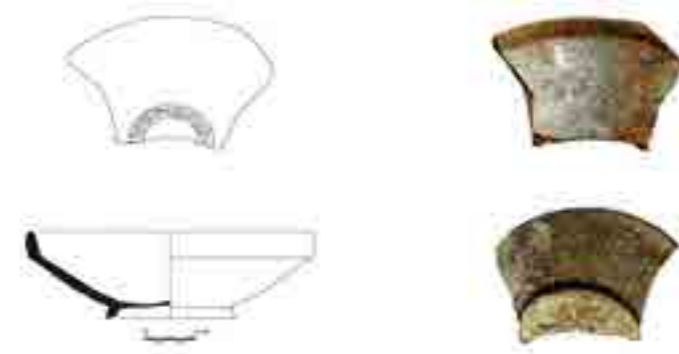


Fig. 12 Adrasan Wreck, Fine Sgraffito Bowl.

**Cat. No. 5 (Fig. 13).** (left *in situ*) Bowl. Large part of the body and rim missing.

**Condition:** Interior and exterior deteriorated and mostly covered with marine concretion.

**Form:** Ring foot.

**Fabric:** Reddish, Slip: Off-white, Glaze: Cream-yellowish (?)

**Decoration and Technique:** At the center of the floor, medallion with guilloche and pseudo-cufic decoration against background of scale pattern. Medallion bordered by narrow rope pattern. Fine Sgraffito.

**Similar decoration:** Morgan, *Corinth*, 31, fig. 20 B; guilloche: *Byzantine Glazed Ceramics*,



Fig. 13 Adrasan Wreck, Fine Sgraffito Bowl.

**Cat. No. 6 (Fig. 14).** (left *in situ*) Bowl. Large part of the body and rim missing.

**Condition:** Interior and exterior deteriorated and mostly covered with marine concretion.

**Form:** Ring foot.

**Fabric:** Reddish, Slip: Off-white.

**Decoration and Technique:** At the center of the floor, central medallion containing background of scale pattern against which rosette with pointed petals linked together by chevrons. Medallion bordered by narrow bead band Fine Sgraffito.

**Similar decoration:** Likely similar composition in central medallion: *Byzantine Glazed Ceramics*, ed. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, 140, cat. 159; 141, cat. 160; narrow band: *ibid.*, 31, cat. 10; cat. 11; 46, cat. 31; J. W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, vol. 2: *The Pottery* (Princeton, 1992), pl. 10 a; pl. 11 a; Morgan, *Corinth*, 228, fig. 201; Böhlendorf-Arslan, *Glasierte byzantinische*, taf. 53 (55); R. B. K. Stevenson, "The Pottery, 1936-37," in G. Brett, W. J. Macaulay, R. B. K. Stevenson, *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors* (Oxford, 1947), pl. 20(4).  
Unpublished



Fig. 14. Adrasan Wreck, Fine Sgraffito Bowl.

**Cat. No. 7 (Fig. 15).** (left *in situ*) Bowl. Large part of body and rim missing.

**Condition:** Exterior covered with marine concretion.

**Fabric:** Reddish, Slip: Off-white, Glaze: Colorless-cream (?).

**Decoration and Technique:** At the center of the floor, motif painted with dark brown brushstrokes in shape of radial. Rim decorated with brushstrokes of similar colour. Underglaze Brown Painted.

Unpublished



Fig. 15. Adrasan Wreck, Brown Painted Bowl.

**Cat. No. 8 (Fig. 16).** (left *in situ*) Bowl. Large part of body and rim missing.

**Condition:** Exterior covered with marine concretion.

**Fabric:** Reddish, Slip: White, Glaze: Yellowish Colorless-cream.

**Decoration and Technique:** Foliate decoration. Green floral outlined in brown. Brown (manganese) spiral. Underglaze Green and Brown Painted.

**Similar form:** Schmidt, "Mittelbyzantinische Keramikschalen," 363, IV.113.

**Similar decoration:** Schmidt, "Mittelbyzantinische Keramikschalen," 363, IV.113.

Unpublished



Fig. 16. Adrasan Wreck, Green and Brown Painted Bowl.



Fig. 17. München, C. Stiegemann Collection, underwater find, Green and Brown Painted Bowl (Schmidt 2001, 363, IV.113).



Fig. 18. *Byzantine Glazed Ceramics* 1999, 114, fig. 2.



Fig. 19. İzmir Archaeological Museum, underwater find, Green and Brown Painted Bowl (Doğer 2002, 7).

# Andriake: The Port of Myra in Late Antiquity

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Andriake, the port of Myra, was one of the important harbors on the Lycian coast throughout the Roman and the early Byzantine periods. Today, the site provides us with almost a full picture of a late antique harbor settlement, which served as a commercial and industrial center for Myra and its environs. This paper aims to introduce the historical topography of Andriake as partially revealed by the “Myra-Andriake Excavations,” ongoing since 2009,<sup>1</sup> with a focus on the main buildings that were hitherto excavated and documented, while also discussing the harbor’s role in the economic life of the region.

The interest of European travelers and archaeologists in Lycia and Myra began at the end of the eighteenth century,<sup>2</sup> among whom it is important to mention Mayer (1794),<sup>3</sup> Beaufort (1810),<sup>4</sup> Fellows (1838),<sup>5</sup> Texier (1838 and 1880),<sup>6</sup> Spratt and Forbes (1842),<sup>7</sup> and Benndorf (1892).<sup>8</sup> Although the information provided by the first visitors to the region is precious for historians, archaeologists, and social anthropologists, it mostly depended

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1 For the excavation reports, see N. Çevik, S. Bulut, H. O. Tıbıkoğlu, B. Özdilek and Ç. A. Aygün, “Myra ve Andriake Kazıları 2009: İlk Yıl,” 32. *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*, (Ankara, 2011), 1:403-20; N. Çevik, “First Season of Excavations at Myra and Andriake: 2009,” *ANMED News of Archaeology from Anatolia’s Mediterranean Areas* 8 (2010): 55-60; N. Çevik, S. Bulut, O. Tıbıkoğlu, B. Özdilek and Ç. A. Aygün, “Myra ve Andriake Kazıları / Myra and Andriake Excavations: 2010,” *ANMED News of Archaeology from Anatolia’s Mediterranean Areas* 9 (2011): 1-13; N. Çevik, S. Bulut and E. Akyürek, “Excavations and Surveys at Myra-Andriake in 2011,” *ANMED News of Archaeology from Anatolia’s Mediterranean Areas* 10 (2012): 65-72; N. Çevik, S. Bulut and E. Akyürek, “Excavations at Myra and Andriake 2012,” *ANMED News of Archaeology from Anatolia’s Mediterranean Areas* 11 (2013): 90-96.

2 V. Bulgurlu, “Erken Gezinlerin Gözüyle Myra / Demre,” in *Arkeolojisinden Doğasına Myra / Demre ve Çevresi*, ed. N. Çevik (Antalya, 2010), 273-91.

3 L. Mayer, *Views in the Ottoman Empire, Chiefly in Caramania* (London, 1803).

4 F. Beaufort, *Karamania or a Brief Description of the South Coast of Asia Minor* (London, 1817).

5 C. Fellows, *Discoveries in Lycia* (London, 1840).

6 C. Texier, *Description de l’Asie Mineure: beaux Arts, monuments historiques, plan et topographie des cités antiques*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1839-1849).

7 T. A. B. Spratt and E. Forbes, *Travels in Lycia, Milyas and the Cibyratis*, 2 vols. (London, 1847).

8 O. Benndorf and G. Niemann, *Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien I: Reisen in Lykien und Karien* (Vienna, 1884).

on personal experience and observation rather than systematic archaeological research. Scientific research in the region began no earlier than the mid-twentieth century; however, it was mostly conducted as general field surveys of Lycia,<sup>9</sup> in which Myra and Andriake were mentioned as well. A specific archaeological study on Myra and its port Andriake was conducted by Jürgen Borchardt during 1965–1968 and was published in 1975.<sup>10</sup> In Demre, the first archaeological excavation was at the Church of St. Nicholas, which was initiated by the Antalya Archaeological Museum in 1989 and resumed by Professor Yıldız Ötüken of Hacettepe University, between 1991 and 2009.<sup>11</sup> In 2000, Andriake was the subject of a Ph.D. dissertation by V. Macit Tekinalp from Hacettepe University.<sup>12</sup> Finally, comprehensive survey and excavations at Myra and its port Andriake began in 2009, directed by Professor Nevzat Çevik from the Department of Archaeology at Akdeniz University, in collaboration with scholars from other universities and institutions.<sup>13</sup>

The Lycian peninsula, now called Teke —lies in the southwest corner of Anatolia, stretching westwards from the bay of Antalya to Fethiye (Telmessos). Lycia is a mountainous land and its shores are mostly steep coastlines allowing very few plains suitable for settlement. In most parts the Taurus Mountains rise abruptly from the seashore to about 1000 meters.<sup>14</sup> At only three points, rivers crossing the mountain ridge form fertile coastal plains that are suitable for agriculture and support city settlements with proper harbors to link them to the rest of the Mediterranean world. Those rivers are: the Alakır in eastern Lycia, forming the Kumluca plain with the settlements of Limyra and Rhodiapolis; the Myros river in central Lycia that forms the Demre plain with the settlement at Myra; and the Eşen river in western Lycia with the settlements of Xanthos and Patara.<sup>15</sup> In antiquity, the communications of the coastal settlements of

Lycia with the Mediterranean world were mostly by sea; consequently, those three main settlements of Lycia were connected to the world through their harbors: Phoenix (modern Finike) served as the port of Limyra and environs, Andriake was the port of Myra and environs, and Patara the port of Xanthos and environs. Besides these important ports with facilities to support inter-regional trade, many other coastal settlements had small harbors or landing places (*skalai*) enabling them to use maritime transportation. At the same time, the river valleys connect large economic hinterlands in the highlands with the cities and their coastal harbors, thus integrating the products of the interior with commercial value to the coastal economy and to the inter-regional trade system.

Throughout its history, the Mediterranean basin witnessed an intense communication between the settlements on its shores: the circulation of people, of commodities, and of ideas through the harbors.<sup>16</sup> That circulation was mostly by sea since it was much more efficient compared to overland transportation.<sup>17</sup> Intense maritime trade in the Mediterranean world evidently goes back to the Bronze Age, and Lycia was located on the trade routes from very early on.<sup>18</sup> In Roman and early Byzantine times, The Lycian coast was on the vital trade routes of the eastern Mediterranean, as has been revealed by the findings of recent underwater archaeology and surveys, in addition to the excavations carried out at harbor settlements like Olympos, Patara, and Andriake. The major sea lanes were from Egypt and the Levant to Rome and Constantinople.<sup>19</sup> Following the dedication of Constantinople as the second capital of the empire in the fourth century, the seaway from Egypt following the shores of Syria, southern Anatolia, Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Aegean islands, was the important north-south maritime route linking Constantinople with Egypt. A ship sailing from Constantinople to Egypt had to follow the north coast of the Propontis, reach the Aegean Sea, and sail down to Rhodes through the islands. From Rhodes one route went to Egypt through the open sea via Cyprus, while the other route followed the Lycian and southern Anatolian coasts down to Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.<sup>20</sup> Although the Lycian coast offered few proper port facilities,<sup>21</sup> due to its advantageous geographic location mid-way from Egypt to Constantinople, it enjoyed the prosperity

9 Among the most frequently cited are: G. E. Bean, *Lycian Turkey, An Archaeological Guide* (London, 1978); idem, "Report on a Journey in Lycia 1960," *AnzWien* (1962): 4-9; R. M. Harrison, "Churches and Chapels in Central Lycia," *AnatSt* 13 (1963): 117-51; C. Foss, "The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age," *DOP* 48 (1994): 1-52; H. Hellenkemper and F. Hild, *TIB 8, Lykien und Pamphylien* (Vienna, 2004), 1:342-59 (Myra), 2:435-39 (Andriake).

10 J. Borchardt, *Myra. Eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1975).

11 For the excavations carried out by Y. Ötüken, see *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* published annually by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, vols. 15 (1993) – 30 (2008); also see Y. Ötüken, "Myra-Demre Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesi Mimari Değerlendirmeler," *III. Uluslararası Likya Sempozyumu, 7-10 Kasım 2005 Antalya* (Istanbul, 2006), 2:523-31. Currently the excavations and the conservation work at St. Nicholas Museum are being conducted by Prof. Dr. Sema Doğan from Hacettepe University.

12 V. M. Tekinalp, "Geç Antik Dönem Sonrasında ve Ortaçağ'da (M.S. 4.-14. yy) Andriake Kenti" (Ph.D. diss., Hacettepe University, 2000).

13 Prof. Dr. Nevzat Çevik, Lecturer Süleyman Bulut, Research Assistants Dr. Onur Tıbıkoğlu, Dr. Banu Özdilek Tıbıkoğlu and Ç. Afşin Aygün from Akdeniz University (for the Roman period); Prof. Dr. T. Engin Akyürek, Assist. Prof. Dr. Ayça Tiryaki, Assist. Prof. Dr. Özgü Çömezoğlu from Istanbul University and Assist. Prof. Dr. Bülent İşler from Gazi University, Ankara (for the Byzantine period); Assist. Prof. Dr. Hüseyin S. Öztürk from Marmara University and Dr. Christoph Schuler (for epigraphy); Prof. Dr. Isabelle Pigmouguet-Pedarros from the Université de Nantes (for the Hellenistic period); Research Assistant Erdoğan Aslan from Selçuk University, Konya (for the underwater surveys).

14 E. Kahraman, M. Softa and G. Akar, "Demre (Antalya) ve Çevresinin Jeolojik Yapısı," in *Arkeolojisinden Doğasına Myra / Demre ve Çevresi*, ed. Çevik, 329-37.

15 G. Fowden, "Religious Developments in Late Roman Lycia: Topographical Preliminaries," *MEAETHMATA* 10

(1990): 343-70, see 347-48.

16 C. Wickham, "The Mediterranean Around 800: On The Brink of the Second Trade Cycle," *DOP* 58 (2004): 161-74, at 161.

17 In good weather a day's sea voyage was regarded as equivalent to a week's march. See A. Avramea, "Land and Sea Communications, Fourth-Fifteenth Centuries," in *EHB*, 1:58-90, see 77. In the *Vita* of St. Nicholas of the Sion Monastery, it took the saint five days to sail from Andriake to Ascalon (Palestine) under a favorable wind: *The Life of St. Nicholas of Sion*, trans. I. Ševčenko and N. P. Ševčenko (Brookline, 1984), 31(9). By land transportation would not be possible.

18 Early shipwrecks such as the Uluburun wreck from the Bronze Age bear witness to this connection. See G. F. Bass, "A Bronze Age Shipwreck at Uluburun (Kaş): 1984 Campaign," *AJA* 90.3 (1986): 269-96.

19 After the foundation of Constantinople, the main sea routes led to it. See Avramea, "Land and Sea Communications," 83.

20 *Ibid.*, 83-84.

21 E. Aslan, "Myra Çevresinde Antik Denizcilik ve Sualtı Kültür Kalıntıları," *Arkeolojisinden Doğasına Myra / Demre ve Çevresi*, ed. Çevik, 257-72, at 258.

that came with the inter-regional trade throughout the Late Antique and early Byzantine eras, until it was interrupted by the Arab domination of the Mediterranean after the seventh century.<sup>22</sup> In the region, the fate of the coastal cities, as well as their economic hinterlands on the high plains, were closely connected to the fate of the maritime trade.<sup>23</sup> As the inter-regional trade developed, the cities on the coast with proper harbors enjoyed the advantages of being part of this trade.<sup>24</sup> Inland Lycia, connected with the coastal harbor settlements, also gained from this trade by exchanging its agricultural produce for the merchandise or money of more developed regions.

Myra was one of those fortunate cities of Lycia benefiting from long-distance trade. Located on central Lycia, the city was founded on a large and fertile plain formed by the Myros river (Μύρος ποταμός) and surrounded by high mountains. The valley of the Myros river—which today flows only in winter—connects the large Kasaba plain to Myra, facilitating the movement of many products with commercial value. The city, taking its share of Mediterranean trade thanks to the port of Andriake, prospered in late antiquity as the sources and the archaeological evidence attest. Myra, like other major cities of Lycia such as Olympos, Limyra, and Patara, was connected to the world through its harbor.<sup>25</sup>

The port of Myra, Andriake, is located to the southwest of the city, about five kilometers from the center of modern Demre (Fig. 1). It was one of the most active harbors in the region since the Hellenistic period. The defense system comprised of towers on the hills at the south side of the harbor settlement is dated to the Hellenistic period and was used in the Roman and Byzantine periods with some modifications.<sup>26</sup> However, Andriake, as well as Myra, flourished as an important inter-regional harbor in the Roman period. The inscription erected at Andriake harbor by the governor of Lycia, Licinius Mucianus (CE 60–63) proves that there was an organized customs facility at the harbor by the first century.<sup>27</sup> In the Acts of the Apostles, it is mentioned that St. Paul, after being arrested in Jerusalem, put on a ship with other prisoners and sailing along the coast of Asia came to Myra and disembarked for a short while (at Andriake) before he boarded a commercial ship carrying grain from Egypt to Rome.<sup>28</sup> The reign of the emperor Hadrian

was especially significant for Andriake. The *granarium (horrea)*, which is the greatest one in Lycia, was constructed by Hadrian in CE 129, increasing the capacity of the harbor to become the most important in the region.

In the early Byzantine period the importance of Myra and Andriake increased. According to Malalas, Theodosius II separated Lycia from Lykaonia as a new province, Myra being its metropolis,<sup>29</sup> i.e. the political and religious center. Another factor contributing to the fame of the city was the cult of St. Nicholas, the fourth-century bishop of Myra who was venerated by the Christians both in the East and the West. His shrine in Myra became an important pilgrimage center, and pilgrims arriving to the city by ships, crowded the harbor. Not only the city, but also its harbor benefited from the pilgrims, while this “holy activity” attracted the patronage of the emperors and wealthy Christians as well.<sup>30</sup>

In the early sixth century, the Lycian coast was one of the most populated areas of the Mediterranean world, comparable only to the Nile Delta and Palestine.<sup>31</sup> An important sixth-century account, the *Vita* of St. Nicholas of the Sion monastery in the mountainous hinterland of Myra, provides a lively impression of social and economic life in the city and its port Andriake. In the *Vita* the port is mentioned on several occasions, which testifies to its impact on the town and on the maritime trade of the eastern Mediterranean. In one of the accounts, the saint before leaving for the Holy City (Jerusalem) went down to the “metropolis of Myra” to visit the martyrion of St. Nicholas.<sup>32</sup> Here, a skipper from Ascalon came to meet him and invited him aboard his little boat to sail to the Holy City with him.<sup>33</sup> The saint accepted the invitation and—to quote the words of the *vita*—“By the will of God, we went down to the harbor called Andriake.”<sup>34</sup> When the saint returned from his second visit to Jerusalem, he went to Ascalon and there found a Rhodian ship going to Constantinople. Having a favorable wind, the ship sailed up to Chelidon (cape Gelidonia) in ten days and Nicholas wanted to disembark at Phoenix, but the sailors, afraid of losing the good wind which they thought was due to the saint’s presence, were unwilling to stop. So, he asked the sailors “Then at least to Andriake?” but the skipper said, “Not at Andriake either, nor at Tristomon, but at Rhodes.”<sup>35</sup> However, on the way to Rhodes a strong headwind forced them to anchor, and Nicholas embarked on a dinghy and arrived at Andriake, from where he went to the monastery of Holy Sion at Myra.<sup>36</sup>

22 Avramea, “Land and Sea Communications,” 83-84.

23 Foss, “Lycian Coast,” 1.

24 Fowden, “Religious Developments,” 362.

25 The modern road link between Demre and Antalya via Finike was constructed only in the 1970s. See T. M. P. Duggan and Ç. A. Aygün, “Myra’nın Ortaçağ ve Sonrasındaki Limanı ‘Taşdibi-Stamira,’” in *Arkeolojisinden Doğasına Myra / Demre ve Çevresi*, ed. Çevik, 161-68, esp. 168. Before that, the main connection of the town to the rest of the world was by sea.

26 For the results of the research conducted on the southern heights, see N. Çevik and I. Pimouguet-Pedarras, “Les remparts du port d’Andriake: Première campagne de fouilles 2011,” *Anat.Ant.* 20 (2012): 261-80.

27 The customs inscription was found in 1999 and currently is at the Antalya Archaeological Museum. It is a very detailed text with many commercial regulations inscribed in 87 legible lines on a stone plaque about two meters high. The inscription was studied in a doctoral thesis: B. Takmer, “Lex Portorii Provinciae Lyciae: Lykia Eyaleti Gümrük Yasası” (Ph.D. diss., Akdeniz University, 2006).

28 Acts, 27:1-6.

29 Malalas XIV, 24: *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, trans. E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys and R. Scott (Melbourne, 1986), 199-200. See also Foss, “Lycian Coast,” 23.

30 C. Foss, “Pilgrimage in Medieval Asia Minor,” *DOP* 56 (2002): 129-51, at 132.

31 J. Haldon, *The Palgrave Atlas of Byzantine History* (New York, 2005), 7-8, map 1.5.

32 The legendary saint and bishop of Myra lived in the 4th century. See A. Kazhdan and N. P. Ševčenko, “Nicholas of Myra,” *ODB* 2:1469-70 and for the development of his cult, see now *En Orient et en Occident. Le culte de Saint Nicolas en Europe, Xe-XXIe siècle*, ed. V. Gazeau, C. Guyon and C. Vincent (Paris, 2015).

33 *St. Nicholas of Sion*, trans. I. and N. P. Ševčenko, 29 (8).

34 *Ibid.*, 30-31 (9): “Θελήματι δὲ θεοῦ κατήλθομεν ἐν τῷ λυμένι τῷ καλουμένῳ Ἀνδριάκη...”

35 *Ibid.*, 65 (37).

36 *Ibid.*, 67 (38).

Following the catastrophic destruction of the 529 earthquake, Myra was able to recover quickly, thanks to Justinian's generous benefaction, as we learn from Malalas.<sup>37</sup> However, the sixth century witnessed the gradual decline of the city. The bubonic plague that arrived at Myra in 542 with the ships from Egypt was a real blow to the city.<sup>38</sup> But the worst blow came in the seventh century with the Arabs who gradually gained control of the Mediterranean, disrupting the main trade routes passing through Byzantine Lycia. The defeat of the Byzantine army at Yarmuk in 636 led to the rapid advance of the Arab armies in the Near East, resulting in the loss of Syria, Palestine, and finally Egypt — the main source of grain for Constantinople— in 642. By the late seventh century the armies of Islam had conquered the whole of North Africa which consequently enabled the Arab navy to have the upper hand in the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>39</sup> Especially after the fall of Egypt, Andriake, being an important harbor on the grain supply route from Egypt to Constantinople, lost its significance. We hear of no significant activity at the harbor after the seventh century, although Myra survived as a Byzantine city up to the mid-fourteenth century.

In the early fourteenth century Myra still had a considerable Christian population; however, by the mid-century Myra lost its significance not only as a metropolitanate,<sup>40</sup> but also as a settlement, partly due to the catastrophic floods of the Myros river, which gradually —but in a relatively short period, probably not more than a couple of years— buried the whole city under the silt. Although —quite surprisingly— none of the contemporary sources mention this catastrophe, archaeological evidence from the excavations of St. Nicholas' church that have been going on for twenty-two years,<sup>41</sup> as well as the excavation of a small thirteenth-century church by the Roman theatre in 2010,<sup>42</sup> proved that in the early fourteenth century the city was buried under silt of five to seven meters thick —absolutely with no cultural layer— and the ancient city was devastated. Both excavations revealed that the Byzantine layer under the alluvial deposit consistently terminated in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.<sup>43</sup> However,

37 Malalas XVIII, 30: *Chronicle*, trans. Jeffreys, Jeffreys and Scott, 262.

38 We hear about this epidemic in the *Vita* of St. Nicholas of Sion: Nicholas warns the villagers in the highlands above Myra not to go down to the city, and the citizens of Myra complain about the shortage of food since the flow of goods from the hinterland was cut. *St. Nicholas of Sion*, trans. I. and N. P. Ševčenko, 83-85 (51-53).

39 A. E. Laiou, "Political History: An Outline," in *EHB* 1:9-28, at 13.

40 Myra and Patara were destroyed sometime in the 14th century. See Sp. Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization From the Eleventh Through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1971), 151, 205, 257. Patriarchal synod documents indicate that 27 Anatolian metropolitan sees, including Myra, had ceased to exist some time between the 14th and 15th centuries: *ibid.*, 302.

41 For the excavations at the Church of St. Nicholas by Y. Ötügen, see note 11 above.

42 For the preliminary report of the Myra church, see E. Akyürek, "Myra Şapeli Üzerine İlk Notlar," in *Arkeolojisinden Doğasına Myra / Demre ve Çevresi*, ed. Çevik, 153-60. A book on the church is in progress.

43 The latest coin found in the St. Nicholas Church Excavations is that of Izzeddin Keykavus II (1240-1250). Ötügen suggests a mid-13th century *terminus post quem* for the flood. See Ötügen, "Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesi Mimari Değerlendirmeleri," 523. Also, ceramics from the Myra Church date from the late 13th-early 14th centuries: Akyürek, "Myra Şapeli," 159, fig. 12.

it seems that the Church of St. Nicholas, which was buried under the alluvium up to gallery level, continued to attract pilgrims in some way.<sup>44</sup> Today, in modern Demre there are almost no architectural remains from the Seljuk, Beylik or early Ottoman periods. In Lycia, rather than the Seljuks, nomadic Turcoman tribes were active from the thirteenth century on, mostly not on the coast but on the high plateaux.<sup>45</sup> Turkish domination of the coastal area does not pre-date the Ottoman conquest of Rhodes in 1522.<sup>46</sup>

Archaeological research in Andriake is important for understanding the history of Myra. Today, nothing is visible from that famous Byzantine city, except the church of St. Nicholas and the recently discovered small church by the ancient theatre. The site, buried in silt in the fourteenth century, also suffers from the invasion of modern settlement. On the other hand the port, in contrast to the center of Myra, was spared both the mud and modern development; it is thus much better preserved and provides the clearest evidence for Late Antique prosperity. Moreover, Andriake provides us with almost a full image of a Late Antique harbor settlement. This harbor was not a quarter within the city, but a separate settlement founded as a commercial and industrial neighborhood outside the city.

Having the best port facilities in Lycia, Andriake was an important link in the chain of Mediterranean maritime communications. Besides the trade of commodities, in the Byzantine era Andriake was also important for the pilgrims coming to visit the shrine of St. Nicholas, the highly venerated fourth-century bishop of Myra. Most medieval pilgrims traveled by foot and in large groups, but international pilgrims preferred to travel by sea.<sup>47</sup> Pilgrims approached Myra through Andriake, since the land routes passing through the Taurus Mountains were exhausting and dangerous at that time. *Ampullae* found in the excavations at Andriake attest to the presence of pilgrims, coming to Myra to obtain the holy oil pouring from the saint's body. Pilgrimage in Anatolia continued throughout the Middle Ages. Myra was one of the eight most important pilgrimage sites in medieval Anatolia,<sup>48</sup> and continued in this role even after the relics of St. Nicholas were carried to Bari in 1087.<sup>49</sup> In late antiquity, as well as in the Middle Ages, the church of St. Nicholas in Myra was one of the most visited pilgrimage centers, especially during the annual festival of St. Nicholas which attracted many people.<sup>50</sup>

Looking at the topography of the port (Fig. 2), the first thing to notice is that the settlement lies on both sides of the Andrakos creek at its mouth. The two sides are usually distinguished as the north and the south settlements (Fig. 3); however, the port facilities are on the south bank. The north settlement, which has not yet been

44 Harrison, "Churches and Chapels," 124.

45 İ. Erdem, "Ortaçağ Sonlarında Likya Levant Ticareti ve Türkmenler (12.-15. yy)," *III. Uluslararası Likya Sempozyumu, 7-10 Kasım 2005 Antalya* (Istanbul, 2006), 1:243-51, at 246.

46 M. Güçlü, "Selçuklulardan Cumhuriyet'e Demre Bölgesi," in *Arkeolojisinden Doğasına Myra / Demre ve Çevresi*, ed. Çevik, 305-18, at 308.

47 Foss, "Pilgrimage," 148.

48 *Ibid.*, 132.

49 *Ibid.*, 139.

50 *Ibid.*, 145.



thoroughly documented, survived longer than the south settlement and was enclosed with a fortification wall some time in the Middle Ages. Architectural data suggest that the northern settlement was last used in the twelfth century.<sup>51</sup> Probably the north settlement had a landing place for small ships or boats.

The mouth of the Andrakos was a suitable location for a harbor, since hills on both sides of the creek provided natural and military protection for the port, functioning both as breakwaters and towers. The harbor basin thus became closed to storms from all directions. A chain blocked the entrance of the harbor, as we learn from the account of Appianus, a second-century Roman historian from Alexandria. In 42 BCE Brutus, capturing Xanthos and Patara, had commissioned Lentulus to collect taxes from Myra. However, upon his arrival to the port, the citizens of Myra refused to pay Brutus and resisted. In Appianus' words: "At the same time, Lentulus who had been sent to Andriace (Ἀνδριάκη), the seaport of the Myreans, broke the chain which closed the harbour and ascended to Myra."<sup>52</sup>

The settlement on the south bank had developed parallel to the shore with its main structures ordered along the coast. The entrance to the port site is from the east side of the settlement and the first thing one will notice is a small necropolis with several sarcophagi. The main structures that could be identified so far are —from east towards west— Church A, east bath, west bath, Church B, the agora, the granary, the synagogue, and Church C. The plain area at the center of the south settlement with the *granarium* and agora forms the heart of the port (Fig. 4). Church B, the synagogue, and production units are also located in this flat area, a few meters above sea level. At the sea level the main harbor street, flanked by shops, runs along the coastline. The shipyards are located at the west end of the settlement. On the north side of the harbor street should have been the docks; however, they have sunk in the swamp and are not visible today. Some stone structures discovered through field survey in the sludge at about twenty meters from the present coastline, might belong to the docks.

Since the Andrakos creek is fed mainly by sulfurous springs along its valley, water had to be brought to the harbor from distant sources. Fragments of rock-cut water channels on the slopes of both banks and some surviving parts of an aqueduct are the remains of a water system.<sup>53</sup> A supply of fresh water was not only required for the baths, workshops, and people working at the port, but also was crucial for the ships arriving at the harbor after a long journey, to refresh their stocks of drinking water. The port required plenty of fresh water and the huge cistern under the agora was constructed as a component of the water system to guarantee a reserve to meet the demand. In addition, some buildings have their own cisterns: for example Church B had two cisterns of its own, one at the southeast, and the other to the northwest.

51 Tekinalp, "Andriake," 387.

52 Appian, *The Civil Wars* IV, 10, 82: *Appian's Roman History*, ed. J. D. Denniston and E. I. Robson, trans. H. White, 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1912–1913), 4:276–77 (Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Λέντλος ἐπιπεμφθεὶς Ἀνδριάκη Μυρέων ἐπιπέφ τήν τε ἄλλουσιν ἔρρηξε τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἐς Μύραν ἀνήει).

53 Borchardt, *Myra*, 71.

The most significant building of the port is the imperial warehouse located in the center of the commercial area. The granary (*Horrea Hadriani*) was constructed by emperor Hadrian in 129, as the dedicatory inscription as well as the sculpted portraits of Hadrian and his wife Sabina on the façade of the building indicate.<sup>54</sup> The *granarium* was constructed mainly to guarantee the grain supply of Rome.

The largest and best preserved granary in the region,<sup>55</sup> it measures sixty-five by thirty-nine meters and consists of eight interconnected windowless storerooms, covering an area of 2,081 square meters in total (Fig. 5, no. 2 in Fig. 4). The structure was built of well-jointed ashlar masonry, its back wall being constructed in polygonal technique. On both ends of the façade there are two small square rooms presumably for the watchman. The floor of the *granarium* was originally paved with bricks. Regular holes in the walls may suggest the presence of shelves. Numismatic evidence proves that the granary continued its function in the early Byzantine period: 118 of the coins found from the excavation of the building are from the fourth century, ranging from the reign of Constantius II to Arcadius, and the latest coin dates to the reign of the emperor Maurice (582–602), giving a *terminus ante quem* for the usage of the granary. This corresponds to the other finds from the excavations, which go up to the mid-seventh century. An inscription carved on the entrance of the left side of the fourth door from the east proves that in the early Byzantine era Andriake was an important port and commercial center for the whole region. The inscription is an edict of Theodosius I, recording that the praetorian prefect Tatianus (388–392) had sent standards of weight and measure for use in Myra and the neighboring city of Arneae, and one of the standards had to be kept within the granary for the periodic control of the measures.<sup>56</sup> The excavations revealed that the granary was used not only for the storage of grain, but also for other products like wine, oil, timber, etc.

Andriake was not only a transit harbor for the ships sailing between Egypt and Rome or Constantinople. Transit trade does not require a granary of this size. The harbor was also a commercial center collecting grain, wine, timber, and other products produced in the fertile plains to the north, especially in the large Kasaba plain connected to Myra through the valley of the Myros river. A road constructed in the Roman period (possibly CE 43) from Dereagzi to Myra passing along the Myros valley is still visible today.<sup>57</sup> The road served especially to transport wheat and other products from the Kasaba plain to Myra and to the port of Andriake. The Kasaba plain was particularly important for wheat production. The

54 The inscription is: "HORREA IMP. CAESARIS DIVI TRIANI PARTHICI F. DIVI NERVAE NEPOTIS TRAIANI HADRIANI AUGUSTI COS. III," see W. Wörrle, "Bauinschrift," in *Myra*, ed. Borchardt, 67–68, at 67.

55 Another granary in Lycia which survives today in ruins is that of Patara: F. Işık, *Patara Capital of The Lycian League* (Istanbul, 2011), 67–69.

56 For the text, see G. Manganaro, "Due note tardoantiche," *ZPapEpig* 94 (1992): 283–94. Also see M. Wörrle "Die Inschrift des Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus," in *Myra*, ed. Borchardt 70; For the Turkish translation, see N. Çevik and S. Bulut, "İkinci Kazı Sezonunda Myra ve Limanı Andriake," in *Arkeolojisinden Doğasına Myra / Demre ve Çevresi*, ed. Çevik, 25–115, at 45.

57 For the Kasaba-Myra road, see D. French, "IV. The Road, Paths, and Water Channel," in *The Fort at Dereagzi*, ed. J. Morganstern (Tübingen, 1993), 87–90.

granary was likely used to store the commodities brought to the port for export. In fact there was a continuous flow of agricultural products from the highlands to Myra, some for local consumption, some for export. The flow of those products from the country to the city and harbor is narrated very clearly in the sixth-century *Vita* of St. Nicholas of the Sion monastery.<sup>58</sup> Consequently, we may assume that the two great granaries of Lycia, Andriake and Patara, were used not only for transit trade, but also as warehouses to collect and store grain and other agricultural products produced in the hinterland in order to keep reserves for the needs of the army, as well as for the capital cities —Rome and Constantinople— to secure the grain supply of those huge consumers. We know that shortage of grain became a crucial problem for the crowded cities from time to time.

The agora, the market place of the harbor, is located on the flat area to the east of the *granarium*, with its colonnaded *propylaeum* facing the harbor (Fig. 6, no.1 in Fig. 4). Excavations have revealed that the agora was constructed at the same time as the imperial warehouse by the emperor Hadrian. The agora covers a rectangular area of sixty by forty meters, with rooms (or shops) surrounding the open area on four sides.<sup>59</sup> These units measure approximately four by six meters. On the north side is the main entrance through a monumental gate opening onto the harbor. The square area surrounded by the shops is paved by stone slabs,<sup>60</sup> covering the big cistern beneath. The rectangular cistern measures twenty three by twelve meters with a depth of seven meters. The vaults are supported by a row of eight piers.<sup>61</sup>

Apart from the shops of the agora, some other shops to the north of the granary and agora were identified during the excavations. They flank the main harbor street, which runs parallel to the coast (Fig. 7, no. 5 in Fig. 4). Seven shops, four to the south and three to the north of the harbor street, have been excavated so far. The southern shops were originally two-storied with their openings on the main street. They were not of equal size, but measured on average three by seven meters. The northern shops had openings both to the street and to the waterfront. Coins and ceramic findings indicate that the shops were built in the third century CE and the intense period of usage for the shops would be in the fourth and fifth centuries. They were abandoned in the late sixth century. The most important finds from the excavations of the shops are lead weights and fragments of scales, besides the coins.<sup>62</sup> There are ruins of many small chambers along the unexcavated portion of the harbor street, which might also be shops. The shops lining the wharf must have catered to the docking ships and their crews.

The excavated portion of the main street of the harbor runs parallel to the shoreline. It is on average four meters wide and flanked by the shops. Other streets perpendicular to the coast connect the inner parts of the settlement with the harbor. Only two of them have been excavated so far. One is a narrow street with stairs connecting the small piazza in front of the granary to the main harbor street (Fig. 8). Another street with stairs begins in the atrium of Church B and leads down to the harbor.

In the first century CE, a monument to honor the emperors was erected on the harbor street, situated in such a way as to be seen immediately by approaching ships. The bronze statues of emperors, which we know about from the inscriptions carved on the bases, do not survive today. A trench dug in front of the monument shows that a piazza arrangement was made by leveling the bedrock. During the excavations in 2010 an inscription carved on the east side of the monument was discovered. The inscription dates to the reign of Arcadius, between 404 and 408. It is an imperial *edictum* defining the standards of the fishnets to be sold here. It has been proclaimed on behalf of the emperor by the *Tribunus et Notarius Urbicus* Gemellus Petrus Paulus. The edict mentions the complaints related to the low quality of linen yarn (τὸ λίνον) used for the fishnets, sets the standards and declares that the cheating producers and sellers shall be punished.<sup>63</sup> The base of the honorific monument was restored following its excavation.

The port of Andriake was not merely a harbor for trading, but also a small-scale industrial center producing for export. Several workshops were revealed during the excavations. Important ones are murex dye production units and a winery. After the market function of the agora ended in the mid-sixth century, the still standing northern rooms of the building were converted into a murex dye production complex, whose boiling units survive today in good condition (Fig. 9, no. 7 in Fig. 4)<sup>64</sup> The expensive purple dye was one of the status symbols for the nobility and the highest quality dye was acquired from a sea mollusc called murex. A large amount of broken shell deposits at the site pointed to the existence of a considerable industry there.

Excavations in the two-roomed structure in front of the granary revealed a winery with two very large collecting pools and three sockets for supporting press arms. Finds —especially coins and ceramics— from the excavation of the winery prove that this was active from the fourth century until the end of the sixth.<sup>65</sup> Probably grapes from the highlands were brought here to produce wine for export. After fermentation, the wine was put in amphorae and kept in the neighboring granary until being exported.

58 St. *Nicholas of Sion*, trans. I. and N. P. Ševčenko, 83-84 (52).

59 Çevik, Bulut and Akyürek, "Excavations and Surveys at Myra-Andriake in 2011," 66.

60 A paved area might be called *plakoma* (Borchardt, *Myra*, 65), but this should not be confused with the *Plakoma* mentioned in the *Vita* of St. Nicholas of Sion, since the latter is described as a village (*kome*) with fields: St. *Nicholas of Sion*, ed. and trans I. and N. P. Ševčenko, 15, 35. Andriake lacks any agricultural fields.

61 Çevik and Bulut, "İkinci Kazı Sezonunda Myra ve Limanı Andriake," 40-41.

62 *Ibid.*, 45-46.

63 H. S. Öztürk, "Yazıtların Işığında Myra ve Çevresi'nin Antik Çağ Tarihi," in *Arkeolojisinden Doğasına Myra / Demre ve Çevresi*, ed. Çevik, 295-303, see 299.

64 The murex dye production units have been studied in a master's thesis by Research Assistant Ç. A. Aygün, excavation team member from the Department of Archaeology, Akdeniz University: Ç. A. Aygün, "Andriake Mureks Boya Endüstrisi" (MA thesis, Akdeniz University, 2012).

65 Çevik, Bulut and Akyürek, "Excavations at Myra and Andriake 2012," here see M. Şengül, *Workshops' Area in Andriake*, 93-94, fig. 6.

One of the important discoveries in the Andriake excavations was the synagogue located close to the granary (Fig. 10, no. 4 in Fig. 4).<sup>66</sup> Before the excavation in 2010, an apse and several walls were visible on the ground, which led the earlier researchers to call the building simply as “the apsidal building” which might have served the imperial cult.<sup>67</sup> However, data gathered from the excavation have verified that the building was a synagogue dating from the fifth or sixth century. The main hall, a rectangular structure with an apse on its southeast wall, is flanked by two rooms added at a later date. The apse has a niche elevated about four meters from the floor level, used to keep the Torah. The most important finds for identifying the building as a synagogue were the inscribed plaques. A complete plaque with a menorah depiction bears an inscription of three lines in Greek, which translates as: “Offering of Makedonios, son of Romanos, and his wife Prokle and their parents Romanos and Theodote. Peace unto all Israel! Amen! Shalom.”<sup>68</sup> In two other inscriptions too, Jewish names and the word Israel are mentioned. The synagogue proves the existence of a Jewish community at Andriake, strong enough to have a house of prayer at a prominent location in the port. It must have served both the Jews working at the harbor and those visiting Andriake for commercial purposes.<sup>69</sup>

Three of the five identified churches are on the south bank of Andriake. Excavation at Church B close to the northeast corner of the agora was mostly completed by the end of the 2013 season (Fig. 11, no. 3 in Fig. 4). The church is a large basilical structure with three aisles and dates from the early fifth century. It has an atrium with a trapezoid plan and two chapels to the northeast, connected to the north aisle. The southern chapel was arranged as a baptistery by modifying the apse into a baptismal pool. Archaeological evidence proves that the church was destroyed after the earthquake in 530 and reconstructed by Justinian. Two legible coins found in Church B belong to the reigns of Justin II (565-578) and Maurice (582-602).<sup>70</sup> The monumental dimensions of Church B, as well as the quality of the architectural sculpture (Fig. 12) and mosaic pavement (Fig. 13) prove the existence of a spectacular church in the sixth century. Following the abandonment of the church by the seventh century, some parts of the building —the atrium and the northern annexes— were reused for storage or some type of unidentified small-scale production.

It is an interesting problem to account for the existence of three big churches in a port settlement, where residence is limited only to those working at the harbor and the crews of the visiting ships. Considering the location of the churches on the south bank, we can say that Church B would have served the pilgrims arriving at the harbor to visit the holy shrine of St. Nicholas at Myra, while Church C, located on a steep hill above the

sea shore, might have been used as a monastery. It is also possible that there were memorial churches at the site.

Of the two baths on the east side of the port, the small one at the east end was excavated in 2012. The bath measures fifty by thirty-eight meters, with an interior area of 216 square meters. It is originally a third-century Roman building, which remained in use in the Byzantine period with certain architectural additions. When the caldarium of the Roman bath was destroyed, probably by the earthquake in 529, the new caldarium was added in the reign of Justinian I. Coins and other archaeological evidence from the excavation reveal the upper limit of use during the Byzantine period as the beginning of the seventh century. It is relatively well preserved and provides precious information regarding the architecture and technical details such as the water supply, sewage system, hypocaust and in-wall heating systems of the Byzantine baths in the region.<sup>71</sup> The baths catered to the needs of the sailors, as well as those living in Andriake.

The four years of excavations at Andriake uncovered 2,895 coins, of which most were cleaned and studied by the excavation team members. 517 of them were good enough to identify securely.<sup>72</sup> They date from the Hellenistic period to the eleventh century: 62 Hellenistic, 345 Roman Imperial, 110 Byzantine coins. Apart from a single eleventh-century coin (an anonymous follis of 1030-1035), the latest group of Byzantine coins dates to the mid-seventh century. The Byzantine coins range from the reign of Constantius II (337-361) to Constans II (641-668), with a concentration in the sixth century. Justinian and Heraclius are each represented by twenty coins. The distribution of the total coins according to their location in the excavation area is an interesting indication of where the commercial activities were mostly concentrated: in the granary 153 coins, in the agora 124, in shops and harbor street area 77, in the winery 61, in the shops before the winery 19, in the synagogue 35, in the east bath 20, in church B 19, and on the surface 9 coins were found.<sup>73</sup> On the other hand, the mint origins of the coins show commercial activity extending all around the Mediterranean sea: 45 coins were struck in Constantinople, while the others came from Thessalonike, Nicomedia, Kyzikos, Antioch, Alexandria, Carthage and Syracuse.<sup>74</sup>

The available archaeological and historical evidence proves that Andriake began to decline in importance from the mid-sixth century, and was not active as an inter-regional harbor after the seventh century. The most important reason for this decline was the loss of the eastern lands, especially Egypt in 642 and the Arab naval hegemony in

66 N. Çevik, Ö. Çömezoğlu, H. S. Öztürk and İ. Türkoğlu, “A Unique Discovery in Lycia: The Ancient Synagogue at Andriake, Port of Myra,” *Adalya* 13 (2010): 335-66.

67 Borchardt, *Myra*, 71.

68 Çevik, Çömezoğlu, Öztürk and Türkoğlu, “Synagogue at Andriake,” 346, figs. 24, 27.

69 *Ibid.*, 48-49.

70 Çevik, Bulut and Akyürek, “Excavations and Surveys at Myra-Andriake in 2011,” 71.

71 See the article by N. Çevik and S. Bulut, “Andriake Doğu Hamamı: Bölgenin Hamam Mimarlığına Işık Tutan Yeni Bir Örnek,” *Adalya* 17 (2014): 221-62. Also see; Çevik, Bulut and Akyürek, “Excavations at Myra and Andriake 2012,” 90-96, here Çevik and Bulut, “Andriake Doğu Hamamı,” 92-93.

72 S. Bulut and M. Şengül, “2009-2012 Yılları Andriake Kazı Sikkeleri ve Yerleşim Tarihine Katkıları,” in *Proceedings, First International Congress of the Anatolian Monetary History and Numismatics, 25-28 February 2013*, ed. K. Dörtlük, O. Tekin, R. Boyraz Seyhan (Antalya, 2014), 79-110.

73 *Ibid.*, 79.

74 *Ibid.*, 83.

the Mediterranean, which in the long run resulted in changes to the trade routes. On the other hand, some natural catastrophes also played a part in the desolation of the port: the great bubonic plague which arrived to Andriake by the ships from Egypt began in 541/2; and the severe earthquake which caused the Lycian coastline to sink about two meters was in 601.<sup>75</sup> It seems that the earthquake did severe damage to the buildings of the port and they were not re-constructed, as had been the case after the earthquake of 529.

Andriake is not mentioned in the medieval portolans. Taşdıbi (Stamira), a sandy and deep beach two kilometers southeast of Andriake would be the new harbor of Myra, used by the pilgrims as well as by small-scale local transportation of goods and people.<sup>76</sup> The remains of the base of a round tower, probably a lighthouse, on the small hill to the west of the bay points to the location of a harbor, or better, a landing stage (*skala*). Stamira was mentioned in some medieval portolans, the earliest being the Pisa portolan in 1200, as the landing place for Myra, the holy city of St. Nicholas. In the thirteenth-century portolan of Pietro de Versi, Stamira is mentioned as the port of St. Nicholas of Stamiris.<sup>77</sup> Taşdıbi served as the harbor of Myra until the mid-twentieth century. Charles Fellows, a traveler visiting Myra in 1838 on his way to Finike, mentions that hundreds of timbers, a very important export item of the region from ancient times,<sup>78</sup> were carried down the stream of Myros river from the Taurus mountains to the seashore,<sup>79</sup> at some point near Taşdıbi. Today, there is no trace of that harbor except the remains of a tower; however, the site is still called ‘Gümrük’ by the local people, which means ‘customs office,’ and the oldest remember a pier there.

To conclude, Andriake, an important harbor on the Mediterranean trade routes, was used uninterruptedly from the late fourth century BCE up to the mid-seventh century CE. Coins provide the most reliable evidence for this dating, and other small findings such as ceramics and metal objects, as well as architectural remains support this. Andriake and Myra enjoyed great prosperity in the Roman and early Byzantine periods, especially from the second to the late sixth century CE. Most of the surviving monumental buildings in today’s Demre —the magnificent Roman theatre, the huge *granarium* and other harbor buildings, the Church of St. Nicholas— were constructed within that time span. In the Byzantine era, the fifth and sixth centuries, especially the reign of Justinian, was the most active period of the harbor, as the archaeological evidence from the excavations and

contemporary written sources attest. That activity, as a source of prosperity, is reflected also in the hinterland of Myra. In surveying the region, one can easily detect the traces of that prosperity in the highlands. The great churches at Karabel, Muskar, Alacahisar, and Alakilise with their beautiful stone carving are what survive today from this prosperity.<sup>80</sup> By the end of the sixth century the “ancient order” inherited mainly from Roman civilization began to collapse with all its features. Due to epidemics and natural disasters, the population of the cities declined dramatically; then the empire lost its eastern provinces including Egypt, which was the main component of inter-regional trade in the Mediterranean, and the Arab navy gained control of the sea. It all resulted in disruption of inter-regional sea communications and trade. In the region, maritime transportation shrank to small-scale navigation both in terms of destinations and cargoes, while new routes in the western Mediterranean and Black Sea became active. Consequently Andriake, a typical port settlement of the “old world order” lost its significance and became desolate by the seventh century. The economic and social recovery that came in the eleventh and twelfth centuries<sup>81</sup> was unable to revitalize Andriake as an inter-regional port and restore the prosperity that the port and the city once enjoyed.

Did the *polis* and *territorium* of Myra lose their significance primarily due to the decline of Andriake as an inter-regional harbor? As the archaeological and historical research in the region proceeds, we can begin to answer this question more securely. Thanks to the “Myra-Andriake Excavations” going on since 2009, Andriake is revealing its history, and our knowledge of the physical structure of a Late Antique port gets better as the picture of the site gets clearer. It is appropriate to end with Clive Foss’ words on the importance of archaeological research in Lycia: “The archaeological record appears as the essential element for reconstructing local history. If a narrative were to be based on the written sources alone, it would be a bare outline, of a page or two.”<sup>82</sup>

75 T. M. P. Duggan, “A Short Account of Recorded Calamities (Earthquakes and Plagues) in Antalya Province and Adjacent and Related Areas Over the Past 2,300 Years, an Incomplete List, Comments and Observations,” *Adalya* 7 (2004): 123-69; idem, “Supplementary Data to be Added to the Chronology of Plague and Earthquakes in Antalya Province and in Adjacent and Related Areas,” *Adalya* 8 (2005): 357-98.

76 For Taşdıbi as the new port of Myra, see Duggan and Aygün, “Taşdıbi - Stamira,” 161-68; see also Hellenkemper and Hild, *TIB* 8, 1:290, 352-53, 2:577, 888-89 (*Tore de Stalimure*).

77 K. Kretschmer, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters* (Hildesheim, 1962), 245, 666; see also Hellenkemper and Hild, *TIB* 8, 1:352-53.

78 Timber for ship building was the greatest export item of Lycia throughout its history: Foss, “Lycian Coast,” 1; see also Fowden, “Religious Developments,” 365.

79 Sir Charles Fellows, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, The Province of Lycia* (London, 1852), 361.

80 M. Harrison, “Churches and Chapels of Central Lycia,” *AnatSt* 13 (1963): 117-51.

81 A. E. Laiou, “The Byzantine Economy: An Overview,” in *EHB* 3:1145-64, see 1150-56.

82 Foss, “Lycian Coast,” 45.

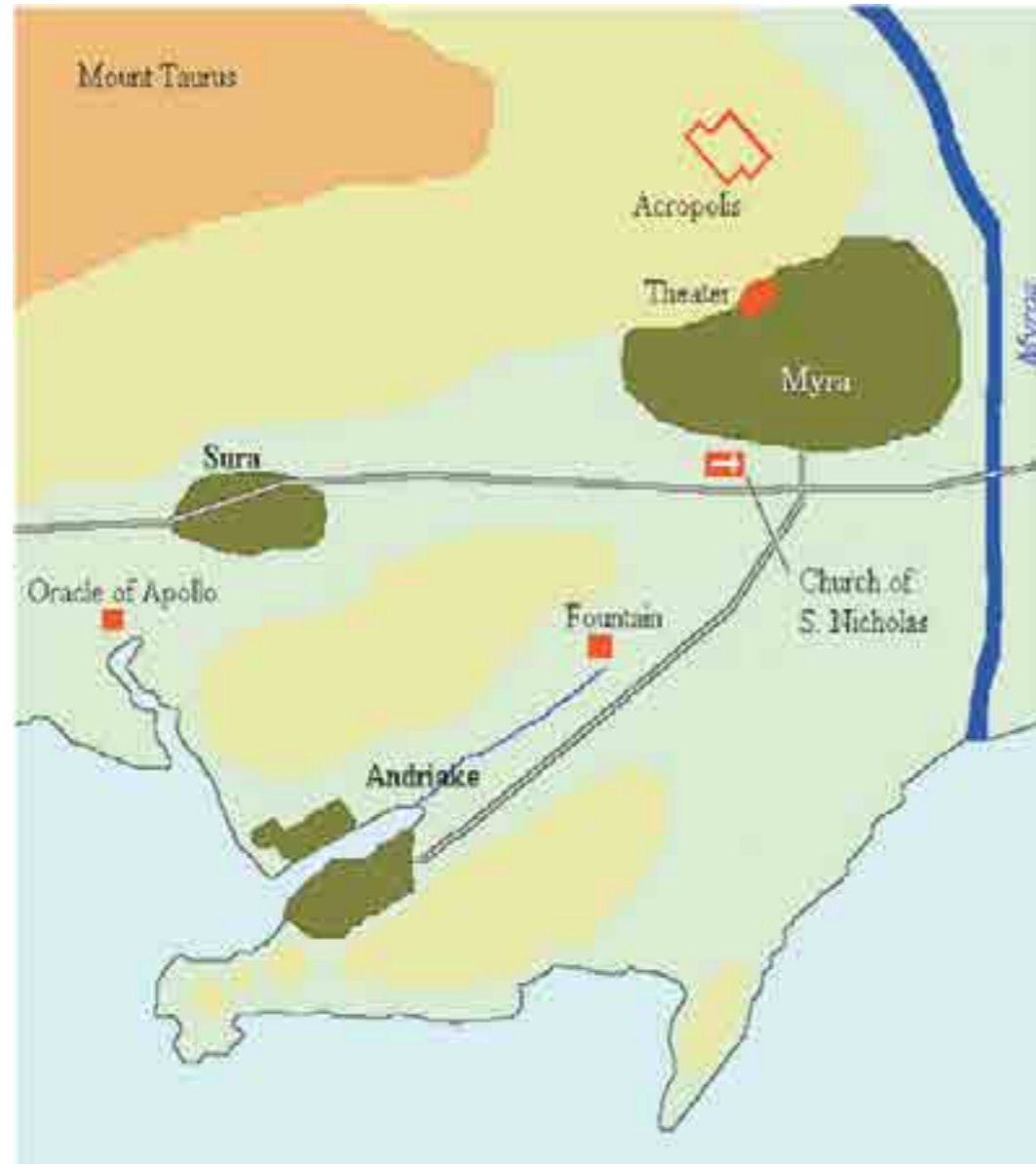


Fig. 1 Location of Andriake (Myra - Andriake Excavations archive).



Fig. 2 Aerial view of Andriake port (Myra - Andriake Excavations archive).

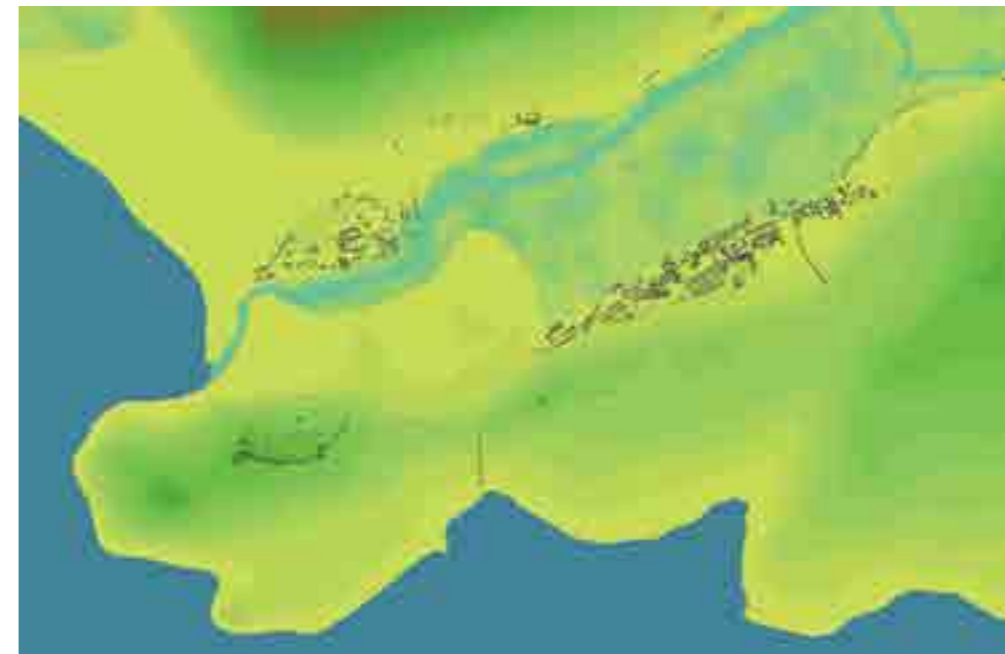


Fig. 3 North and south settlements of Andriake (Myra - Andriake Excavations archive).



Fig. 4 Core of Andriake port (Myra – Andriake Excavations archive).



Fig. 5 *Granarium*, aerial view (Myra – Andriake Excavations archive).



Fig. 6 Agora, aerial view (Myra – Andriake Excavations archive).



Fig. 7 The harbor shops (Myra – Andriake Excavations archive).



Fig. 8 Staired street down to the harbor (Myra – Andriake Excavations archive).



Fig. 9 Murex workshops (Myra – Andriake Excavations archive).



Fig. 10 Synagogue, aerial view (Myra – Andriake Excavations archive).



Fig. 11 Church B, aerial view (Myra – Andriake Excavations archive).



Fig. 12 Church B, fragment of a sixth-century templon slab (Myra – Andriake Excavations archive).



Fig. 13 Church B, mosaic pavement from the northeastern chapel (Myra – Andriake Excavations archive).



# Olympos'ta Ticaret

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## **ABSTRACT** **Trade in Olympos**

In this paper, the aim is to evaluate the commercial activities of Olympos in the Byzantine period through new findings. Recent studies have documented the historical importance of this city, located in the southwest of Anatolia on the Mediterranean coast. Olympos, located in ancient Lycia, was within the boundaries of the Kibyraioton Theme in the Byzantine period. Situated in the valley, the city's connection to the sea route is indicated not only by its proximity to the Mediterranean but also by the harbor wall and associated structures built on the bank of the Olympos River that flows through the city. In the Roman period, Lycia was an important region due to its seaports which were structured to provide logistical support not only for the delivery of goods but also for other commercial activities. It has been observed that the city preserved its importance when the commercial routes were restructured with the establishment of the Byzantine Empire.

The urban fabric and the topography of Olympos demonstrate that life depended on maritime commerce, as in other Lycian cities like Patara, Andriake and Phaselis. The recently discovered data are important because they show us that Olympos was not only a religious center but also a thriving city in terms of commercial activity.

The volume of this commercial activity can be estimated from a variety of small finds unearthed during the excavations at Olympos: bricks and tiles with monograms and atelier marks, weights for coin control (an important element of commercial practice), marked *unguentaria*, amphoras and redware ceramics which are found mainly up to the seventh century, all present data about trade in Olympos. The unique harbor also shows that the city was a center of supply and distribution. The rich diversity of Late Roman amphoras, which have been unearthed recently and identified as coming from outside the region, provide evidence for the extent of local trading networks.

Anadolu'nun güneyinde yer alan Olympos, Akdeniz'in önemli liman kentlerinden biri olarak karşımıza çıkar. Yunanca adına dayanarak, çok yakınında yer alan Phaselis gibi Olympos'un da Dor koloni kenti olması akla yatkın gözüktür. Coğrafi olarak içinde yer aldığı Likya Bölgesi'ndeki etkin varlığı, M.Ö. 188 yılında kurulan Likya Birliği'ne ait sikkelerle belirlenebilir. Likya Bölgesi'nin yönetsel anlamda önemli bir kurumu olan Likya Birliği içinde üç oy hakkına sahip altı kentten birisidir. Olympos'un birlik sikkelerinden çekilmesi Zeniketes'in kentteki hakimiyeti ile eş zamanlıdır. Çok net olmamakla birlikte kente hakim olan ve "Korsan" olarak tanınan Zeniketes yerel bir bey olarak değerlendirilebilir. Roma İmparatorluğu'nun baskın gücü karşısında fazla direnemeyen Zeniketes M.Ö. 77 yılındaki yenilginin ardından trajik şekilde hayatını sonlandırmıştır. Bu tarihten sonra Olympos bütünüyle Roma hakimiyetine geçmiştir.<sup>1</sup> Kentleşme açısından Olympos'un Roma döneminde önemli bir konum aldığı izlenir. Olympos'ta günümüzde de izlenebilen anıtsal kamu yapıları ve buna bağlı olarak oluşan kent dokusu Roma dönemindeki bu yapılaşmanın izleridir.

Olympos'un Hristiyanlıkla buluşması M.S. üçüncü yüzyıl sonlarına denk gelir. Kentle ilişkisi doğrudan bilinen Methodios ise Olympos'un ilk piskoposu olmanın ötesinde önemli bir kutsal kişi olarak karşımıza çıkar. Hristiyanlıkla ilgili önemli çalışmaları olan Methodios'un özellikle Hristiyanlık aleyhine yazılanlara cevaben kaleme aldığı eserleri dikkat çekicidir. Tüm bu çalışmalar erken dönemde Hristiyanlığın oluşmasında önemli yer almıştır. En son yapılan araştırmalara göre, Methodios'un Likya'daki Olympos piskoposu olduğu, sonrasında Fenike'de (Lübnan) Tyros (Tyre) piskoposluğu yaptığı ve Diokletianos döneminde (M.S. 284-312) Suriye'deki Halkidi şehrinde öldürülerek *martyr* (şehit) unvanı aldığı netleşmiştir.<sup>2</sup>

Methodios'un ölümü sonrasında karşımıza çıkan piskopos adları kent Hristiyan tarihinin yazımı açısından önemlidir. Konsil kayıtlarından izlenen piskoposlardan ilki 431 Efes Konsili'ne katılan Aristokritos'tur. Ardından piskopos Anatolios'un geldiği, Myra Metropolitliği'nin imparator I. Leon'a gönderdiği 458 tarihli mektuptan anlaşılmaktadır. Piskopos Ioannes adı ise Konstantinopolis Synodu'nda (518-520) karşımıza çıkar. Olympos'lu piskoposlara ait diğer bir veri de altıncı yüzyıl sonu veya yedinci yüzyıl başına ait Kıbrıs'ta bulunmuş kurşun bir mühürde karşımıza çıkar. Olympos'lu piskoposun adı net olmamakla birlikte, Anania/Anianos veya Ioannes olarak önerilmektedir.<sup>3</sup> Kentin adı beşinci ve yedinci yüzyıllar aralığındaki piskoposluk listelerinde de karşımıza çıkar.<sup>4</sup> Son olarak, dokuzuncu yüzyılda Myra Metropolitliği'ne bağlı bir kent olarak anılır.<sup>5</sup>

Tarihsel süreç açısından Olympos kenti ele alındığında özellikle Geç Antik Çağ ve Erken Bizans döneminde kısmen refah içinde olduğu öngörülebilir. Temel olarak bu öngörü Likya Bölgesi'nin çoğu yerleşimi için de geçerlidir. Bu normal süreç altıncı yüzyıl ortasından itibaren kırılmaya başlar. Anadolu'nun tümüne tesir eden Arap akınlarının yıkıcı etkisinin yanı sıra, yaşanan doğal afetlerin de kenti olumsuz etkilediği izlenir. Gerek savaş ortamı gerekse deprem gibi doğal afetler Olympos'un sosyal yaşamı ve ekonomisini de olumsuz etkilemiş olmalıdır. Kentte baş gösteren veba gibi hastalıkların da ciddi nüfus kaybına yol açması yaşanan olumsuzluklardan biridir. Demografik düşüşler ve savaş ekonomisinin kent iktisadi ve ticari yaşamını neredeyse tümünden ortadan kaldırdığını düşünmek çok da zor değildir. Günümüzde yapılan kent dokusuna ilişkin çalışmalarımızda yapı faaliyetlerinin Bizans dönemi için beşinci ve yedinci yüzyıllar arasındaki dönemle sınırlı olması bu düşünceyi destekler niteliktedir.

Bizans sanatına ilişkin çalışmalarda en zorlayıcı olan unsurlardan birisi özellikle Konstantinopolis dışında kalan yerleşimlerin günlük yaşam ve kültürel özelliklerini aktaran yazılı belgelerin neredeyse olmayışıdır. Başkent odaklı bilgi aktarımı, kaynak yazarlarının başkent dışındaki dünyayı neredeyse hiç tanımadığı izlenimi yaratır. Benzer durum Olympos için de geçerlidir. Kazısı henüz tamamlanmış Olympos kentinin ticari faaliyetlerine ilişkin yazılı bir kaynak olmaması da bu açıdan sürpriz değildir. Bu nedenle bu bildiride Olympos'un ticareti günümüze kadar gerçekleştirilen kazı çalışmalarına göre yorumlanmış ve sonuçlar paylaşılmıştır.

Bizans döneminde ticari faaliyet söz konusu olduğunda özellikle pazarlama alanında deniz yollarının kullanıldığı izlenir. Karayolu taşımacılığındaki hem güvenlik hem de yüksek maliyet sorunları nedeniyle tercih edilen deniz yolu, kıyı kentlerini ticaretin belli başlı merkezleri haline getirmiştir. Özellikle zeytin ve şarap gibi pazarda talebi yüksek olan ürünlerin yetiştirildiği yerlerin kıyı şeridinde yer alması tesadüf değildir.<sup>6</sup> Bu nedenle kıyı kentlerinin çok kesin deliller sunmasa bile Bizans döneminde ticaretin yoğun olduğu merkezler olduklarını öngörmek olasıdır. Olympos'un günümüze gelen kent dokusu ve yerleştiği topoğrafya izlendiğinde, belirlenmiş büyük tarım alanlarına sahip olmadığı görülmektedir. Benzeri Patara, Andriake, Phaselis gibi diğer Likya kentlerinde de görüldüğü üzere, yaşamın deniz ticaretine bağlı sürdürüldüğü rahatlıkla söylenebilir. Bunun en önemli göstergesi Olympos'un sahip olduğu kent planıdır (Çiz. 1). Doğudan Akdeniz'e açılan kent, derin vadi içine konumlanmıştır. Kente karakter kazandıran en önemli unsurlardan biri ortasından geçen Olympos Çayı'dır. Günümüze gelen arkeolojik veriler deniz kenarında konumlanan kentin limanına ilişkin yeterince bilgi aktarmaz. Bununla birlikte mevcut izlere dayanarak yapılan kent modellemesi, yerleşimin Akdeniz ile ilişkisini net olarak ortaya koyar (Çiz. 2). Günümüzde denizle birleşen nehir ağzında, özellikle kış aylarındaki olumsuz hava koşullarıyla birlikte sürekli değişim izlenir. Dolayısıyla mevcut durum, korunaklı bir liman beklentisine uygun değildir. Bu nedenle kentin orijinal halinde çay ağzının kapanmaması için bir mendirek

1 Tarihçe için bkz. B. Y. Olcay Uçkan vd., *Lykia'da Bir Korsan Kenti: Olympos* (İstanbul, 2006).

2 B. Y. Olcay Uçkan ve L. Kayapınar, "Olympos Piskoposu Methodios ve Olympos Kenti," *Uluslararası Patara Kazıları 25.Yıl Sempozyumu, Antalya, 11-13 Kasım 2013* (İstanbul, 2015).

3 H. Hellenkemper ve F. Hild, *TIB 8: Lykien und Pamphylien* (Viyana, 2004), 758.

4 *Notitiae episcopatum ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Texte critique, introduction et notes*, ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1981).

5 F. Hild, "Lykien in den Notitiae episcopatum," *JÖB* 54 (2004): 16.

6 M. M. Baskıcı, *Bizans Döneminde Anadolu: İktisadi ve Sosyal Yapı (900-1261)* (Ankara, 2009), 207.

kuruluşu olduğu varsayımı akla yatkındır. Olası mendirek aynı zamanda denizle birleşen çay yatağının dolmasını önleyecek ve çay içindeki suyun derinliğini arttıracak önemli bir öğedir. Bu düşüncenin en önemli nedeni günümüzde de Olympos Çayı'nın iki yanında izlenen rıhtım duvarları ve rıhtım kenarında yer alan merdivenlerdir. Tüm bu veriler, gemilerin denizden Olympos Çayı'na girdiklerini ve çayın iki yanında bulunan rıhtımda olasılıkla yükleme-boşaltma işlevinin gerçekleştiği görüşünü destekler niteliktedir. Kentin iki yakasını birbirine bağlayan üç gözlü köprü Roma dönemi yapı malzemesiyle Bizans döneminde yenilenmiştir. Bizans döneminde gemilerin Roma dönemdekilere oranla daha küçük olması nedeniyle direklerini indirerek rahatlıkla köprü gözünden geçip nehirde devam etmeleri olasıdır.<sup>7</sup> Kent dokusundaki bu düzenleme aynı zamanda Olympos'un doğusunda yer alan Akdeniz ile ilişkisini ve kent yaşamındaki yerini gösterir. Tüm bu unsurlar kentin ulaşım biçimini, denizle ilişkisini ve dolayısıyla yaşamsal anlamda ticaretle bağlantısını da vurgular.

Olympos'un Akdeniz ile ve dolayısıyla deniz yoluyla ilişkisi, Bizans dönemi öncesi kentin Roma dönemine ait bazı verilerden de anlaşılır. 1991-1992 yıllarında gerçekleştirilen kazılarda ortaya çıkarılan anıtsal mezarlarda lahit üzerinde tespit edilen yazıtlardan biri Kaptan Eudemos'a aittir. M.S. ikinci yüzyıl içinde değerlendirilen mezar yapısı içindeki Eudemos Lahdi, üzerindeki gemi tasviri ile dikkat çekicidir (Res. 1). Zengin ve ünlü bir kaptan olan Olympos'lu Eudemos aynı zamanda Khalkedon vatandaşlığına kabul edilmiş Likyalı bir kaptandır.<sup>8</sup> Bu bulgu, dönemin en elverişli seyahat şeklini oluşturan deniz yolunun erken dönemlerden itibaren Olympos'a gerek ticari gerekse askeri veya sivil amaçlarla ulaşımında kullanıldığını gösteren somut bir veri olması açısından önemlidir. Eudemos'un mezarının kentin Akdeniz'e açılan tarafında yer alması da Olympos'un liman kenti kimliğini vurgulaması açısından dikkat çekicidir.

Bizans döneminde önemli ticaret ağlarının deniz yoluyla sağlandığı bilinmektedir. Erken Bizans döneminde Akdeniz'e olan hakimiyet Arap işgallerine kadar sürmüştür. Olympos kazılarında henüz Bizans dönemi gemi strüktürüne ilişkin bir veri bulunmamakla beraber, güney kent yamaç yerleşimde sarnıç duvarı üzerine tek renk boya ile yapılmış gemi tasviri dikkat çekicidir. Tümü algılanmamakla birlikte gemi kısmen tanımlanabilir niteliktedir. Benzerleri Bizans sanatında tespit edilebilen kırmızı tek renk boya ile yapılan bu tasvir, kentin ve kentlilerin denizle bağlantısını vurgulaması açısından dikkat çekici bir örnek olarak karşımıza çıkar.<sup>9</sup>

Bizans döneminde daha güvenli olması nedeniyle tercih edilen denizyolu ticaretini somut olarak ortaya koyan en önemli veriler seramik buluntularda karşımıza çıkar. Gerek günlük yaşam gerekse ticarete bazı sıvıların taşınmasında da seramik kapların tercih edildiği izlenmektedir. Olympos'ta şu ana kadar ele geçen seramik buluntular beşinci ve

altıncı yüzyıllarda kent nüfusunun azımsanmayacak boyutta olduğunu gösterir (Res. 2). Seramik buluntular aynı zamanda kentin Yakın Doğu, Kuzey Afrika ve Anadolu'yu da içine alan geniş bir ticaret ağı içinde yer aldığını ortaya koyar. Restitüsyonu yapılmış örnekler üzerinden baktığımızda Olympos'ta saptanan amfora türlerinin Doğu Akdeniz'deki ticaret ağına uyumu izlenir. Özellikle beşinci ve altıncı yüzyıllarda Olympos'ta tespit edilen formların üretildiği merkezler harita üzerinde işaretlendiğinde aynı zamanda deniz yolu rotası da ortaya çıkar (Çiz. 3).<sup>10</sup> Bu durum, ticaretin önemli bir unsuru olan amforalar yardımıyla Olympos'un ticaret ağı içindeki yerini belirlemesi açısından önemlidir. Olympos amforaları arasında LR 1 olarak tanımlanan türde örnekler en yoğun grubu oluşturur. Kilikya Bölgesi ve Kıbrıs'ta üretildikleri kesinleşen LR 1 amforalarının Akdeniz'deki yaygın dağılımı dikkati çeker. Ağırlıklı şarap taşınan bu kapların bazı bulgulara dayanarak zeytinyağı taşımacılığında da kullanıldığı görüşü söz konusudur. Buna bağlı olarak bu tür amforalar üzerinde bulunan *dipintolara* (boya ile yapılan yazılar) bakılarak meyve ürünleri taşındığı da söylenebilir.<sup>11</sup> Akdeniz'de bu kadar geniş kullanım ağında karşımıza çıkan bu tipin ticaretin önemli unsurlarından biri olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

Kazılarda tespit edilen diğer bir grup LR 4 olarak adlandırılan Gaza amforalarıdır. M.S. birinci yüzyıldan yedinci yüzyıla kadar üretildiği bilinen bu grubun Akdeniz ticaretinde özellikle dördüncü yüzyıldan sonra en çok kullanılan tip olduğu izlenir. Bu kadar uzun süreçte formunda çok köklü değişiklik olmaması, pazarda sürekli talep edilen Gaza bölgesi şaraplarının satış stratejisi olarak belgelenebilir. Olympos'taki örnekler şimdilik az sayıda olsa da ticareti vurgulaması açısından dikkat çekicidir. Buna bağlı olarak dönemin en kaliteli şarabı olarak bilinen Gaza şarabı tüketiminin veya talebinin olması Olympos'ta beşinci ve yedinci yüzyıllar arasındaki kentli profilini tanımlamamıza katkı sağlaması açısından da önemsenmelidir.<sup>12</sup>

Tüm bu bulgulara dayanarak dördüncü yüzyılda başkent Kontantinopolis'in kuruluşuyla değişen yollarda Olympos bir süre Ege'den LRA 2 amforasıyla zeytinyağı ve Kapitan II amforasında taşınan Batı Anadolu şarabını ithal etmiştir. Dördüncü yüzyıl sonuna kadar hem seramiklerin hem de amforaların az oluşu kentin çok yoğun bir nüfusa sahip olmadığını ve yerel ürünlerin daha fazla tüketildiğini gösterir. Beşinci yüzyıla gelindiğinde ise seramiklerde bir artış dikkati çeker. Gerek bu bulgu gerekse buna paralel olarak yapılaşma faaliyetlerinin artması, kentin hem önemli bir ara istasyon olarak kullanıldığını hem de gerek doğudan gerekse de batıdan gelen kaliteli şaraba ve diğer

10 D. Pieri, "Les centres de production d'amphores en Méditerranée orientale durant l'Antiquité tardive: quelques remarques," *LRCW 2: Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: Archaeology and Archaeometry*, ed. M. Bonifay ve J.-C. Tréglia (2007): 611-25, fig. 2.

Yayında fig. 2'de yer alan harita M. Öztaşkın tarafından Olympos buluntularına göre uyarlanmıştır.

11 A. K. Şenol, AETAM (*Arslan Eyce Taşucu Amphora Müzesi*)'da *Bulunan Ticari Amphoralar ve Akdeniz'de Ticaretin İzleri* (Mersin, 2009).

12 M. Öztaşkın, "Erken Bizans Dönemi'nde Olympos'ta Seramik Buluntular Işığında Günlük Yaşam ve Ticaret," *Olympos*, ed. B. Y. Olcay Uçkan (baskıda).

7 T. Tufanlı, "Kaptan Georgios ve Gemisi," *Cogito* 17 (1999): 226.

8 M. Adak ve O. Atvur, "Das Grabhaus des Zosimos und der Schiffseigner Eudemos aus Olympos," *EpAnat* 28 (1997): 11-27.

9 I. Moutsianos, "Activities Associated with the Sea," *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, ed. D. Papanikola-Bakirtzi (Atina, 2002), 142, no. 152.

mallara bir talep olduğunu ortaya koyar. Bu durum M.S. beşinci yüzyılda Olympos'ta zengin yönetici sınıf veya ticareti de kontrol eden dini otoritenin göstergesidir. Bu görüşü destekleyen bir diğer bulgu sofrta seramiklerinde PRSW-Foça ve CRSW-Kıbrıs seramiklerinin çok yaygın olarak kullanıldığının belgelenmesidir.<sup>13</sup>

Ticari döngüyü en iyi yansıtan örneklerden biri de pişmiş toprak kandillerdir. Olympos'ta bulunan basık gövdeli, çark yapımı kandiller, Akdeniz'deki dolaşımı vurgulaması açısından önemlidir (Res. 2). Olympos kentinde bulunan kandiller arasında çark yapımı, basık yuvarlak gövdeli, süslemesiz örnekler bu yayılımı yansıtan bir grup olarak karşımıza çıkar. Benzer örneklerle yapılan değerlendirme sonucunda beşinci ve altıncı yüzyıllara ait oldukları izlenir. Özellikle Calymna, Arykanda, Lymra, Patara, Xanthos, Anamur ve Dereağzı'ndaki paralel örneklerin form-boyut, malzeme-teknik açıdan aynı özelliklere sahip oldukları görülür. Bu tarih kandillerin bulunduğu Mozaikli Yapı ile de uyumludur.<sup>14</sup>

Buna bağlı olarak Olympos kazı çalışmaları sırasında ele geçen veriler, kentin Balkanlar, Karadeniz ve Avrupa'ya kadar uzanan geniş dolaşım ağının içinde olduğunu vurgulaması açısından önemlidir. Bu bağlantının Olympos'ta bulunan kemer tokası ile desteklenmesi de ilginç bir detay olarak karşımıza çıkar (Res. 3). Mozaikli Yapı olarak adlandırılan mekanın kazı çalışmaları sırasında ele geçen dikdörtgen biçimli kemer tokasının uzun kenarında diğer parçayla birleşmesi için tasarlanmış iki kanca yer alır. Damla biçimli delikler merkezde dört yapraklı çiçek şeklinde düzenlenmiş; dikdörtgenin köşelerine yarım daire delikler yerleştirilmiştir. Aralarda ise daire kabartmalarla süslenmiştir.<sup>15</sup> Olympos buluntusunun Maastricht Vrijthof'ta ele geçen ve Anadolu kökenli olduğu bilinen, beşinci ve yedinci yüzyıllar arasına ait Bizans kemer tokası olarak tanımlanan obje ile benzerliği dikkat çekicidir.<sup>16</sup>

Olympos'ta ticareti vurgulayan buluntulardan bir kısmı da maden eserlerde belgelenir. Ticarete ilişkin kantar zincir ve kancaları, sikke kontrol ağırlıkları bu açıdan dikkat çekici bulgulardır. Buluntuların çoğu Giriş Yapı Kompleksi kazılarında ele geçmiştir. Söz konusu yapı Olympos'un kuzeybatısında, Nekropol Kilisesi'nin kuzeydoğusunda yer alır. Birbiri ile bağlantılı on sekiz odadan oluşan kompleksin iki katlı olduğu günümüze gelen izlerden anlaşılmaktadır. Yapı, güneyde Olympos Çayı kenarında yer alan rıhtım duvarının üstünde konumlanmaktadır. Yapının güneydeki avlusunun Olympos Çayı ile organik bağlantı sağlandığı izlenir. Giriş Yapı Kompleksi'nde yapılan kazılar sonucu ortaya çıkan mimari veriler yapının işlevini net olarak belirlememizi olası kılmaz. Bununla birlikte yapının konumu, plan özellikleri ve kazılar sırasında ele geçen küçük buluntular

sivil işleve sahip olduğunu büyük olasılıkla da en azından liman caddesine açılan arkadlı düzenlemenin bulunduğu kısımda ticaret işlevinin de olabileceğini düşündürmektedir. Özellikle Tip 1 olarak adlandırılan amfora grubunun kazılar sırasında bu alanda çok sayıda bulunması, ticari döngüyü en iyi yansıtan örneklerden biri olan pişmiş toprak kandiller, ticareti doğrudan vurgulayan kantar kancaları, sikkeler, sikke kontrol ağırlıkları ve diğer ağırlıklar bu düşünceyi destekleyen bulgular olarak belirlenebilir. Bunlar arasında sahteciliği önlemek amacıyla kullanılan sikke kontrol ağırlıkları ticareti en somut vurgulayan verilerdir.

Tüm bu unsurların ticarete konu olan malın tartılması ve ödeme aracı olarak sikkelerin kontrolü açısından Bizans dönemi ticaretinde önemsendiği anlaşılmaktadır. Özellikle sahteciliğin önlenmesi için devlet kontrolünde yapılan bu denetimlerde kullanılan ağırlıklar kazı alanında ele geçen ve doğrudan ticareti vurgulayan objeler olmaları açısından önemlidir. Buluntular arasında iki örnek kare biçimlidir. Üzerinde H harfi okunan örnek 1,9 gr ağırlığında "yarım *nomisma*" olarak tanımlanmaktadır ve M.S. dördüncü ve altıncı yüzyıllar arasına tarihlenmektedir (Res. 4).<sup>17</sup> Diğeri, 4,4 gr ağırlığında M.S. beşinci ve altıncı yüzyıllara tarihlenen "bir *nomisma*"dır (Res. 5).<sup>18</sup> Olympos'ta bulunan örneklerden bir diğeri ise daire biçimli, 24,7 gr ağırlığında, çelenk içinde birim değeri ve üstte haçın yer aldığı sikke kontrol ağırlığıdır (Res. 6). 1 *uncia* değerindeki ağırlık M.S. altıncı ve yedinci yüzyıllara tarihlendirilir.<sup>19</sup>

Bizans tarihi boyunca kilise ve devlet birbirinin ayrılmaz parçaları olarak düşünülmüştür. Kilisenin kurum olarak örgütlenmesinde Roma devlet sisteminin örnek alındığı izlenir. Kilisenin eyalet yönetim yapısı başpiskoposlar ve metropolitler aracılığı ile patrik ve imparatorlara bağlı sürdürülmüştür. Ortodoks kilisesinde piskopos olan din görevlilerinin erken Bizans döneminde evlenmelerine ve ticaret yapmalarına izin verildiği bilinmektedir. Dördüncü yüzyıldan itibaren kentlerin önde gelen liderleri konumundaki piskoposlar kent yönetiminde giderek etkinleşen yönetici konumuna yükselmişlerdir. Bunun yanı sıra piskopos ve metropolitlerin yalnızca dini konularla ilgili yöneticiler olmadıkları, sırasında dini hukuk açısından yargıçlık yaptıkları dolayısıyla buldukları kentin kamusal düzeni içinde önemli figürler oldukları saptanabilir. Kentin maruz kaldığı bazı doğal afetler sonucunda vergi indirimi ya da erteleme talebinde bulunmaları, kişiler arasındaki anlaşmazlıkları gidermeleri gibi görevleri kentteki nüfuslarını göstermesi açısından önemlidir.<sup>20</sup>

Olympos'ta saptanan Piskoposluk Sarayı'na bu açıdan bakıldığında, mekan düzenlemesi olarak yukarıda sözü edilen görevlere cevap verecek şekilde tasarlandığı

13 Age.

14 Z. Demirel Gökalp ve M. Bursalı, "Early Byzantine Terracotta Lamps Found in Olympos," (X. Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology'de sunulan bildiri, Ankara, 9-11 Mart 2006).

15 M. Özataşkın ve G. K. Özataşkın, "Building with Mosaics in Olympos: A Comparative Evaluation of Finds and Construction," *Byzas 15: Byzantine Small Finds in Archaeological Contexts*, ed B. Böhlendorf-Arslan ve A. Ricci (İstanbul, 2012), 283.

16 M. Schulze-Dörrlamm, *Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen und Gürtelbeschläge im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum*, c. 1 (Mainz, 2002), 75, res. 27.2.

17 Ağırlıkların değerlendirilmesinde değerli katkılarını esirgemeyen sayın Prof. Dr. Oğuz Tekin'e teşekkür ederim. Karşılaştırma için bkz. O. Tekin ve G. Baran Çelik, *Corpus Ponderum Antiquorum et Islamicorum. Istanbul Archaeological Museums. Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Islamic Weights in the Department of Metal Objects* (İstanbul, 2013), no. 238.

18 Tekin ve Baran Çelik, age., no. 228.

19 Tekin ve Baran Çelik, age., no. 258.

20 C. Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity. The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Londra, 2005), 155-56.

izlenebilir (Çiz. 4). Buna göre özellikle kabul salonu veya yemek salonu olarak tanımlanan *Triclinium*, Peristilli Avlu, Havuz ve Çeşme Binası'nın bulunduğu bölümün daha ziyade yönetsel ve ziyaretçilere açık olan kısım olduğu izlenmektedir. Kilise, Vaftizhane ve Rölik Şapeli'nin dini, konaklama işlevini taşıyan bölümün ise özel alan olarak düşünülmesi mümkündür.<sup>21</sup> Bu yapılanma ile beşinci yüzyılda Olympos'ta piskoposun kentte etkili bir yönetici konumunda olduğu söylenebilir.

Bizans döneminde özellikle denizyoluyla yapılan seyahatlerin genellikle ticaret gemileriyle sağlandığı düşünülmektedir. Olympos limanına gelen gemilerde sivil yolcuların yanı sıra hacıların seyahat ettiğini gösteren öğeler doğrudan ticari bir meta olmasa da ticaret yapılan noktalarla bağlantı kurulabilmesi açısından önemlidir. Bunlar arasında en ilgi çekici grubu hacı kapları olarak bilinen *ampullalar* oluşturur. Olympos'ta bulunan pişmiş toprak *ampullalar* arasında bir örnek bu açıdan ilgi çekicidir. Kalıpla biçimlendirilmiş, yassı gövdeli, delikli iki kulplu *ampullanın* gövdesi üzerinde küçük dairelerle doldurulmuş iki bordürün çevrelediği madalyon içinde bir Yunan haçı tasviri yer alır (Res. 7). Gerek biçimi gerekse süsleme özellikleriyle bu tip *ampullaların* benzerleri Akdeniz'de altıncı yüzyılda yaygın olarak kullanıldıklarını gösterir.<sup>22</sup> Benzer işlevli diğer bir grup ise *unguentariumlar*dır (Res. 8). Kutsal yağ kapları olarak bilinen *unguentariumların* yağ kültü olan yerlerden piskopos ya da yönetici tarafından damgalanarak gönderildiği bilinir.<sup>23</sup> Genellikle kentin piskoposları tarafından talep edilen kutsal yağların *unguentariumlar* içinde ticaret gemileriyle taşınmaları ticari yayılımın vurgulanması açısından önemlidir. Olympos örneklerinin damgalarının net olarak çözümlenmemiş olması nedeniyle doğrudan bir bağlantı kurulmasa da altıncı yüzyıl örnekleri olarak bu bağlantıyı desteklemeleri açısından önemlidir.<sup>24</sup>



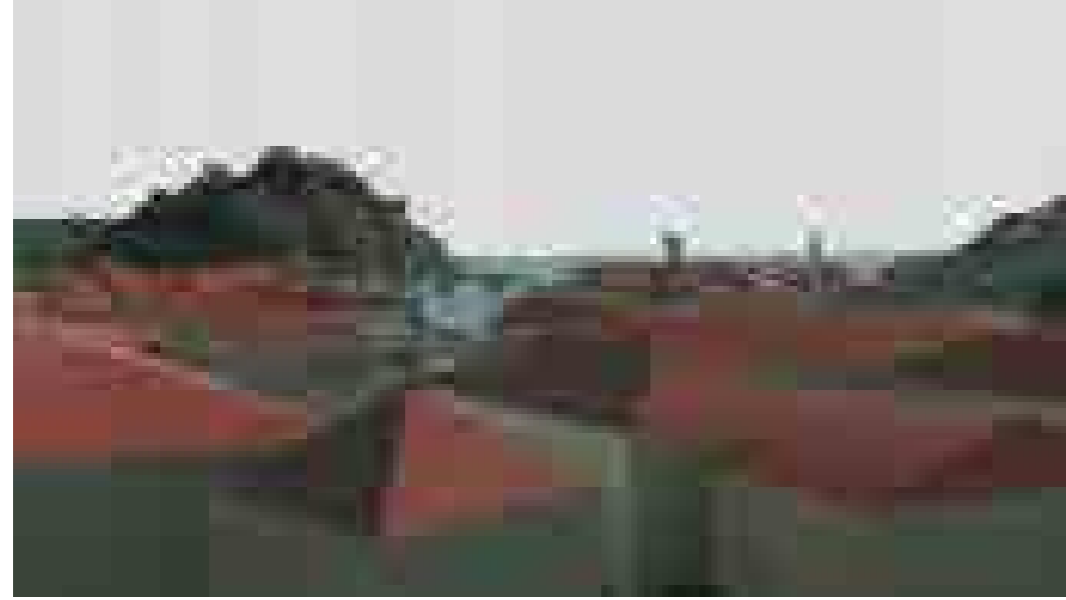
Çiz. 1 Olympos, Kent Planı.

21 G. K. Öztaşkın, "Olympos Antik Kenti Episkopeion Yapı Topluluğu" (Doktora tezi, Anadolu Üniversitesi, 2013).

22 C. Bakirtzis, "Travel and Pilgrimage," *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, ed. Papanikola-Bakirtzi, 173, no. 195.

23 J. W. Hayes, "A New Type of Early Christian Ampulla," *BSA* 66 (1971): 243-48.

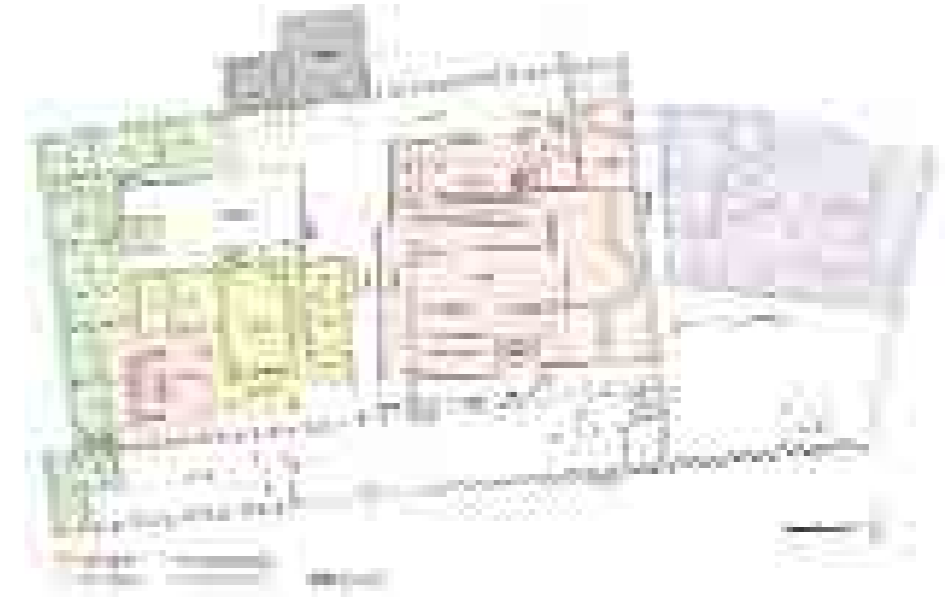
24 J. Vizcaíno Sánchez ve I. Pérez Martín, "Unguentarios bizantinos con sello epigráfico en Carthago Spartaria," *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 81 (2008): 151-76.



Çiz. 2 Olympos, Dijital Modelleme.



Çiz. 3 Olympos amforalarının üretildiği merkezler ve deniz rotası, M.S. 5.-7. yüzyıl (Pieri, "Centres de production d'amphores," 2007, Fig. 2, M. Öztaşkın tarafından Olympos buluntularına göre uyarlanmıştır).



Çiz. 4 Olympos, Piskoposluk Sarayı (*Episkopeion*), plan, çizim: G. K. Öztaşkın.



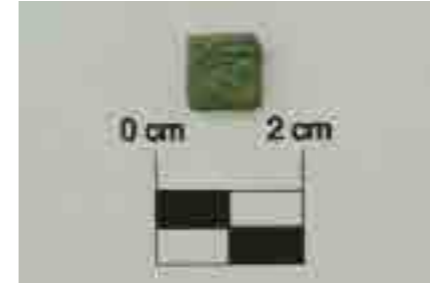
Res. 1 Olympos, Eudemos Lahdi, Gemi Kabartması, detay.



Res. 2 Olympos, Seramik Buluntular, genel.



Res. 3 Olympos, Kemer Tokası.



Res. 4 Olympos, Sikke Kontrol Ağırlığı.



Res. 5 Olympos, Sikke Kontrol Ağırlığı.



Res. 6 Olympos, Sikke Kontrol Ağırlığı.



Res. 7 Olympos, Pişmiş Toprak Ampulla.



Res. 8. Olympos, Pişmiş Toprak Unguentarium.

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